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The Spirit of India

INDIRA GANDHI ABHINANDAN GRANTH

The Spirit of India

Volume One : English

Volume Two : English

Volume Three : Hindi

Volume Four : Urdu



Photograph by Jaywant Ullal

The Spirit of India

Volumes Presented to
Shrimati Indira Gandhi
by the
Indira Gandhi Abhinandan Samiti

Volume Two



ASIA PUBLISHING HOUSE

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The Samiti is grateful to Shrimati Indira Gandhi for permission to publish, in volumes one and three, a representative selection of her writings and speeches, the copyright of which vests in her, as also many photographs from her family albums

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Introduction

Shrimati Indira Gandhi is one of the most dynamic leaders that India has known in its long history. Whoever moulds events so powerfully must expect to be acclaimed, often denigrated, and constantly spoken and written about. An objective assessment of Shrimati Indira Gandhi's full contribution must be left to the future. But the present certainly owes a great debt to her.

This set of volumes is a humble acknowledgement of the debt.

The idea of publishing these volumes arose when, under Shrimati Indira Gandhi's brilliant and inspired leadership, India successfully defended its freedom and helped the people of Bangladesh to secure their independence. The true spirit of India triumphantly manifested itself at that moment in the person of Indira Gandhi. It was natural, therefore, that we should choose the title *THE SPIRIT OF INDIA* for the book we contemplated. Our objective was that the book should shed light on Shrimati Indira Gandhi's fascinating and many-faceted personality and should also contain articles which would lead to a better understanding of the genius of the Indian nation, its thought and its achievement, its recent fight against foreign bondage, and its more recent endeavour to consolidate freedom and develop its material and human resources in order to take its due place again in the vanguard of civilization.

When we broached the idea of the book with Shrimati Indira Gandhi, she was reluctant because of her innate dislike of adulation and ceremonial. But we persevered as our intention was to publish a book not of passing praise but of enduring usefulness. It is kind of her to have allowed this book to be published and to have permitted the inclusion of a selection of her writings and speeches as well as many rare photographs from the family albums.

We are particularly gratified that these volumes provide the most comprehensive pictorial chronicle of Shrimati Indira Gandhi's life so far compiled.

We are deeply beholden to the President, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, and to the former President, Shri V. V. Giri, for their support to our project.

We are grateful to the authors and photographers for their contributions to the book, to the editors and designers for their labour of love, to the publishers and printers, and to the numerous institutions without whose help our work would not have taken shape.

SHANKAR DAYAL SHARMA
UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT
RAJENDRA KUMARI BAJPAI

Foreword

Rashtrapati Bhavan
New Delhi 4

December 27, 1944

Poet Rabindranath Tagore said of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru that he was a man who was greater than his deeds. This applies equally to Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Few of our contemporaries have equalled her in daring and decisiveness, in imagination and comprehension of the human heritage and the problems of the future. All these make her one of the outstanding figures of our time. Women of all countries identify themselves with her as one who personifies the power that is in women.

Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi—there may be few other instances of the gift of leadership visiting three successive generations of a family. Yet, how different each is from the other! To be born of famous parents has disadvantages which balance the advantages. There is frequent resort to comparisons, and too ready a tendency to attribute personal achievement to inherited prerogative. It could well be that in affirming their faith in Shrimati Indira Gandhi the people of India desired to see a continuation of the vision and dynamism of her father. But whatever battles she has had to fight in the last nine years she has fought and won on her own. She is refreshingly free from parochial or sectarian prejudice. Her mind is free of dogma and open to the light of new ideas.

I am glad that these handsome volumes are being presented to Shrimati Indira Gandhi as a token of the gratitude which the people of India feel towards her. It is particularly apt that the book should be called “The Spirit of India”.

F. A. Ahmed

A Tribute

By

V. V. Giri

Mahatma Gandhi taught us the peaceful path to freedom. Jawaharlal Nehru laid the foundation for consolidating that freedom and ceaselessly worked not merely for India's economic salvation but, even more, for securing for her a place of pride in the wider community of nations. He had envisioned for India a future in which the country would build high dams and big industries which would help a rapid growth of our agriculture as well as enable us to attain technological excellence.

Twenty-five years of freedom is an appropriate time for us to make an assessment of our achievements and failures. The democratic institutions we constructed during this period have stood the test of time, and our Constitution has proved itself capable of responding to the needs of purposeful administration. In a vast country like India when it emerged free from alien rule with an undeveloped economy, and a people, the large majority of whom had been kept backward, it was inevitable that progress towards achievement had to be slow and measured.

These twenty-five years also saw a new generation growing up with a clear awareness of our commitment to secure to all citizens alike social, economic, and political justice. Politically, we have proved our capacity to be united, stable, and responsive to dynamic change. We have, however, yet a very long way to go before we can say with confidence that we have created a social order in which the available material resources are so distributed as to subserve the common good. We have also to work incessantly towards not merely building upon these resources, but to go on augmenting them and devising methods and means to put them to the best use. It is here that the relevance of Shrimati Indira Gandhi's leadership of India today is significant. She has a clear understanding of the needs of the vast millions of the common people of our country and for whom a decent life is still a distant prospect. They have reposed their faith in her as in no other leader since independence. As the prime inheritor of resurgent India's destiny, she has an unenviable and uphill task. Some measures have been taken to reduce the disparities between man and man. These have been bold steps and enabled the State to give positive direction to its economic policies. But these cover only a fringe of our commitment to reshape ourselves into an egalitarian society with even and equal opportunity for all for self-development. In the fulfilment of this objective, every Indian, man and woman, has a duty to give Indira Gandhi unstinted support.

Human freedom and human liberty are values of life to be cherished; they are not mere political or philosophical concepts. India's struggle for independence was for upholding these values and preserving them in their pristine glory, not for Indians alone but for every citizen inhabiting the wide world. As one much older than Indira Gandhi, and as one who has had the privilege of close association with her father and her grandfather, two of the most dedicated sons of India, I wish her many long years in the service of our people.

General Editor's Note

We feel honoured to present these felicitation volumes to Shrimati Indira Gandhi as a token of the people's love and esteem for her courageous, dynamic, and wise leadership during an important period of the nation's life.

Mahatma Gandhi led our countrymen from political slavery to freedom. From him we have inherited the triple principles of truth, non-violence, and service of the people. Jawaharlal Nehru led the nation from the feudal to the modern age. From him we have inherited the principles of democracy, secularism, socialism, and dedication to world peace.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi, following in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi and her father, is leading the people in the war against poverty and exploitation. The forces of reaction are offering deadly resistance to her at every step but she is determined to meet their challenge. For our masses she is a symbol of hope.

The idea of this Abhinandan Granth emanated from Dr. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai, then President of the Uttar Pradesh Provincial Congress Committee, during Shrimati Indira Gandhi's visit to Lucknow in January 1972. A Committee was formed which later constituted an Editorial Advisory Committee with B. N. Pande as the General Editor, and eminent Hindi, Urdu and English scholars as members.

In April 1972 a general outline of the project was printed and circulated to prominent scholars and writers over the country. Some foreign scholars were also invited to send their contributions. An effort was made in particular to secure reminiscences from Shrimati Indira Gandhi's schoolmates, teachers, relations, co-workers in the fight for freedom and colleagues in politics. The response was prompt and overwhelming.

Originally the plan was to bring out a volume of some eight hundred pages. But as the work progressed we received contributions which would have run to three thousand five hundred pages. To print all of them was beyond our capacity. We beg the indulgence of those authors who acceded to our request but whose contributions we have not been able to accommodate.

We had hoped to present these volumes to the Prime Minister on her birthday in the silver jubilee year of our freedom. But owing to the time taken to convince her about the worthwhileness of the project and other difficulties which were beyond our control, the production of these volumes has been delayed. The time gained could not, however, be utilized to bring some of the contents up-to-date, for that would have stretched the schedule further. Because of the delay we have the regretful duty of recording that some of the authors who contributed to the book are no more with us. I should like to pay homage to the memory of Shri D. P. Dhar, Mlle L. Hemmerlin, Shrimati Tehmina Kershasp Gandhi, Acharya Vishwa Bandhu Shastri, Dr. Tara Chand, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Seth Govind Das, Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose, Dr. Ramdhari Singh

Dinkar, Professor Ehtesham Husain and Prof. A. N. Upadhye. I may add in this list the name of late Shri S. M. Desai of M/s Vakil & Sons who helped us in revising the text of the third volume.

A few words about the general outline of the project. It includes four volumes. Volume I has three sections. The first consists of recollections of Shrimati Indira Gandhi's friends, colleagues and relations. The second is a selection of her speeches and writings, which bring out her basic philosophy and the guiding considerations of her policies for the country and for the Congress Party. They are grouped in five clusters : Speaking as Prime Minister; The Congress and its Mission; Building the Nation; India and the World; and Reminiscences and Reflections. The third section is a portfolio of nearly 800 photographs, the most comprehensive pictorial compilation so far undertaken on the Prime Minister's life and work.

Volume II has articles bunched in ten sections : The Indian Heritage; The Nationalist Struggle; Consolidation of Freedom; Problems of National Integration; The Regional Streams; Development and Modernization; Problems of Foreign Policy; Bangladesh; The Family of Man; and the Nehrus.

Volume III contains independent articles in Hindi and Sanskrit bunched in eight sections : Personality and Achievement; Selected Hindi Speeches and Writings of Shrimati Indira Gandhi; Art and Culture; Literature and Society; Politics : Principles and Problems; Indian Tradition : The Changing Decades and Changing Values; Religion and History; and The Confluence of Languages.

Volume IV consists of articles in Urdu grouped in one section.

I am grateful to Babu Jagjivan Ram, Shri Uma Shankar Dikshit, Dr. S. D. Sharma, Shri V. P. Naik, Dr. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai, Shri I. K. Gujral, Prof. Nurul Hasan and Dr. Karan Singh for their guidance in the preparation of these volumes.

Shrimati Mahadevi Varma, Dr. Hajari Prasad Dwivedi, Shri Sumitra Nandan Pant, Dr. K. D. Bajpai and Dr. Hiranmaya have offered valuable co-operation in the compilation of Volume III.

Prof. Ehtesham Husain, Kunwar Mahender Singh Bedi and Shri Krishan Chandar have given great help in securing the Urdu contributions. Shri Krishan Chandar took over the editing of the Urdu Volume after the untimely demise of Prof. Ehtesham Husain.

In the compilation of the Granth, and in the editing and arrangement of the English articles, we have received help from Shri H. Y. Sharada Prasad. I am grateful for the valuable cooperation of the members of the Editorial Advisory Committee : Shri D. R. Goyal, Dr. Gopal Tripathi, Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya, Dr. S. C. Kala, Dr. D. D. Tewari, Dr. R. B. Das, Dr. Satish Chandra, Prof. Santimoy Roy, Shri S. K. Bose, Smt. Maitraye Devi and Prof. O. P. Bhatnagar.

Prof. K. Swaminathan, Chief Editor of the Collected Works of Mahatma

Gandhi, generously gave us his experience and time to go through the proofs of Volumes I and II, for which he and his colleagues deserve our thanks. I also acknowledge the help of Shri Saral Patra, Shrimati Sheila Dhar and Shri G. N. S. Raghavan in preparing articles for the press.

The selection of photographs for the Album was an uphill task which was undertaken by Shri H. Y. Sharada Prasad, Shri T. S. Nagarajan and Shri T. Kasi Nath. We received extensive assistance from Shri B. R. Nanda, Director of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, and his colleagues, and from Shri M. V. Rajan of the Jawaharlal Nehru Fund in collection of material. Shri Nagarajan cheerfully undertook the layout of the photographic section. Several photographers within the country and abroad have permitted us to reproduce their work. Our thanks to all of them.

For the typographical display and page layout we are grateful to Shri Dilip Choudhury. The cover and the end-papers were designed by Shri G. R. Santosh and Shri Suhas Nimbalkar. They have our thanks.

The Publication Division of the Government of India, the National Museum, and the Nagar Mahapalika, Allahabad, loaned us blocks to illustrate articles on art. We acknowledge their kindness.

We acknowledge the kindness of Shrimati Subhadra Joshi and Shri D. R. Goyal in allowing us the use of the premises of *Secular Democracy* for our New Delhi office. Likewise we are thankful to the Hindustani Culture Society for permitting us to use the premises of the Society to locate our office in Allahabad. We are also obliged to Shri Jayant C. Gandhi for giving us accommodation and the services of his staff for our work in Bombay.

Shri P. Narayan, who was in charge of the office of the Samiti, discharged a heavy burden with the help of devoted assistants. They undertook a vast amount of correspondence and the typing of more than 6,000 pages of the Hindi and English manuscript. We are thankful to them.

We are grateful to Shrimati Shanta Pande and Shri Shripat Narain Singh, who willingly helped us in comparing the typescript, and to Shrimati Salma Siddiqui for going through the manuscript of the Urdu Section.

Shri Jagdish Swarup and Shri S. N. Kakkar gave us valuable legal advice for which we are thankful to them.

We are also grateful to M/s Karamchand Thapar and their Bombay representatives, Chimanlal Paper Company, for specially manufacturing and supplying us the required printing paper.

We gratefully acknowledge the valuable co-operation that we received from M/s Asia Publishing House, the Publishers, and M/s Vakil & Sons Pvt. Ltd. who have printed the book.

B. N. PANDE
General Editor

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Section I : The Indian Heritage

The late **Dr. Vishva Bandhu Shastri** was Director of Vishwesharanand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, Punjab, and an authority on Vedic literature.

Prof. Uma Shankar Joshi is an eminent Gujrati poet, and a former Vice-Chancellor of Gujarat University. He is a member of the Rajya Sabha and a recipient of the Sahitya Akademi and Jnanpith awards.

Dr. R. N. Dandekar is an Orientalist of international repute and Director of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, University of Poona.

Dr. Klaus Mylius is a Professor in the Karl Marx University, Leipzig, German Democratic Republic.

Dr. S. V. Sohoni, formerly of the Indian Civil Service, was Chief Secretary, Bihar. He is a Sanskrit scholar of repute.

Mahamahopadhyaya **Dr. V. V. Mirashi** has made valuable contributions to ancient Indian history.

The late **Dr. A. N. Upadhye** was Professor and Head of the Department of Jainology and Prakrits in the University of Mysore.

The late **Dr. Tara Chand** was a distinguished historian and educationist and Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University. Later he was Adviser and Secretary successively to the Union Ministry of Education. He also served as Ambassador of India in Iran. His voluminous commentary on the works of Dara Shukoh was published in Iran and was much praised. Before his death, at the age of 85, he completed his monumental *History of the Freedom Movement in India* in four volumes

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Shri B. N. Pande, General Editor of these Volumes, is a veteran Congressman of Allahabad and a former Mayor of the city. He is also Secretary of the Hindustani Culture Society, Director, Centre of Indology, an Executive Councillor of Allahabad University, and author of the 20-volume *Cultural History of the World* in Hindi.

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Pandit Sundarlal is a veteran author and freedom fighter. He has worked in close association with Lokmanya Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Aurobindo Ghosh, Mahatma Gandhi and the Nehrus. His famous work, *Bharat me Angrezi Raj*, was proscribed by the British Government. Was, for some years, a member of the Congress Working Committee and later he was President of the Indian Peace Council and the India-China Friendship Association.

Shri R. R. Diwakar is a former Minister of Information and Broadcasting and a former Governor of Bihar. He was also President of the Gandhi Peace Foundation.

Shri K. D. Malaviya is Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals in the Union Government. For many years he was General Secretary of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee.

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The Spirit of India

Section I

The Indian Heritage

A Vedic Lesson in Modern Context

Vishva Bandhu Shastri

The essence of the Vedic system of life lay in practice and not in theory, in realization and not in belief, in transformation and not in profession. In other words, instead of evolving an ecclesiastical mentality and bequeathing to posterity an organized church-religion, the Vedic seers fostered broad-based intellectual progress and set up a tradition of philosophical quest and honest effort to know oneself. Theirs was a system not of creed-bound religion but of self-culture, leading straight on to the social ideal of mutual concord and adjustment.

Some of the basic concepts of that system may be gathered from a study of what follows, being a pithy parable from the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* (5.2.1-3):

1. Three classes of Prajāpati's progeny — Devas (gods), Manusyas (men) and Asuras (demons) — lived a life of studentship under their father Prajāpati. On the completion of the course, Devas said unto him, "Be pleased to give us your parting instruction." He uttered the syllable *Da* unto them (and asked), "Have you understood?" They said, "We have. You tell us: 'Control yourselves'." "Yes," said he, "You have understood."
2. Then Manusyas said unto Him, "Be pleased to instruct us." He uttered the same syllable *Da* unto them (and asked), "Have you understood?" They said, "We have. You tell us: 'Be charitable'." "Yes," said he, "You have understood."
3. Then Asuras said unto Him, "Be pleased to instruct us." He uttered the same syllable, *Da* unto them (and asked), "Have you understood?" They said: "We have. You tell us: 'Be merciful'." "Yes," said he, "You have understood."

The three classes of the recipients of the parting instruction represent the three orders of one and the same humanity. Neither are Devas heavenly beings nor Asuras any subterranean evil spirits. For the purpose of the present paper, we propose dealing with only that aspect of the said Vedic Master's lesson which was given for the good of the last mentioned type of men, viz., Asuras. These are men who by the mere act of their existence press hard against their environment. Their mode of living is oppressive and their machinating mentality highly harmful. Mischief is of the very essence of their inner being and they are always after hunting others down for their personal aggrandizement. The wails and cries of their poor, unfortunate victims are of no avail; for, the more they suffer and exhibit the signs of suffering, the more they infuriate their oppressors so that they may inflict fresh wounds and injuries on them.

While addressing this class, Prajāpati indicated the real use of power and prowess. It will be recognized that unless a man has acquired by dint of his laborious efforts a sufficient store of strength, there can hardly be any scope for exercising the divine virtue of mercy. When one is actually mighty, then and then alone, one is in a position to understand the right use

of this newly acquired might. So, merciful behaviour is the first upward step in the moral evolution of a man who has become entitled to a rightful and equal status among his normally functioning fellow beings. He must needs know the due application of his attainments with reference to those who surround him lest he should receive a set-back in his onward march. He should feel that others also like himself are marching onwards and he should therefore march alongside of them and not stand in their way.

Prajāpati's teaching presupposes the acquisition of a proper measure of potentiality (*śakti*) which denotes the capacity to depend upon one's own strength to hold one's ground. Every attractive and properly functioning object in Nature is an embodiment and expression of this potentiality. To attain its normal growth and achieve self-expression by bearing its characteristic fruit is the basic principle which every form of life in the world is pursuing and struggling hard to realize. Weakness as such is not desired by Nature. Beauty, symmetry, harmony, attraction and enjoyment are the outward signs of the internal existence of proper potentiality. It comes as a sweet reward to him who has continuously and successfully fought against the rigours of heat and cold, satisfactorily exercised and trained his physical and mental capacities, put upon himself the armour of a well-regulated diet, physical culture and balanced mind and stood firm against the onslaught of disease and decrepitude. The seed of potentiality lies in every being, but it has to undergo a cultural process before it can shine forth as the beautiful blossom of life.

An individual without his proper share of this all-important potentiality is like a battery which has not been charged properly. One incapable of right reaction is a nonentity, worse than a dead person. For, the dead never create any hopes in others, whereas, appearances being often misleading, these non-characters sometimes do have a false glamour of hope about them. Prajāpati simply ignores these shadowy specimens of humanity. They cannot be his proper audience. They have no ears to hear and, even if they hear, they do not possess the capacity to respond and the tenacity to react.

The Asuras on the other hand are the people who have rather become surcharged with potentiality but lack its proper control and co-ordination. This defect is responsible for their characteristics of morbid lust and inordinate avarice. They seldom think of others, far less of their right to live in this world. They are intemperate in their social behaviour. Whatever they may be after becomes their god, their religion and their everything. Anybody who dares stand in their way ceases to have any right to live in the world which, according to their mode of thinking, is solely meant for their use and enjoyment. They are embodiments of selfishness, ambition, sensuality, avarice and infatuation. They are presumptuous and merciless. Compassion is not known to them. Fellow-feeling and sympathy are foreign to their nature. In fact, they have not a word to say in praise

of the pious and the learned. Praise is meant for themselves alone, all else is detestable.

Potentiality, no doubt, they do possess, but it is being misused. With their undesirable mental attitude, they are a menace to life and have a deadening effect on all that goes to electrify life and beautify its varied expression. They require a chastening influence, maybe, a purgatory process. As the parable goes, they have of their own accord resorted to Prajāpati for guidance. He utilizes the opportunity for setting them right and thereby saving their surplus energy from being misused. And what does he teach them? “Be merciful, my children!” says he unto them, “Live and let others live, for they have as good a right to it as yourselves.” This is the bedrock of all evolutionary processes in our lives as human beings. All that we can pride ourselves upon — our domestic welfare and social development, our educational progress and moral ascent — is due to the salutary effect of the working of this principle.

All individuals should have an equal right to live and live happily. The sun shines for all and the moon sheds her mellow light on all. Showers of rain make no distinction between man and man. Air accords no preferential treatment to anybody. The mother earth has equal love for all her children. But how sad it is that these children should always be trying to jostle one another out of the field. And sadder still that they should be exercising their ingenuity inventing strange arguments in defence of foul play. As human beings, it does not behove us to arrogate to ourselves the sole right of deciding the fate of our fellow beings who may in any respect be weaker than ourselves. The Vedic culture regards them as objects of our sympathy and goodwill. For, proper manifestation of these sovereign qualities in the human heart can be the strongest guarantee of a well-ordered social progress based on a mutually confident and co-operative effort.

Wealth of expression and power of impression on one's surroundings are indications of the possession of potentiality. To be strong enough to keep it unadulterated with arrogance and infatuation is the essence of true manliness. To be just toward oneself and others is the light on the path of valour. It is bitter humiliation to be cowed down by others, but it is doubly so to try unjustly to overawe others. Man is said to have been created by God in his own image. And, what else is the image of God if not love and law together? Look wherever you may, your attentive gaze will ever and ever inform you that love and law are responsible for the presence of all real sweetness and strength in life. It is by realizing the presence of these twin virtues in every movement of every particle of this limitless universe, that one can attain supreme bliss and beatitude. Let humanity, then, be a synonym for love and law. Let us love all that is good and virtuous and let us be law-abiding and orderly in the performance of our duties.

A Fresh Look at the Iṣāvāsyā Upaniṣad

Umashankar Joshi

The Iṣāvāsyā, which is one of the ten important Upanisads and is as a matter of fact the last chapter of the Yajur-Veda Saṁhitā, comprises only eighteen stanzas. Of these eighteen, six stanzas, those from nine to fourteen, have posed a problem to all Āchāryas, from Shankara to Vinoba, as to their correct meaning which would be in consonance with the total interpretation of the Upaniṣad.

The six stanzas are in fact two sets of three stanzas each, the first dealing with the pair *vidyā* and *avidyā*, the second with another pair — that of *saṁbhūti* and *asaṁbhūti*.

According to the author of the Upaniṣad both the terms of the two pairs are deficient as aids to the realization of the Reality. If *avidyā* and *asaṁbhūti* lead to ignorant darkness, *vidyā* and *saṁbhūti* lead to a still greater darkness as it were. The Reality cannot be comprehended with the help of either *vidyā* or *avidyā*, with the help of either *saṁbhūti* or *asaṁbhūti*. He who comprehends both *vidyā* and *avidyā*, both *saṁbhūti* and *asaṁbhūti*, in one ken, swims across death with the help of *avidyā* — with the help of *asaṁbhūti*, and relishes immortality with the help of *vidyā* — with the help of *saṁbhūti*.

Evidently the Rishi reconciles the opposites and finds use for both, even though each is deficient by itself. It is difficult for Shankara to accept the reconciliation and he takes the two terms of the pair as utterly deficient. For him *avidyā* is *karma* — action — and *vidyā* is *devatājñāna* — knowledge of deities. While pressing the word *saṁbhūti* in the fourteenth stanza into serving his interpretation of the Upaniṣad, he goes to the length of suggesting that 'a' is dropped and the word *saṁbhūti* is in fact *a-saṁbhūti*. Acharya Vinoba Bhawe says: There is no unanimity about the meaning of the words *saṁbhūti* and *asaṁbhūti* employed here, nor is there any hope of there being any in future. He rests content with taking *saṁbhūti* to mean, development of good dispositions and *asaṁbhūti* to mean repression of evil dispositions.

If I have dealt with the six stanzas in some detail, it is to show how, for example, an earlier Āchārya as well as a contemporary one have to struggle with these stanzas in order to see that they yield some meaning which can form a part of the total meaning-pattern of the Upaniṣad. We find them handling these six stanzas, to say the least, as if they were dark spots and trying to lend meaning to the terms in the light of what seems to them to be the total meaning of the Upaniṣad.

The difficulty of the Āchāryas with the terms *vidyā-avidyā* and *saṁbhūti-asaṁbhūti* makes one-third of the Upaniṣad of doubtful significance, not to talk of the damage it would do to the sum of the meaning of the whole.

It does not seem likely that a Rishi who deals with the problem of existence¹ in such a short space would leave one-third of his writing ambiguous or obscure. I was prompted to seek guidance from the Rishi

himself and I got a clue, which he had provided even before he launched upon the discussion of the utility of the two pairs of opposites *vidyā-avidyā* and *sambhūti-asambhūti* in the six stanzas, from the ninth to the fourteenth. The clue, lo and behold, is in the previous, i.e., the eighth stanza, in the line ‘*Kavir manīṣī paribhūḥ svayambhūḥ*’!

Let us have a close look at this line. In fact, it sums up the characteristics of the spiritual aspirant enumerated in the sixth and the seventh stanzas, which state that the spiritual aspirant sees all creatures in the Self and the Self in all creatures, to him all creatures have become his Self and he realizes the underlying unity in all creation. Such a person, the Rishi now adds in the eighth stanza, is ‘*Kavir manīṣī paribhūḥ svayambhūḥ*’. He is a *kavi* — he knows, and sings of, the Many. He is a *manīṣī* — he contemplates the One. He is *paribhūḥ* — he encircles, he feels the all-pervading existences, in fact, becomes all existences. He is *svayambhūḥ* — he is self-existent. He feels all becomings and is himself pure Being. The Rishi adds that such a one is able to put all the things in the universe in their proper places for all times.

Having enunciated this, the Rishi proceeds to expound in detail first in three stanzas how the spiritual aspirant avails himself of *avidyā* and *vidyā* to be faithful to the Many and the One and then in another three stanzas how he avails himself of *asambhūti* and *sambhūti* to be faithful to all becomings and pure Being.

According to Shankara and Sāyaṇa, *kavi* is a *krānt-darshin*, one who sees beyond, beyond the present time and present appearances. But the word *kavi* seems to mean a “poet”, one who revels in images, one who deals with forms, one who accepts the world of the Many. I am reminded of Rabindranath’s very apt avowal on his seventieth birthday. He said: *Āmi kavimātra, āmi vichitrer dūt*: I am only a poet, I am the messenger of the Beautiful, the variegated Reality. He disowned the role of one who had only to do with the one unvariegated Reality — with the *niranjana*. *Manīṣī* is the lord of the mind, the *sthitaprajña* — the master-contemplator, who realizes the One.

The *kavi*, one who revels in the Many, avails himself of *avidyā* — the knowledge of the Many, the *manīṣī*, the contemplator of the One, avails himself of *vidyā* — the knowledge of the One.

The Upaniṣad at the very outset posits *Īśa* “the Supreme One” and *idam sarvam* — “all this”. *Vidyā* deals with “the Supreme One”, *avidyā* with “all this”. The Rishi wants to emphasize in the three stanzas on *vidyā-avidyā* that not only the votaries of *avidyā*, i.e., those whose interest lies in “all this”, go to blind darkness, but those of *vidyā*, i.e., those who are interested in “the Supreme One”, also are doomed to an even greater darkness as it were. The Reality cannot be comprehended with the help of either of the two but can be experienced by availing oneself of both. Through *avidyā*, i.e., knowing the Many, the spiritual aspirant can swim

across the current of death and through *vidyā*, i.e., knowing the One, he can relish immortality.

If the *kavir-manīṣī* deals with the *avidyā-vidyā* pair of opposites the *paribhūḥ-svayambhūḥ* deals with the *asambhūti-sambhūti* pair of opposites. *Paribhūḥ* is, as we have seen, one who encircles, one who feels the all-pervading existences — becomes all becomings. *Asambhūti* is nothing but all becomings. The text gives two synonyms of *asambhūti*, viz., *asambhava* and *vināśa*, which make its meaning all the more clear. *Asambhūti* is 'destruction'. All becomings are passing phases, they are destroyed. The very first line of the Upanisad referred to *Īśa* — the Supreme One, and *idam sarvam* — "all this" which is *jagat*, which is "on the move", which is prey to destruction. *Svayambhūḥ* is one who is self-existent, one who feels pure Being — *sambhūti*.

The Rishi wants to emphasize that not only those who have a feel of all destructible becomings — *asambhūti* — go to ignorant darkness but those who have a feel of the pure Being — *sambhūti* — are also doomed to an even greater darkness as it were. The Reality can be experienced by availing oneself of both. Through *asambhūti* — feeling all fragmented becomings — one can go across the world of death and through *sambhūti* — feeling the pure total Being — one can relish immortality.

Thus we can see the meaning of the six stanzas being illumined by the line '*Kavir manīṣī paribhūḥ svayambhūḥ*', which already occurs in the previous stanza, *kavir-manīṣī* throwing light on the meaning of *avidyā-vidyā* and *paribhūḥ-svayambhūḥ* on that of *asambhūti-sambhūti*; in a way that is perfectly in keeping with the meaning of the Upanisad as a whole.

In unlocking the meaning of the six controversial stanzas, I have done nothing more than just lay hand on the key that the Rishi has taken care of providing well before embarking upon a detailed account of the grand synthesis he has in view.

¹ Gandhiji said that if all Hindu scriptures were lost and the first two stanzas of the *Īśāvāsya* Upanisad—even the first one alone—were saved, the message of Hinduism would be preserved for posterity.

This Upanisad has a relevance to the modern age. To quote Gandhiji "Socialism was not born with the discovery of the misuse of capital by capitalists. As I have contended, socialism, even communism, is explicit in the first verse of *Īśopanisad*."

A Decade of Vedic Studies in India and Abroad

R. N. Dandekar

Vedic philology must be said to be particularly fortunate on account of the fact that competent surveys of the work done in that branch of Sanskrit studies have been published from time to time. For instance, even as early as in 1893, Ludwig wrote “about the most recent works in the field of Ṛgveda-research”.¹ A far more comprehensive attempt in that direction is made by Oldenberg in his *Vedaforschung*,² in which that profound scholar has stated and expertly evaluated the methods adopted and the results achieved in Vedic research till 1905. Renou, in his *Les maîtres de la philologie védique*,³ critically examines the contributions to Vedic philology of Roth, Grassmann, Ludwig, Max Müller, Bergaigne, Pischel, Geldner, and Oldenberg. Then there have also been published “Twenty-five Years of Vedic Studies”,⁴ “Vedic Studies: Retrospect and Prospect”,⁵ “Vedic, Sanskrit, and Prakrit Studies”,⁶ and “Vedic Religion and Mythology: A Survey of the Work of Some Western Scholars”⁷ by Dandekar. Such periodic stock-taking no doubt serves a useful purpose — on the one hand, by underscoring the main lines on which the research is proceeding, and, on the other, by isolating, perhaps indirectly, the principal desiderata in the field. But what is specially important is that it also testifies to the claim that the Veda still remains an almost inexhaustible subject for study and research.⁸ The following survey, which generally covers the last decade (1961-1971), which deals only with the textual, exegetical, and linguistic aspects of the study of only the Vedic *Samhitās*, and which, of necessity, has to be representative rather than exhaustive and objective rather than estimative, will certainly further confirm that claim.

To begin with the publication of Vedic texts, recent years have seen the reprints, mostly by means of offset-process, of several *editiones principes* of Vedic *Samhitās*, which have served as solid basis for Vedic research for over a century, such as those of the *Ṛgveda* with Sāyaṇa’s commentary by Max Müller,⁹ the *Atharvaveda* in the Śaunaka recension by Roth and Whitney,¹⁰ the *Sāmaveda* by Th. Benfey,¹¹ and the *Maitrāyaṇī-Samhitā*¹² and the *Kāthaka-Samhitā*¹³ of the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda* by Leopold von Schroeder. A reprint of J. Scheftelowitz’s *Die Apokryphen des Rigveda*¹⁴ was issued in Germany in 1966. In this very context must also be mentioned the reprints of R.T.H. Griffith’s English translations with popular commentaries of the *Ṛgveda*,¹⁵ the *Atharvaveda*,¹⁶ the *Sāmaveda*,¹⁷ and the texts of the *Śukla-Yajurveda*,¹⁸ of Whitney’s English translation, with critical and exegetical commentary and introduction, of the *Śaunakīya-Atharvaveda*,¹⁹ of Bloomfield’s English translation of select *Hymns of the Atharvaveda* together with extracts from the ritual books and the commentaries;²⁰ and of Keith’s English translation with a running commentary of *The Veda of the Black Yajus School Entitled Taittirīya Samhitā*.²¹

As for the new work relating to the *Ṛgveda*, a reference may, first of all, be made to the edition of the *Ṛgveda-Samhitā* brought out by the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, between 1963

and 1966. This edition in eight volumes contains the *Padapāṭha*, the critically edited texts of the available portions from the commentaries of Skandasvāmin, Udgitha, and Venkaṭa-Mādhava, and of Mudgala's *Vṛtti* (which is a condensed version of Sāyana's commentary). The eighth volume comprises indexes of *mantras*, *padas*, *ṛsis*, *devatās*, and metres. It has been generally believed that the text of the *Ṛgveda-Samhitā*, which had been transmitted from generation to generation by means of oral tradition, has been preserved in its pristine purity through all these centuries. However, a new view-point has become evident in this connection in recent years. Viśva Bandhu, for instance, refers to the havoc which the phenomenon of phonetic change has worked with the Vedic texts and suggests that the various Vedic recensions need to be treated as so many time-worn manuscripts first to be deciphered and then to be text-critically studied.²² Esteller believes that the present *Ṛgveda-Samhitā* is a palimpsest, which differs from the original *Ṛgveda* of the Ṛsi-Kavis in the matter of orthoepy, *sandhi*, metre, rhythm, and word-order, as also in the substituted (and even interpolated) text-portions which affect the meaning of the original hymns. He points out that the text-critical approach, based fundamentally on metre and archaism (*plus* parallelism), is capable of restoring the primitive text of the Ṛsi-Kavis, which will be metrically-archaically correct and pattern-perfect and free from redactorial meddlings and excrescences. Esteller has been publishing many studies²³ to demonstrate his methods to go back from the *lipi* to the oral *śruti* of the *Samhitā*. These views are based on the assumption that the original *Ṛgveda* was grammatically and metrically perfect. Such an assumption is, however, not necessarily valid. It is well known that quite a number of *Ṛgvedic* hymns and verses show obvious irregularities in respect of person, number, etc. It is not at all convincing to suggest, as Viśva Bandhu seems to do, that all these irregularities are the result of phonetic changes and deficiencies. Esteller also seems to charge the *Samhitākāra* — of course, unwarrantedly — with an unbelievably thorough-going and extensive interference with the original composition of the Ṛsi-Kavis.

The text of the *Ṛgveda*, which is generally current at present, belongs to the Śākala recension. The manuscripts of two other recensions of that Veda, namely, the Āśvalāyana and the Śāṅkhāyana, were reported by Peterson to have existed in the Alwar collection. But nothing further was known about their nature and contents. Recently the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur, has announced the project of editing and publishing these two *Samhitās* of the *Ṛgveda* with their *Padapāṭhas*. In the mean time, a preliminary paper on this subject was presented at the last session of the All-India Oriental Conference.²⁴

Among the commentators of the *Ṛgveda*, the importance of Sāyana continues to be duly recognized, and one still occasionally hears the exhortation : *Sāyaṇān na pramaditavyam*.²⁵ However, speaking about "Sāyana

utilizing Pāṇini in his *Ṛgveda-Bhāṣya*”, particularly with reference to *RV* I. 1-19, G.V. Devasthali points out,²⁶ among other things, that Sāyaṇa often gives two or even three alternative explanations regarding the formation or accentuation of Vedic words, quoting different sets of *sūtras*; that he frequently resorts to the principle of *vyatyaya*, in all its varieties; that he invokes the authority of *gaṇas* — but not always with justice; and that his explanations are, in many cases, fanciful. Similarly, Palsule draws attention to some grammatically questionable usages in Sāyana’s commentary, such as, *kṛṣata* (VIII.7-30), *prāśamsiṣātām* (VIII.8-12), and *āhvaye* (VIII.13-3).²⁷ In a series of articles published in the *Gurukula-Patrikā*,²⁸ M.M. Pantula has made an analytical study of Skandasvāmin’s commentary on the *Ṛgveda*. Skandasvāmin’s interpretations are mainly historical and only partially ritualistic. He does not pay much heed to the *chandās* or the *vinīyoga*, but, in many cases, he is seen to controvert the traditional view regarding the *devatas* of various *mantras*. In connection with the relationship of Skandasvāmin with Mādhava, the commentator of the *Sāmaveda*, it was suggested that Mādhava was a disciple of Skandasvāmin and that Mādhava’s father Nārāyaṇa had collaborated with Skandasvāmin and Udgītha in the writing of the *Ṛgbhāṣya*.²⁹ A. Venkatasubbiah rejects this view and points out that it was Skandasvāmin who had borrowed from Mādhava.³⁰ He further adds that Skandasvāmin’s commentary is called *Ṛgarthāgamasaṁhṛti* (Epitome of the commentaries on the *Ṛgveda*), which fact implies that he must have extensively drawn upon his predecessors. S.K. Gupta has re-edited Rāvaṇa’s commentary on the thirteen *Ṛgveda*-verses (found in the commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* by Surya Paṇḍita Daivajña), with an introduction which contains a comparative study of Rāvaṇa and other commentators.³¹ In his various writings on the commentary on the *Ṛgveda* by Dayānanda Sarasvatī, Gupta has reiterated the view that Dayānanda Sarasvatī presents a masterly application of the etymological method of Vedic interpretation and that he is more scientific than Sāyaṇa and other *Bhāṣyakāras*.³²

The *Brhaddevatā* attributed to Śaunaka is an important ancillary work relating to the *Ṛgveda*. A new edition of this work, containing the original Sanskrit text, Hindi translation, and various illustrative and comparative appendices, was published in 1963 in the Kashi Sanskrit Series.³³ A reprint of Macdonell’s well-known edition of that work was also issued in 1965.³⁴ A paper on the language and composition of another ancillary text connected with the *Ṛgveda*, namely, the *Ṛgvidhāna*, appears in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*.³⁵ In the *Padapāṭha*, when a combination of three words, having occurred once, occurs again in a subsequent place, the *padas* for that combination are not given in the later cases of its occurrence. The main authority for such omissions is the practice of the traditional reciters of the *Ṛgveda*. These omissions in the *Padapāṭha* are technically called *galitas* (or *gaḷantas*). The only text which considers

galitas is the *Galitapradīpa* by Laksmīdharasūri. It was recently published by the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya in its *Laghugrantharatna-prabhāvalī*.³⁶ It has, however, been pointed out that the *Galitapradīpa* has not succeeded in satisfactorily formulating the rules regarding the omissions in the *Padapāṭha*.³⁷ Among other minor ancillary texts, which were published in the course of the last few years, may be mentioned the *Ṛgvedaghanaśāra*, the *Gānilakṣaṇa* (which deals with the words which occur in different forms in different contexts), the *Svaralakṣaṇa*, the *Ṛgvedīyaṇṭālakṣaṇa* together with Satyavrata's gloss, the *Ṛgvedīyaśamānalakṣaṇa* and the *Upalekhasūtra* (which deal with the division of the *padas*),³⁸ the *Ṛkṣpārāyanakrama* (in Telugu script),³⁹ the *Sarvānukramaṇī* and the *Nāvāyogapāṭha* (which deal with the two *Ṛgvedic* traditions in Kerala, namely Trīśivapurī and Tirunāvāy),⁴⁰ and the *Aṣṭākṣarī-baṭha-paribhāṣā* (also called the *Padavarṇalakṣaṇaparibhāṣā*).⁴¹

Louis Renou's contributions to Vedic philology are surprisingly manifold. So far as the exegesis of the *Ṛgveda* is concerned, he has, in the various volumes of his very stimulating *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*,⁴² treated many *Ṛgvedic* hymns, such as the hymns to Varuṇa,⁴³ to Soma,⁴⁴ to Maruts,⁴⁵ to Agni,⁴⁶ to Sūrya, Savitr, Viṣṇu, etc.,⁴⁷ to Aśvins,⁴⁸ and to Indra.⁴⁹ Another scholar who had occupied himself with *Ṛgvedic* exegesis rather in a big way was H.D. Velankar. His new English translation, with critical exegetical notes, of Maṇḍalas VII, II, and III was published in 1963, 1966, and 1968 respectively.⁵⁰ Adopting his teacher Velankar's methodology, S.A. Upadhyaya has translated into English, with critical notes, the hymns to the Ṛbhus in the *Ṛgveda*.⁵¹ It is, indeed, a pity that S.S. Bhawe's untimely death, a few years ago, should have left his *The Soma-hymns of the Ṛgveda*⁵² incomplete. The main plank of Bhawe's exegetical method was the utmost reliance on Pāṇini's grammar for the understanding of the *Ṛgveda*. Deo Patanjali Shastri also has attempted a critical study of *Ṛgveda* I. 137-163, particularly from the point of view of Pāṇini's grammar.⁵³ In this connection, it is advisable to remember the warning that the tentative view that Pāṇini is helpful for the interpretation of the *Ṛgveda* can be pushed to a hazardous extreme. A. Venkatasubbiah is a veteran of Vedic exegesis, and it is gratifying to see that his scattered writings in that field have been recently brought together in two volumes.⁵⁴ They include, among others, papers on "an unusual type of Vedic similes", "*Ṛgveda* VIII. 39.3", "*ṚV* V. 78.8", and "Sotṛ and cognate words in the *ṚV*", and the discussions of such words as *akra*, *sūnṛta*, *puramdhī*, *vayuna*, etc.

Certain *Ṛgvedic* hymns constitute a permanent challenge, as it were, to the exegetical ingenuity of the Vedists. One such hymn is I. 164, which is popularly known as the *Asya-vāmīya-sūkta*. V.S. Agrawala has studied this hymn in a whole book entitled *The Thousand-syllabled Speech (sahasrākṣara vāk)*, being a study in cosmic symbolism in its Vedic version:

Vision in Long Darkness.⁵⁵ According to Agrawala, the single purpose of Dīrghatamas, the seer of this hymn, is to bring together a number of Vedic doctrines about cosmogony (*śṛṣṭividya*). In fact, the central theme of most of that scholar's writings on the Veda is that the Veda constitutes a veritable storehouse of cosmic knowledge which is conveyed through a vast and varied symbolism. The *Asya-vāmīya-sūkta* is also interpreted on the basis of the assumptions that our ancient sages lived in the North Polar region for a fairly long time, that they recorded in hymns such as I.164 the astronomical scenes and conditions as were actually seen by them there, and that they evolved suitable sacrificial systems which they employed to measure the time-units.⁵⁶ Another view is that, that hymn deals with the sun (as the centre of cosmic life), its rays, its movements and effects.⁵⁷ Perhaps the most recent study of the hymn with 'argument', translation, exegetical notes, etc., is offered by W. Norman Brown in his "Agni, sun, sacrifice and *vāc*: A sacerdotal ode by Dīrghatamas."⁵⁸ V.V. Brodov,⁵⁹ J. Gonda,⁶⁰ and R. Ambrosini⁶¹ have discussed another *Rgvedic* hymn of perennial interest, namely, the *Nāsādīya-sūkta* (X.129). The Russian scholar Brodov discovers its parallel in a Babylonian myth of creation. Two other Russian scholars, T.Ya. Elizarenkova and A.Ya. Syrkin, have attempted a structural description of the contents of the *Rgvedic* wedding hymn (X. 85) from the point of view of semiotics.⁶² In that connection, they speak of four levels of analysis — mythological, cosmological, ritual, and psychogonical. They also provide a Russian translation of the hymn. According to Alsdorf, the second part of *RV* X. 85 (which he calls *Suryasūkta*), from stanza 20 onwards, can be so interpreted as to confirm generally the order of the marriage-rites.⁶³ Analysing another hymn, namely, *RV* V. 78, Alsdorf points out⁶⁴ that it is of the nature of *Legendenzauber* wherein an account of historical or mythical event is followed by an incantation or a spell which receives its magic power from the truth of the story. As against Thieme, he believes that, in that hymn, the *ākhyāna* verses and the appended spell are not the work of the same poet. The concluding charm is the real starting point, while the two preceding legends are chosen later as a kind of preamble.

As for the interpretation of other *Rgvedic* hymns, W. Norman Brown reverts to his favourite theme of 'act of truth' with reference to X. 34.⁶⁵ Stating that the act of truth is defined by Burlingame as a "formal declaration of fact, accompanied by a command or resolution or prayer that the purpose of the agent shall be accomplished", Brown points out that *RV* X. 34, which is popularly known as "Gambler's Lament", is not so much a lament or even a prayer, as an illustration of "act of truth." Stanzas 1-11 describe the dominance which the passion to gamble has exercised over the gambler's life; in st. 12, he makes his act of truth (*ṛta*); in st. 13, Savitr declares that the act of truth is successful. Velankar finds in *RV* X. 135 the *Rgvedic* origin of the story of Naciketas.⁶⁶

The basic theme of that hymn with its sacrificial setting is utilized in the *Katha-Upaniṣad* for demonstrating the futility of worldly pleasures to be derived from sacrifices as against the knowledge of the Self. The Āpī deities, according to Agrawala, are like the necessary principles on which the foundation and structure of the house or the body are built.⁶⁷ Writing about the *Āsvin-sūkta*, *ṚV* I. 34, the same scholar identifies the two Āsvins with *prāna* and *apāna*, which weave a kind of *yantra* or protective armour round each person.⁶⁸ V. N. Toporov discusses the ciphering of the name *Vāc Āmbhṛṇi* in the sound structure of *ṚV* X. 125.⁶⁹ It has been suggested that the *Apālā-sūkta* (*ṚV* VIII. 91) contains the description of a river and is probably concerned with Indra's main functions, namely, releasing the blocked waters and digging the course of rivers.⁷⁰ A new translation and exegesis of the problem hymn, *ṚV* II. 38, are presented by S.D. Atkins with an examination of earlier attempts.⁷¹ The famous dialogue between Yama and Yamī (*ṚV* X. 10) has engaged the attention of several Vedic scholars in recent years. It has been suggested that Yama and Yamī represent the moon and the night⁷² or that they were actually husband and wife.⁷³ Ulrich Schneider, however, thinks that the hymn is neither an *ākhyāna* nor a ballad with a moral, but that it is intended to serve a ritual purpose.⁷⁴ Many similarities are detected by Goldman in the *ākhyānas* of Yama-Yamī (X. 10), Saranyū-Vivasvat (X. 17. 1-2), and Purūravas-Urvaśī (X. 95), the principal theme of all the three being the untenable relationship between man and woman.⁷⁵ It is pointed out by him that, in all the three *ākhyānas*, the male is mortal and the female immortal and that the *ākhyānas* refer to the essential connection of the all-potent sacred speech with the inspired poet-priest for the generation of the offspring, namely, Agni. J.C. Wright introduces elements of the Old Testament and Christian theology into the interpretation of *ṚV* X. 95, seeing a parallelism between Urvaśī and the Mother of God, and Purūravas and the Holy Spirit.⁷⁶ Sadashiv A. Dange understands *ṚV* X. 101 as a pastoral hymn,⁷⁷ and seeks to explain the ritual relevance of the sex-symbolism in the Vrsākapi-hymn⁷⁸ and the Nābhānediṣṭa-hymn.⁷⁹ It is argued that the single verse beginning with *arvāñcam indram*, which has been regarded as a *khila*-hymn, is not a *khila* after all but only the tenth verse of *ṚV*. X. 128.⁸⁰ But it is pointed out that the verse has to be regarded as being a *khila*, since only in some recension of the *ṚV*, not known at present, is that verse included as the tenth verse of the *Vihavya-sūkta* (X. 128).⁸¹

Like the whole hymns, single R̥gvedic *mantras* or *pādas* have also been subjected to a critical study. The *pāda*, *āghātibhur iva dhāvayan*, occurring in *ṚV* X. 146. 2 is interpreted by Oldenberg as "just as (an aristocratic person), accompanied by musicians who sound the *āghāta*, enters", and by Geldner, as "like one who sets out under the sounding of cymbals". Thieme has recently explained the *dṛṣṭānta* with "just as (a strong person)

makes (the dangerous animals) run away by means of the drummer-beaters (who mutually second themselves by their sounds).⁸² This explanation is certainly more appropriate in the particular context. In conformity with his view regarding the necessity of a text-critical reconstruction of the *Ṛgveda*, mentioned above, Vishva Bandhu suggests that presumably *ṚV* VII. 66.16 was originally a *gāyatrī*, that the word *uccarat* occurring in it was originally an adjective participle with the accent on the second syllable, that the word later came to be regarded as a finite verb with the accent on the first syllable, and that this shift of the accent represented a shift of interest in actual life.⁸³ This seems rather farfetched. Again, Vishva Bandhu's explanation of *yaḥ* in the third *pāda* of the famous *Sāvitrī-Gāyatrī* (*ṚV* III. 62.10), which he connects with *bhargah* in the second *pāda*, as neuter nom. sing. from a hypothetical pronoun *yas* is hardly convincing.⁸⁴ A reference may be made here to the interesting view that *kasmai* occurring in the refrain of the first nine verses of the *Hiranyagarbha-sūkta* (X. 121: *kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema*) stands for *ekasmai*, the dropping of the *ekāra* being *chāndasa*.⁸⁵ The purport of the hymn is thus made out to be emphatically monotheistic. It is averred that Śabara (X.3.15) and Appayya Dīksita (commenting on *Śāṅkarabhāṣya* I. 2.23) also explain *kasmai* as *ekasmai*. Apart from the accentual difficulty involved, it would appear, as suggested by Dandekar,⁸⁶ that the *Hiranyagarbha-sūkta* had originated out of the feeling that the mythological gods were quite inadequate as authors of the universe, that the poet was not sure as to who could be said to have been responsible for the process of creation beginning with the emergence of the golden embryo, and that he was still groping and therefore asking: *kasmai devāya*. *Nivids* are formulas in prose recited by the Hotṛ in Soma-sacrifices, and are included in a *Khila* of the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā* of the Śākala school. They are important from two points of view, namely, of the history of the Vedic ritual in its initial stages of development and of the history of Vedic prose. In his small monograph entitled *A Critical Study of the Nivids*,⁸⁷ S.P. Niyogi has analysed and examined the *nivids* both linguistically and ritualistically.

In his few but perceptive writings of recent times, F.B.J. Kuiper has highlighted what he considers to be the peculiar character of the contents of the *Ṛgveda*. According to him, the *Ṛgveda* is, in its essence, a text-book for the ceremonies of the New Year festival. Geldner and Renou overemphasize the importance of the literary contests for which the *Ṛgvedic* poetry is thought to be designed. Thieme criticizes this tendency and stresses the necessity of looking for a serious, genuinely religious content of the *Ṛgvedic* hymns. Kuiper believes that the central theme of the *Ṛgveda*, namely, the Indra-Vṛtra-contest, represents an Aryan myth of creation, that the Vedic people possessed a conception of time as a cyclical process, that at least some hymns to Indra concern the critical period of transition from the old to the new year, and that at

least some of the chariot-races (*ājī*) must have taken place at that time, which implies that men tried to assist Indra in his fight against Death and Darkness through their ritual.⁸⁸ Speaking of Usas and the New Year, the Dutch Vedist defends Hillebrandt's view that the twenty Ṛgvedic hymns to Usas do not celebrate the dawn of every new day but especially the first dawn of the new year. In this context he incidentally suggests that the most fundamental misunderstandings about Vedic mythology arise from the fact that the mythical identity of the nocturnal sky with the nether-world has scarcely ever been clearly stated.

Elizarenkova's approach to the description of the contents of the *Ṛgveda* is quite different.⁸⁹ Her starting point is the requests addressed by the Vedic poets to different deities in their hymns. She argues that it is possible to describe the contents of the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* with the help of a model consisting of two parts — an *explicative* one consisting of a number of levels made by oppositions of the corresponding distinctive units, and an *appellative* one consisting of requests being in accordance with the explicative part. Incidentally it may be pointed out that W. Ruben has made an interesting attempt to institute a comparison between the *Ṛgveda* and Homer's epics.⁹⁰

Perhaps the most noteworthy recent event, so far as the *Atharvaveda* is concerned, is the publication with critical notes of the two volumes of the *Paippalāda-Samhitā* of that Veda mainly based on the palm-leaf manuscripts discovered in Orissa.⁹¹ The nomenclature "Kashmirian Atharvaveda", by which that recension had been known till recently is now shown to have become inept, for, the Paippalāda tradition has persisted in Orissa and other eastern regions of India since long. According to the editor of the new *Paippalāda-Samhitā*, Durgamohan Bhattacharyya, a comparison of the material common to the Śaunaka and the Paippalāda tends to show that the readings in the Paippalāda are generally better and probably more acceptable as genuine.⁹² In his remarks on this new edition of the *Paippalāda-Samhitā*, Karl Hoffmann points out certain deficiencies in that edition and adds that it has not rendered superfluous the editions of the *Kashmirian Atharvaveda* by Barrett and Raghu Vira.⁹³ Mention may also be made here of Renou's critical notes on the Paippalāda version of the *Atharvaveda*.⁹⁴ As for the Śaunaka recension of the *Atharvaveda*, apart from the reprint of the edition by Roth and Whitney (referred to above), a new edition of it, together with the *Padapāṭha* and Sāyaṇa's commentary, has been published by the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute between 1960 and 1964.⁹⁵ That edition also contains annotations comprising complete text-comparative data drawn from several other basic texts and the indexes of *mantras*, *padas*, *ṛsis*, etc.

From among the ancillary texts relating to the *Atharvaveda*, a reprint of Whitney's edition of the *Atharvaveda-Prāṭisākhya* or *Śaunakīya*—

Caturādhyāyikā was issued in 1962,⁹⁶ while a new critical edition of that work with introduction, English translation, copious notes, and indexes was published in 1968.⁹⁷ B.R. Modak continues his series of papers on the *Parīṣiṣṭas* of the *Atharvaveda* and has, in recent years, published brief studies of Pāśupata-Vrata (from *AV Par.* 40),⁹⁸ the *Nakṣatra-Kalpa*,⁹⁹ and the *Varnapaṭala*.¹⁰⁰ Speaking of new materials for Atharvavedic studies, Durgamohan Bhattacharyya draws attention to Govindasūri's *Ātharvaṇarahasya*, a manuscript of which is deposited in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.¹⁰¹ Govindasūri, a Śaunakīya Brāhmaṇa, belonged to the nineteenth century and was apparently a protege of H.H. Wilson. The *Ātharvaṇarahasya* gives in forceful Sanskrit a general account of the *Atharvaveda*, citing a large number of ancient texts in support of the view that that Veda occupies a very high place in the Vedic canon. The author emphasizes the philosophical trend of the *Atharvaveda*-literature, and names and summarizes as many as fifty-seven Atharvanic *Upaniṣads*.

The *Lākṣā-sūkta* of the *Atharvaveda* (V. 5) has always intrigued the students of that Veda, and the interest in it does not seem to have waned even now, for, several studies of it have appeared in recent times.¹⁰² Incidentally it may be recalled that Thieme connects the words *lākṣā* and *lakṣa* respectively with the colour and the large number of lachs (salmon) fish.¹⁰³ H.R. Diwekar writes about the Mṛgāra-hymns in the *Atharvaveda*.¹⁰⁴ The term *mṛgārasūktāni* occurs in *Kausika-sūtra* 9.1, while *KS* 27.34 has only *mṛgāraiḥ*. Sāyana and Keśava understand by *Mṛgārasūktas* the ten consecutive hymns beginning with *AV* IV.21. According to Dārila, however, only seven hymns, namely, *AV* IV.23-29, are to be regarded as Mṛgāra-hymns. On the basis of *AV* III. 12 (*Śālāsūkta*) and also *AV* IX.3, an attempt is made to set forth the conception of a house (23 requirements of a good house are specifically mentioned) and domestic facilities in the *Atharvaveda*.¹⁰⁵ S.K. Gupta offers a new interpretation of *AV* I.14 which relates to *kulapā kanyā*.¹⁰⁶ The fourteenth *kāṇḍa* of the *Atharvaveda*, which consists only of two fairly longish wedding hymns, is commented upon by Gonda.¹⁰⁷ The same scholar also deals at some length with the *Ucchiṣṭa-sūkta* (*AV* XI.7).¹⁰⁸ The *ucchiṣṭa* (residue of oblation; in the present context of the *brahmaudana*) was a very potent substance, which, among other things, brought about an uninterrupted connection with the next ritual. Apart from its connective and consecratory function, its character as a container of special productive power is also duly emphasized. In connection with the *ucchiṣṭa*, Gonda draws attention to the concept of Śeṣa as the supporter of the earth. The four *Rātri-sūktas* in the nineteenth *kāṇḍa* of the *Atharvaveda* (47-50) have always posed a veritable exegetical problem. S. Insler has recently subjected those hymns to text-criticism and has suggested many plausible emendations which do yield a smoother meaning.¹⁰⁹ Curiously enough, Insler's starting point is the consideration of the word *taskara* which occurs five times in the *R̥gveda*. He derives that

word from *tamas* and *cara* — regarding it as a descriptive term (like *rātricara*) expressive of a thief's most salient trait. Mention may be made here also of Alsdorf's notes on some *Atharvaveda* hymns, such as, IV.12, VI.12, VI.134, and VII.38.¹¹⁰

Franklin Edgerton thinks that the word *gāyatrī* occurring in *AV* XII.1.10 denotes the famous Sāvitrī-Gāyatrī (*RV* III.62.10).¹¹¹ In that hymn, Rohita is to be identified with the sun and is also assimilated to an earthly king. According to Edgerton, the verse, *AV* XIII.1.10, seems to suggest that the sun might not rise if the Gāyatrī was not recited. Incidentally, that scholar further thinks that the Gāyatrī is indicated also in *AV* IX.10.19. The word *trisaptāḥ* occurring in *AV* I.1.1 has been interpreted variously by commentators as well as modern scholars. But it is rightly argued that, in view of the context, it must be taken to indicate some aspect of speech. According to Vishva Bandhu, the universe is constituted of *nāma* and *rūpa*, and the entirety of *nāma* is referred to by 'triplets' (three genders, three numbers) and 'septets' (seven cases).¹¹² It would, however, be more cogent to understand *trisaptāḥ* as denoting twenty-one vowels. Karl Hoffmann discusses the phrase *utsam akṣitam* in *AV* IV.27.2,¹¹³ while Dipak Bhattacharyya avers that *AVP* V.2, which corresponds with *AVS* IV.1, preserves a purer version.¹¹⁴

The Āyurveda is traditionally regarded as the *upaveda* of the *Atharvaveda*. In his treatise entitled *The Atharvaveda and the Āyurveda*, V.W. Karambelkar, deals with various aspects of the relationship between the two.¹¹⁵ He discusses, among others, such topics as medical tradition, origin of disease, Atharvan anatomy, and major diseases mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*. N.J. Shende, in his *Kavi and Kāvya in the Atharvaveda*, presents an analysis of the *Atharvaveda* from the poetical point of view,¹¹⁶ while the Atharvanic ceremonies concerning *śānti* and *pūsti* form the theme of a Sanskrit thesis recently published.¹¹⁷ Writing about the *Brahmaveda* and the *Brahmasūtra*, Durgamohan Bhattacharyya points out that the Paippalāda concepts of *brahman* (as embodied in VIII.9.10, XVI.103.6, VIII.9.2, XVIII.26.1, VIII.9.12) have directly contributed to the development of the Upanisadic thought, and that some *sūtras* of Bādarāyana have been written with particular reference to the *Brahma-sūktas* of the *Brahmaveda* (for instance, *BS* I.3.1: *AVP* XVII 8.3; *BS* III.3.22: *AVP* VIII.9.1).¹¹⁸ One Russian scholar, namely, A.V. Gerasimov, has attempted an analysis of the magic hymns of the *Atharvaveda*,¹¹⁹ while another Russian scholar, V.N. Toporov, seeks to reconstruct Indo-European ritual and ritual-poetic formulas in the light of the Atharvanic charms.¹²⁰

Curiously enough, several translations of the *Sāmaveda* — either of the whole *Samhitā* or of some portions of it — have been published in the course of the last decade. Some of these are: The Sanskrit text of 114 hymns of the Āgneya-parvan with an expository translation in English and an essay on Agni by Lahiri;¹²¹ English translation of the *Sāmaveda* by Devi Chand

(who has also translated the *White Yajurveda* into English);¹²² an edition of the *Sāmaveda* with a Marathi translation and another with a Hindi translation by Satavalekar;¹²³ the *Sāmaveda* with the commentary of Sāyaṇa and a Bengali translation by Dandiswamin;¹²⁴ the *Sāmaveda* with Hindi introduction and commentary by Vaidyanath Sastri;¹²⁵ and the hymns of the *Sāmaveda-Saṁhitā* translated with notes by Dharma Deva.¹²⁶ A mention may be made, in this very context, of the *Pūrvārcika* of the *Sāmaveda* with the *Sāma-saṁskāra-bhāṣya* by Swami Bhagavadacarya¹²⁷ and with the *Muni-bhāṣya* by Swami Brahmapuni (which latter seeks to give an *ādhyātmika* interpretation).¹²⁸

Caland's excellent edition of the *Ārṣeyakalpa* of the *Sāmaveda* (first published at Leipzig in 1908) was reprinted in 1966.¹²⁹ In the same year, an edition of another ancillary text of the *Sāmaveda*, namely, the *Naigeyasākhānukramaṇī*, with variant readings, appendices, and an English translation of A. Weber's German preface to his edition of 1885, was issued from Delhi.¹³⁰ B.R. Sharma, who has, of late, made laudable contributions to Sāmavedic studies, has edited the *Sāmaveda-Ārṣeyadīpa* of Bhaṭṭabhāskara Adhvarīndra.¹³¹ This is an *Anukramaṇī* of the Grāmageyagānas and the Āraṇyagānas. Other ancillary texts relating to the *Sāmaveda*, edited by Sharma, include the *Pañcavidhasūtra* (which is a *Chandogāparīśiṣṭa*) with a commentary and three indices for *prastāvas*, *pratihāras*, and *nidhanas*, the *Mātrālakṣaṇa* (published for the first time) with a commentary,¹³² and the *Gāyatravidhānasūtra* of Śuṅga also with a commentary.¹³³

In her study of the *Sāmans*, Shakuntala Gayatonde (Iyer) begins with a general statement regarding the importance of the *Sāmans*, their evolution, and their contribution to the science of music. She also gives a list of the *Sāmans* dealt with in the *Ārṣeya-Brāhmaṇa*. She then sets forth the characteristics of about 220 *Sāmans* as found in the *Sāmaveda-Brāhmaṇas*. She further adds a note on the position of the Udgātr.¹³⁴ Writing about "Sāma Veda and Music", V. Raghavan discusses, among other things, the structure and plan of the *Sāmaveda*, details of *sāman*-singing, the Kauthuma and the Jaiminiya Śākhās and their different styles of singing as observed in different parts of South India, and the relation of *Sāmagāna* to classical Indian music.¹³⁵ On the basis of the assumption that the Vedic musical material is characterized by a "five-tone principle", it is suggested by Walter Kauffmann that the "five-tone" *Go-On Hakase* of the Shomyo of Japan may have been derived from the simple Vedic *mantras*.¹³⁶ In his paper on "the music of the *Sāmaveda* and the songs of the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite saints", Brinda Varadarajan makes the following points about *sāmagāna*: A Vedic chant has three forms — *ārcika*, *gāthika*, and *sāmika*; the *ārcika* has three accents, the *gāthika* only one, while the *sāmika* is melodic; the *sāmagāna*, being a collective song, has a fixed and set form of musical cast or mould; there are seven divisions of *sāman* chanted during a

yajña; and, in the *gāna* of the *Sāmaveda*, seven musical notes are used.¹³⁷

A new edition of the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*, with the *padapāṭha* and the commentaries of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra and Sāyaṇa, has been undertaken by the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala of Poona, and the first volume of it, covering the portion of the *Saṁhitā* up to the fourth *prapāṭhaka* of the first *kāṇḍa*, was published two years ago.¹³⁸ Another *Saṁhitā* of the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda*, which has been newly published in recent years, is the *Kapiṣṭhala-Katha-Saṁhitā*.¹³⁹ It is edited by Raghu Vira, and its introduction contains a discussion of various aspects of the text. As on the *Sāmaveda*, Swami Bhagavadācārya has written a commentary also on the *Śukla-Yajurveda*. The commentary is entitled *Yajuḥsaṁskārabhāṣya*, and the first five *adhyāyas* of the *Saṁhitā* together with that commentary and a Hindi translation were issued from Ahmedabad in 1960. Another edition of the *Śukla-Yajurveda-Saṁhitā* with a Hindi introduction is published by the Chowkhamba Vidyabhavan, Varanasi.¹⁴⁰ A reference has already been made to Devi Chand's English translation of the *Mādhyandina-Saṁhitā*.¹⁴¹ Unfortunately the translation is more popular than scholarly. Yudhiṣṭhira Mimāṁsaka has been publishing the *Yajurvedabhāṣya* by Dayānanda Sarasvatī, expounded by Brahmadaṭṭa Jijñāsu and edited by himself, and two parts of it covering the first fifteen *adhyāyas* have come out so far.¹⁴² In this context, it may be incidentally mentioned that Dayānanda Sarasvatī's *Yajurvedabhāṣya* is also being published with a Telugu translation.¹⁴³

Many comparatively minor points about the *Yajurveda* have come in for discussion in recent years. For instance, it has been pointed out¹⁴⁴ that the *Purāṇas*, which generally regard the *Yajurveda* as the earliest Veda give the number of its *śākhās* variously. Fifteen *śākhās* of the *Śukla-Yajurveda* are mentioned, but their names differ in different *Purāṇas*. As for the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda*, eighty-six *śākhās* are mentioned, while the names of only forty-three are given, out of which, again, only twenty-eight are referred to in the *Caranavyūha* of Śaunaka. P. Acharya draws attention to an Orissan recension of the *Kāṇva-Saṁhitā*.¹⁴⁵ The text of the *Kāṇva-Saṁhitā* prevalent in Orissa is popularly known as *Ekacālīsa-Mantra* and consists of forty-one chapters as against the usual forty. Chapters 1-34 of this recension are more or less similar to the corresponding chapters in the printed text, but the arrangement differs in the remaining chapters.

It is claimed that the *Mādhyandina-Saṁhitā* represents the basic *Saṁhitā* of the *Yajurveda*,¹⁴⁶ that the correct number of *mantras* in that *Saṁhitā* is 1975,¹⁴⁷ that the present *Yājuṣa-Sarvānukramaṇī* is not an ancient authoritative *ārsa* text, and that, therefore, it is unwarranted to suggest on the evidence of that text (the *Yājuṣa-Sarvānukramaṇī* says that *adh.* 24 and the first nine *kandikās* of *adh.* 25 of the *ŚYV* are of the nature of *Brāhmaṇa*) that *Brāhmaṇa*-material is mixed up with the *mantra*-material in the *Śukla-Yajurveda*.¹⁴⁸ In connection with this last claim, it is pointed out that Śabara, the *Vāsisṭhī-śikṣā*, and Dviveda Gaṅga (the commentator

of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*) also do not accept the view that there is such mixture. The question why the two *Samhitās* of the *Yajurveda* are designated as *Kṛṣṇa* and *Śukla* has been discussed on end and a variety of views have been put forth in that regard. Opening the question again, Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka suggests¹⁴⁹ that those who accepted the primacy of the new-moon sacrifice (*Darśeṣṭi*) became *Kṛṣṇapakṣīya*, while those who accepted the primacy of the full-moon sacrifice (*Paurṇamāseṣṭi*) became the *śuklapakṣīya*. The *yajus* belonging to these two classes of Yajurvedins came to be known as *Kṛṣṇa* and *Śukla* respectively. A slightly different explanation is given as follows.¹⁵⁰ The Mādhyandinas commence the full-moon sacrifice on the *caturdaśī* of the bright half of the month and conclude it on the full-moon day; thus they complete the entire Paurṇamāseṣṭi during the bright half. Similarly, though their Darśeṣṭi begins in the dark half, it is concluded in the bright half. That is why they are called *Śukla*. As against this, the Paurṇamāseṣṭi of the Taittirīyas is concluded in the dark half. It would, however, be difficult to believe that a more or less minor detail of ritual procedure could occasion such a fundamental schism among the Yajurvedins. In his attempt to work out a satisfactory chronology for the development of the early Indian thought, R. Morton Smith examines what he calls the White Yajurveda Vamśa as given in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*.¹⁵¹ There may be some errors in the enumeration of those lines, but, according to Smith, the tradition is in the main sound. He assigns Vāk Āmbhrṇī to 1035 B.C., Vājaśravas to 922 B.C., and Uddālaka to 842 B.C.

*Thinking with the Yajurveda*¹⁵² is a strange book. Its author, G.G. Desai, believes that the Vedas are as old as the "modern" world (that is, nearly 200 million years), that Agni represents the knowledge of *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*, that the Vedic conception of this world is much in advance of other religions or of science, that *brahman*, the lord of society, is eulogized as the dearest treasure of man, that the word *rudra* in the *Śatarudriya* means the liquidator of misery as also the giver of knowledge, etc., etc. Indeed, he seems to discover in the *Yajurveda* a meaning which ill conforms to the text and the tendencies of that Veda. Desai's book does contain some valid observations about Vedic ritualism and spiritualism, but they are often overlain with fantasies which defy the canons of sober research. On the other hand, Naoshiro Tsuji's Japanese monograph on the existent *Yajurveda*-literature,¹⁵³ with voluminous footnotes and index, is systematically planned and constitutes a very useful philological study of the fundamental sources of the Vedic ritual.

The credit for the major part of the work relating to the linguistic study of the Veda obviously goes to Western scholars. A frequently recurring theme of this study, in recent times, must be said to have been the Vedic verb in its various aspects. In her Russian monograph on the aorist in the *Rgveda*,¹⁵⁴ Elizarenkova makes a scholarly attempt to

describe different structural types of the aorist in the *R̥gveda*, the actual frequency of the forms of the paradigms of different aoristic types, and the parallel functioning of more than one aoristic stems from the same verbal root. She studies the origin of different structural types of the *R̥gvedic* aorist by means of internal reconstruction, and thereby arrives at the idea of the coexistence in the verb of the *R̥gveda* of two systems — the one devoid of the opposition of tense, hypothetically interpreted as the opposition of an action connected with an agent (injunctive) to an impersonal state (perfect), and the other characterized by the opposition of grammatical tense. Incidentally, speaking about the origin of the Sanskrit passive aorist, Insler points out that one comes across as many as 216 forms of third person singular passive aorist in the *R̥gveda*, spread out over the ten books and derived from forty-one roots.¹⁵⁵ Elizarenkova has several other significant points to make about the verbal system represented in the *R̥gveda*. For instance, she suggests that the category of tense had not yet become completely “grammatized” by the time of the *R̥gveda*.¹⁵⁶ This is proved by the neutralization of tense opposition in a considerable number of forms, as well as by the non-obligatory use of the augment, and a lesser distinctive power of tense as compared to mood. Elsewhere she studies the format structure, semantics, and mutual relations of the ten present-classes of the verb in the *R̥gveda*.¹⁵⁷ By comparing the non-systematic elements of the *R̥gvedic* verbal forms, she concludes that tense and aspect oppositions of the later period were preceded by the opposition of active verbal forms to passive verbal forms.

According to the Hungarian Vedist, J. Vekerdi, the majority of dimorphic or polymorphic present stems in the *R̥gveda* display no semantic difference, as has been frequently assumed.¹⁵⁸ In cases where such difference still exists, it refers mostly to the voice and not to the aspect. In the course of this discussion, Vekerdi says that the frequent poetic improvisation of accessory verbal forms unknown to the spoken language shows that the language of the *R̥gveda* is by no means primitive or natural, but that it is a liturgical-literary language with old traditions. In *The Aspectual Function of the R̥gvedic Present and Aorist*,¹⁵⁹ Gonda seeks to establish the aspectual uses of the *R̥gvedic* aorist indicative as opposed to imperfect. He concludes: The aorist often refers to special cases, single objects or details, isolated occurrences; the imperfect emphasizes the idea of continuance, the chief interest in a past process being in its development or unlimited continuity. As opposed to aorist, the imperfect expresses variety, vision, frequency, heterogeneity, perspective, simultaneity. Vittore Pisani refers to the form *karisyāh* occurring in *RV* IV.30.23 (in *RV* I.165.9, it is *karisyā* and not *karisyāh*) and asks whether it can be described as “subjunctive of the future.”¹⁶⁰ He suggests that it is second person singular optative of aorist, and insists that the strange rubric “subjunctive of

the future” be cancelled from the *Ṛgvedic* grammar.

In her thesis entitled *Die sigmatischen Aoriste im Veda*, Johanna Narten gives indexes of aorist forms arranged under various Sanskrit roots.¹⁶¹ Among other things, she points out that *-si* imperatives function as part of sigmatic aorist system, correlated with 3 sg. subjunctives in *-sat*. The question of the Vedic imperatives in *-si* is studied in greater detail by G. Cardona.¹⁶² In the *Ṛgveda*, about 150 forms in *-si* (e.g. *yakṣi*, *vakṣi*, *parṣi*, *neṣi*, etc.), from twenty-three roots, are used as imperative second person singular. According to Cardona, forms such as *yakṣi* from *yaj* are to be classed in the *s*-aorist system, and are not to be regarded as archaic athematic present forms. Oswald Szemerényi thinks that the so-called *-si* imperatives are in truth simple 2 sg. *s*-aorist subjunctives.¹⁶³ They are shortened at an early date from the full form in *-sasi*, which led to their formal isolation, though systematically they continued in their earlier role, including their ability to be used in relative constructions demanding the subjunctive. *Der Injunktiv im Veda: Eine synchronische Funktions-untersuchung* by Karl Hoffmann¹⁶⁴ must be regarded as an outstanding work of recent years in the field of Vedic grammar. Injunctive, which denotes unaugmented aorist and imperfect forms in general, in whatever sense they are used, occurs profusely in the *Ṛgveda*, and must, therefore, be regarded as an independent grammatical category. The unaugmented forms distinguish aspect, but not tense or mood. According to Hoffmann, aorist injunctive (with *mā*) — the negative content of the injunctive is summed up by that scholar in the term “memorativ” — is used when the intention is to prevent an action which has not already taken place, while the present injunctive is used to inhibit an action which is already under way. The latter is also used to express general, rather than particular, prohibition. Hoffmann further points out that the use of injunctive as general or habitual present is very common in the Veda. Among other topics discussed by him are the use of injunctive forms in the statement of past events as also the modal uses of the injunctive. J.C. Wright examines¹⁶⁵ the views about “the so-called injunctive” of Hoffmann, Gonda, Renou and Elizarenkova. He questions the validity of the suggestion that the unaugmented forms are indifferent as regards tense. In this connection, he quotes and translates many *Ṛgvedic* passages.

The importance of the study of the Vedic verb needs to be adequately recognized. Narten has rightly drawn attention to the misrepresentation of Vedic verb-forms in works on linguistics (she has quoted many examples in this connection) and stresses the urgent necessity of the Vedic verb material being properly worked upon and got ready for the purpose of scientific research.¹⁶⁶ Hoffmann’s “Materialen zum altindischen Verbum”, being published serially,¹⁶⁷ will certainly provide an appropriate response to Narten’s call. These articles by Hoffmann may be said to be

of the nature of a revision of Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik*, Vol. IV. This section relating to the recent work on Vedic verb may be concluded with a reference to Sukumar Sen's note on "Compound verb in Indo-Aryan".¹⁶⁸ He speaks of four types of compound verb: (1) substitute for a verb root (*Vācam akrata* — *RV*); (2) expressive of continuous action (*vibhajan eti* — *RV*); (3) substitute for past and future tenses (*gamayam cakāra* — *AV*; *mantrayām āsa* — *Att. Br.*); and (4) substitute for optative or imperative moods (*ramayām akah* — rarely in Vedic prose).

Some miscellaneous studies in the field of Vedic grammar and linguistics may now be referred to. Scholars like Whitney, Renou, Macdonell, and Speyer are seen to differ from one another as regards the central function or the most essential character of the dative. The versatile Dutch Sanskritist, Gonda, puts forth the view¹⁶⁹ that the Vedic dative is in principle the case assumed by a nominal form when it refers to the 'object in view'. This function, he adds, implies a marginal position of the object (thing) with regard to what the sentence states to exist, to be qualified, or to take place. V.N. Toporov points to the diversity of syntactic functions of the Vedic locative and its tendency to become a *casus generalis*.¹⁷⁰ Writing about the "*Sāmavaśa sandhi* in the *Rgveda*," Motilal Rastogi explains the term *sāmavaśa sandhi*, which occurs in the *Rk-prāṭisākhya*, as meaning the lengthening of a short vowel (excepting *r*) before the following consonant (which is also known as *pluti*).¹⁷¹ Its main purpose is to make up the metrical deficiencies in Vedic *mantras*, where the orthographic quantity is different from the metrical (that is, phonetic) quantity. Samuel D. Atkins points out that there are many cases in the *Rgveda* which are aberrant to the so-called Sievers-Edgerton Law.¹⁷² He discusses at some length one of the most puzzling of such cases, namely, that of *dyaus* and its forms. J. Manessy has produced an interesting monograph on the substantives ending in *-as*, which occur in the *Rgveda*.¹⁷³ In another paper, she deals with the *Rgvedic* adjectives ending in *as*.¹⁷⁴ These two, indeed, constitute useful contributions to the study of Vedic morphology. About the abstract derivatives ending in *-tāt-* and *-tāti-* in the *Rgveda*, Renou says that semantically they are not interchangeable.¹⁷⁵ In an additional note appended to Renou's article, Benveniste shows that *-tāti-* is found also in Iranian, and must, therefore, be Indo-Iranian.¹⁷⁶ It is elsewhere suggested that the suffix *tāti* in the Vedic language, presumably derived from the root *tān*, predominantly conveys the sense of 'totality' or 'entire range'.¹⁷⁷ J. Vekerdī studies the participle *iṣṇant-* in the *Rgveda*.¹⁷⁸ In Vedic, certain forms of some phonetically similar but semantically different verbal roots get mixed up; similarly, in the *Samhitā*-texts, participles are formed from a stem different from the finite verb forms. According to Vekerdī, both these phenomena are exemplified in the participle *iṣṇant-*. Before passing on to the work relating to the linguistic study of other *Samhitās*, one may refer to the very pertinent

observation which Elizarenkova makes about the linguistic aspect of the translation of the *Ṛgveda*.¹⁷⁹ She says that not all the aspects of the language of the *Ṛgveda* can be adequately reproduced in a modern language. In this connection, she mentions the injunctive of the verb, the ambivalent meaning of a part of lexis, etc.

Only two typical papers relating to the linguistic study of the *Samhitās* other than the *Ṛgveda* may be mentioned here. While discussing “the anusvāra and ānunāsikya in the *Taittirīya Samhitā*”, A.S. Acharya explains *anusvāra* as a nasal to be produced after a vowel, *yama* as nasalized tenseness of a stop consonant, *nāsikya* as a nasal sound different from *yama* and *anusvāra*, and *ānunāsikya* as nasalization.¹⁸⁰ In a passage in the *Maitrāyaṇī-Samhitā* (III.4.7), which prescribes different forms of *agniciti*, one reads: *paścāccarur bhavaty anurūpatvāya*. The word *paścāccaru*, however, does not give any satisfactory sense in that context. In a similar context, the *Mānava-śrautasūtra*, which belongs to the Maitrāyaṇī school, has the word *tsarumān* (X.3.6.6), which fits in very well. Assuming, therefore, that the original reading in the *MS* must have been *paścāttsarur* (instead of *paścāccarur*), Mehendale suggests¹⁸¹ that, at some time in the oral transmission of that *Samhitā*, the initial consonant cluster *ts* of *tsaru* was pronounced as an affricate.

And, finally, a few general studies about the Vedic language. Reiterating his view that Pāṇini’s grammar is highly useful for the understanding of the Vedic language, Bhawe seeks to answer the three objections which are usually raised against that view, namely, that Pāṇini never wrote a grammar for the Veda, that his treatment of the Vedic language is cursory and, therefore, inapplicable to it, and that modern Vedic grammars adequately serve the purpose in this connection.¹⁸² S.K. Gupta insists that the Vedic language has had a monosyllabic origin, that it has evolved through what he calls *mithunaprakrīyā*, and that there is ample evidence available in Vedic language and literature to substantiate this.¹⁸³ V.N. Toporov attempts an analysis of a number of Vedic toponyms and hydronyms in connection with the problem of the localization of some hymns of the *Ṛgveda*.¹⁸⁴ It has been pointed out by R.L. Turner that the process of simplifying a consonant group or shortening a long consonant with the accompanying lengthening of the preceding vowel, which had begun in the pre-Sanskrit stage, was continued throughout the history of Indo-Aryan.¹⁸⁵ The question of the cerebrals in the Vedic language has intrigued linguists for a long time and the hypothesis of the borrowings from some non-Indo-Aryan languages (particularly Dravidian) has been suggested in many of the cases. Manfred Mayrhofer believes that the emergence of the cerebral nasal -ṇ- can in many cases (such as, *maṇi*, *sthūṇā*, *sthāṇu*, etc.) be shown to have been spontaneous.¹⁸⁶ He assumes a similar development in connection with the group -ṇḍ-. More recently, T. Burrow, who has been an exponent of the

Dravidian borrowing theory, has veered round to the view that there has occurred in Sanskrit a process of fission by which the original dentals of Indo-Iranian have in Indo-Aryan been partly replaced by cerebrals without the presence of any predisposing influence and that such spontaneous cerebralization has taken place in Sanskrit on quite a massive scale.¹⁸⁷ He refers to the suggestion of H.W. Bailey that the fission of one sound into two took place early in Indo-Aryan, beginning in the Vedic age. There can, therefore, be no possible influence of Prakrits. The assumption of cerebrals being due to loanwords from Dravidian or some other non-Indo-European source also does not stand. Indeed, in some cases, where Dravidian explanation has been previously proposed, a more satisfactory explanation is now available from the Indo-European side.

(Abbreviations as in Dandekar's *Vedic Bibliography*, Vol 2)

- ¹ A Ludwig, "Über die neuesten Arbeiten auf dem Gebiet der Rgveda-Forschung", *S B Bohm*, 6, 1893
- ² H. Oldenberg, *Vedaforschung*, Stuttgart, 1905
- ³ Paris, 1928
- ⁴ In *Progress of Indic Studies*, BORI, Poona, 1942
- ⁵ *PAIOC* (14th Session), Poona, 1948
- ⁶ In *Oriental Studies in India*, 26th I.C.O., New Delhi, 1964.
- ⁷ University of Poona, 1965.
- ⁸ *Bibliographie Védique* (1931) by Renou and the two volumes of *Vedic Bibliography* (1946 and 1961) by Dandekar will provide additional evidence in this connection
- ⁹ First ed (6 volumes), 1849-1874, second revised ed (4 volumes), 1890-92, reprint of this latter, Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1965. It may also be mentioned that the fourth edition of Aufrecht's *Die Hymnen des Rigveda* (first ed., 1861-63) was issued by Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, in 1968
- ¹⁰ First ed., 1855, second revised ed. by Max Lindenau, 1924, reprint of the latter by Dummlers Verlag, Bonn, 1966
- ¹¹ Reprint of the first ed. of 1848 issued in 1968-69.
- ¹² Reprint by Steiner, Wiesbaden, 1969 onwards, of the first ed. of 1881-86
- ¹³ Reprint by Steiner, Wiesbaden, 1969 onwards, of the first ed. (with R. Simon's Word-Index) of 1900-1912
- ¹⁴ First ed., Breslau, 1906
- ¹⁵ Fourth ed., Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1963, first ed., 1889-92
- ¹⁶ Chowkhamba, 1968, first ed., 1895-96
- ¹⁷ Chowkhamba, 1963, first ed., 1893
- ¹⁸ Abhimanyu, Varanasi, 1957, first ed., 1899
- ¹⁹ Motilal Banarasidass (M B), Delhi, 1962; first ed., 1905
- ²⁰ M B, Delhi, 1967, first ed., 1897
- ²¹ M B, Delhi, 1967, first ed., 1914
- ²² Presidential address, Vedic Section, 15th AIOC.
- ²³ See, among others "On the Rgvedic text-criticism", 19 *PAIOC*, Part II, "More on the text-critical reconstruction of the Rgveda", 22 *PAIOC*, Vol II, "Rgvedic text-reconstruction", 26 *PICO*, Vol. III, 1.

- 24 A.D. Singh, "Śākhās of the *Rgveda*", *SP*, 25 AIOC, 1969. Also G.S. Waray, "The Śāṅkhāyana text of the *Rgveda*", *SP*, 22 AIOC, 1965. P.E. Dumont draws attention (*W. Norman Brown Fel. Vol.*, 1962, 51-55) to a Śārādā Ms of the *RV* discovered by M.A. Stein in Kashmir in 1896. Its colophon reads: *āśvalāyanena maharṣiṇā āracitāyāḥ saṁhitāyāḥ*. The MS. contains the text of the first three Maṇḍalas.
- 25 In his article with this caption (*SS* 16, 1-12), B.R. Sharma discusses Sāyana's interpretation of *dosāvastah*, *prayobhuh*, *rudravartanī*, and *nūnam*.
- 26 *JAS Bom* 38, 165-173.
- 27 *Saṁskṛti-Sugandha*, Poona, 1970, 116-119.
- 28 *GKP* 22. Also *Saṁskṛta-Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patṛikā* 51, 11-16.
- 29 C. Kunhan Raja's edition of *S.'s Bhāṣya on RV*, First Aṣṭaka (Madras Univ. Sk. Series) and of *M.'s Bhāṣya on SV* (Adyar).
- 30 *JORM* 32, 1-10.
- 31 Jaipur, 1967.
- 32 The *Rgveda-Saṁhitā* with the Hindi commentary by Dayānanda Sarasvatī is being re-issued from Ajmer, 1963 onwards.
- 33 Ed. by Ram Kumar Rai, Chowkhamba, Varanasi.
- 34 Original Sanskrit text, introduction, translation, notes, and seven appendices, M.B., Delhi
- 35 M.S. Bhat, "On the language and composition of the *Rgvidhāna*", *J Bom U* 33 (NS), 56-72, (ch. 3 of Ph.D. thesis).
- 36 Ed. by Shri Krishna Dev, Varanasi, 1962.
- 37 K.P. Jog, "On the Galitapradīpa of Lakṣmīdharasūri", *JGJKSV* 27, 275-287.
- 38 All these ed. by Venkatarama Sastry, Vanivilas Press, Srirangam, 1964-66.
- 39 Ed. Vira Raghava Swami and others, Tenali, 1963.
- 40 Ed. K.B. Nampūtiri, Ernakulam
- 41 Ed. Sri Nandinath Mishra, *David Fel. Vol.*, 1971, 21-36 (Veda).
- 42 Boccard, Paris.
- 43 Tome VII, 1960
- 44 VIII, 1961, IX, 1961 (this vol. also contains discussion on *Rta*).
- 45 X, 1962.
- 46 XII-XIV, 1964-65.
- 47 XV, 1966 (also to Brhaspati, Ṛbhus, Vāyu, Parjanya, Dyāvapṛthivī, Āpah, Rātri, Pūsan, Rudra, Dadhikrāvan, Viśvakarman, Manyu, and Vāstoṣpati).
- 48 XVI, 1967. This vol. also deals with various other hymns in the sequence of the *Samhitā*.
- 49 XVII, 1969.
- 50 Maṇḍala VII, pub. by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, II and III by the Univ. of Bombay
- 51 *Bh Vid.* 22, 63-79.
- 52 Three volumes of this work have been published (M.S. Univ., Baroda) between 1957 and 1962.
- 53 Delhi, 1963.
- 54 *Contributions to the Interpretation of the Rgveda*, Mysore, 1968; *Vedic Studies*, Vol. 2, Adyar Library, 1968.
- 55 Introduction and analysis, text and translation of the *Asya-vāmiya-sūkta* of Rsi Dīrghatamas, *RV I.* 164.1-52; Varanasi, 1963.
- 56 R.V. Vaidya, *Asya vāmasya sūktam* (Riddle solved), Indore, 1961. Mention may also be made of M.B. Pant's *Asya-vāmiya-sūkta: Some Astronomical Constants and RV I.* 140 (Poona, 1970). Pant seeks to interpret *RV I.* 164 on the basis of the *Kaṭapayādi-Sūtra*.
- 57 M.T. Sahasrabuddhe, "Some reflections on the *Asya-vāmiya* hymn of the *Rgveda* (I. 164)," *Nagpur Univ. Journal* (Humanities), 17, 179-192.
- 58 *JAOS* 88, 199-218.

- 59 "The problem of the interpretation of the Nāsadiya-hymn" (in Russian), *KSINA*, No 71, 1964, 41-45
- 60 "De Kosmogonie van Rgveda 10, 129", *Tijdschrift voor filosofie* 28, 1966, 670-696.
- 61 "Contributi all'interpretazione di RV X. 129", *Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro oblata*, Vol. I, 1969, 95-136 V. S. Agrawala interprets the *Nāsadiya-sūkta* (Bhāratī 6, 1-11) in the light of the *Daśavādarahasya* of Madhusudan Ojha.
- 62 "An analysis of the Vedic wedding hymn: RV X 85" (in Russian), *UZTGU*, Tartu, 1965, 173-188.
- 63 "Bemerkungen zum Sūryasūkta", *ZDMG* 111, 492-498.
- 64 "Rgveda V. 78, a composite legend spell", *JGJKSV* 27, 1-7.
- 65 "Rgveda 10.34 as an act of truth", *Bh. Vid.* 20-21, 8-10.
- 66 *Renou Comm Vol.*, Paris, 1968, 763-772.
- 67 "The Āpri Hymns", *JOIB* 13, 93-101.
- 68 *JOIB* 15, 1-7, *VIJ* 4, 25-33
- 69 "About an example of sound symbolism" (in Russian), *UZTGU*, Tartu, 1965, 306-319
- 70 Ram Gopal, "A non-legendary interpretation of the *Apālā-sūkta*", *VIJ* 2, 55-72
- 71 *JAOS* 81, 77-86.
- 72 Usha V Karambelkar, "Yama-Yamī-Samvāda" (in Marathi), *Navabhārata*, April 1971, 41-48
- 73 In *Savitā*, Delhi, Nov 1970. This view is controverted by V Mīshra in *Viśvambharā* 6, 80-83
- 74 "Yama und Yamī", *I-IJ* 10, 1-32
- 75 *JOIB* 18, 273-303
- 76 *BSOAS* 30, 526-547
- 77 *Journal of the Nagpur Univ.* 17(2), 158-178
- 78 *Ibid*, 16(2)
- 79 *JIH* 45(2).
- 80 V.M Apte, "A *khula*-hymn, which is not so *khula* after all", *SP*, 26 *ICO*, 1964, 51-52.
- 81 C G Kashikar, "On the *khula*-verse *arvāñcam indram*", *VIJ* 3, 178-180
- 82 *Kuiper Fel. Vol*, 1969, 383-392.
- 83 *VIJ* 5, 169-177.
- 84 *VIJ* 7, 7-21 Or, he suggests, the original *yad naḥ* — *yad u naḥ* may have developed into *yo naḥ* through the process of linguistic changes. Also see: M M. Sharma, *Kyā gāyatrī mantra asuddha hai?*, Chandigarh, 1963
- 85 *Vedavānī* 16, p 92, 19, 21-23. Some scholars suggest *tasmat* for *kasmat*
- 86 *Some Aspects of the History of Hinduism*, Poona, 1967, 52.
- 87 Calcutta, 1961.
- 88 *I-Ig* 4, 217-281, 5, 169 ff.
- 89 *Renou Comm Vol*, 1968, 255-268
- 90 *JOIB* 15, 1966, 314-321
- 91 Ed by Durgamohan Bhattacharyya, Calcutta Sk. College, Vol. I, 1964, Vol. II, 1970.
- 92 *ALB* 25, 203-215.
- 93 *I-IJ* 11, 1-10.
- 94 *JA*, 1964, 421-450; 1965, 15-42.
- 95 In four parts — part four having two fascicules
- 96 Chowkhamba, Varanasi.
- 97 Ed. by Surya Kanta, Meharchand Lachhmandas, Delhi.
- 98 *KUJH* 9, Dharwār, 7-10
- 99 26 *PICO* III 1, 119-122.
- 100 *KUJH* 14, 22-28.
- 101 *Renou Comm. Vol.*, 1968, 97-107.

- 102 Vishva Bandhu "Vedic textuo-linguistic studies: 8. An Atharvan hymn to lac (lāksā)- AV V.5", *VIJ* 9, 1-20; 281-289. Also papers by Virendra and Jayadeva in *Vedavāṇī* 15(2); 16(8).
- 103 *Die Heimat der indogermanischen Gemeinsprache*, Wiesbaden, 1954.
- 104 *VIJ* 9, 21-25.
- 105 Raj Balī Pandey, *Madhyabhārati* 3(3), 14-18.
- 106 *JGJRI* 17, 79-92.
- 107 *I-IJ* 8, 1-24.
- 108 *Renou Comm. Vol.*, 1968, 301-336.
- 109 *Die Sprache* 16, 138-148.
- 110 *ALB* 25, 106-116.
- 111 *W. Norman Brown Fel. Vol*, 1962, 56-58. Renou also understands the word *gāyatrī* in that verse in the same sense.
- 112 *VIJ* 5, 13-24.
- 113 *KZ* 79, 173.
- 114 *VIJ* 9, 290-98.
- 115 Nagpur, 1961.
- 116 Univ. of Poona, 1967.
- 117 By Maya Malaviya Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, 1967.
- 118 26 *PICO*, III.1, 28-32. Also see his *The Fundamental Themes of the Atharvaveda*, Poona, 1968.
- 119 Thesis, Moscow, 1965, Summary in *Indiya v drevnosti*, Moscow, 1964, 95-104.
- 120 *UZTGU*, Tartu, 1969, 9-43.
- 121 Pub. K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1963.
- 122 Hoshiarpur, 1963.
- 123 Svadhyaya Mandala, Pardi, 1963.
- 124 Tarakeshwar, 1965
- 125 Jullundar, 1966.
- 126 Jwalapur, 1967.
- 127 Ahmedabad, 1960.
- 128 Sarvadeshika Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, New Delhi.
- 129 In Roman script.
- 130 Ed. by S.R. Sehgal.
- 131 Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati, 1967.
- 132 Both pub. by KSV, Tirupati, 1970.
- 133 VVRI, Hoshiarpur, 1971.
- 134 *Journal of the Univ. of Bombay* 31(2), 35-61; 32(2), 89-126.
- 135 *JMA* 33, 127-133.
- 136 *Ethnomusicology* 11, 1967, 161-169.
- 137 *BITCM* 1, 1967, 22-45.
- 138 Ed. by N.S. Sontakke and T.N. Dharmadhikari.
- 139 Meharchand Lachhmandas, Delhi, 1968.
- 140 Ed. by Daulat Ram Gaud.
- 141 New Delhi, 1965.
- 142 Part 2 (adhyāyas 11-15), Ramlal Kapur Trust, June 1971.
- 143 Hyderabad, 1963.
- 144 Ganga Sagar Rai, *Purāṇa* 7, 6-17; 235-253.
- 145 *VIJ* 2, 79-80.
- 146 *Vedavāṇī* 24(1), 73-78.
- 147 *Ibid.*, 78-79.
- 148 *Vedavāṇī* 24(2), 6-11.
- 149 *Rajeshwar Sastri Dravid Fel. Vol.*, 1971, 40-43 (Veda).

- 150 *Vīdarbhā Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala Vārsika*, 1971, 97-100.
- 151 *East and West* 16, 112-125.
- 152 Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1967.
- 153 Tokyo, 1970. Mention may be made here of C.L. Prabhakar's "The commentators of the Yajurveda", *Bangalore Univ. Res. Journal* (Humanities), 1969, 12-20.
- 154 Moscow, 1960.
- 155 *IF* 73, 312-346
- 156 25 *PICO*, 167-174.
- 157 Moscow, 1961.
- 158 *AO* (Hung) 12, 249-287.
- 159 Mouton and Co, 's- Gravenhage, 1962.
- 160 *ALB* 31-32, 12-13
- 161 Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1964.
- 162 *Lg* 41, 1-18
- 163 *Lg* 42, 1-6
- 164 Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1967.
- 165 *BSOAS* 33, 184-199.
- 166 *Die Sprache* 14, 113-134
- 167 *KZ* 79; 83.
- 168 *IL* 27, 61-65.
- 169 "The unity of the Vedic dative", *Lingua* 11, 141-150.
- 170 *KSĪNA*, No 62, Moscow, 1964, 16-183.
- 171 *BPSC* 6, 1-18.
- 172 *JAOs* 88, 679-709.
- 173 Paris, 1961.
- 174 *I-IJ* 7, 259-83
- 175 *BSL* 55, 10-17.
- 176 *Ibid.*, 18-19
- 177 Ram Gopal, *IA* (3rd series) 5, 99-102.
- 178 *AO* (Hung.) 22, 377-78
- 179 *Istoriya i kultura drevnej Indii*, Moscow, 1963, 101-117.
- 180 *BDCRI* 29, 1-6
- 181 *W.B. Henning Comm Vol.*, 1970, 299-302
- 182 *SP*, 26 *ICO*, New Delhi, 1964, 69-70.
- 183 *JGJRI* 11.
- 184 "About some problems of Old-Indian toponymic studies" (Russian), *Toponimika Vostoka*, 1962, 59-66
- 185 R.L. Turner, "Early shortening of geminates with compensatory lengthening in Indo-Aryan", *BSOAS* 33, 171-178.
- 186 *Renou Comm. Vol*, 1968, 509-517.
- 187 *BSOAS* 34, 538-559

Were There Towns in the Later Vedic Period?

Klaus Mylius

The question about the existence of urban settlements in the Vedic, pre-Buddhist India is still vigorously discussed, despite the arguments brought up till now in scientific debates. We shall examine, therefore, the literary sources, and see whether they can contribute to the solution of this problem. First of all, however, some theoretical considerations seem to be relevant. Before one closely views the question of the existence of towns, one must ask: What is a town? Under which conditions does it arise?

Scientists of different subjects can take very different criteria as to judge the urban character of a settlement. Historians are interested in the grant of city-rights, economists consider the structure of production and population, statisticians fix a minimum population figure as the necessary requirement. In our case, these criteria do not come into question. The grant of city-rights is relevant only where such custom existed; but no such political and judicial cases are known to us in Vedic India. Population and economic structure, although by no means without relevance, are too little known in their spatial differences to serve as criteria. As far as a minimum population figure as the lowest statistical limit is concerned, it has been recognized that such a figure is purely subjective and does not represent scientifically objective circumstances. Some countries fix 2,000 as the lower limit, others 5,000, and some others up to 30,000 inhabitants; on the other hand at the present time there are towns in Germany with only a few hundreds of inhabitants.

Therefore, no single characteristic can form the criterion of a town. It is necessary to include the aspect of completeness, as taught by geography, in our considerations. The geographer does not view the town as isolated; he views it as imbedded in the social process of production and reproduction. "It depends upon the relationship with the surroundings, whether or not a settlement can be described as a town in the geographical sense." (R. Klöpper: *Der geographische Stadtbegriff, Geographisches Taschenbuch* 1956-1957, p. 454). Naturally a town requires a localized and according to the time widely variable minimum amount of population. The deciding factor, however, is how much it grows as compared to the surrounding settlements, whether it possesses central qualities and establishments which bind the surrounding land to it. It is, therefore, the functional status which raises a settlement to a town. The central position is by no means defined only by the localization of the production, but also in great measures by the non-productive functions (administration, health system, cultural establishments and so on). Therefore, G. Schmidt-Renner is perfectly right in stating (*Ökonomisch-geographische Grundsatzfragen der Staedtebildung: Geographische Berichte* Vol. III (1958), No. 1, p. 18) that "a valid definition of a town generally applicable for all times and areas cannot exist"

(compare also his essay "Ursachen der Staedtebildung": Petermanns Mitteilungen 1965, Vol. I). Unhistorical definitions and typologies can, therefore, only darken the picture.

It must be stated that while the geographical environment influences the town areas by promoting or curbing their development, it cannot create towns by itself. The social superstructure is in a position to create towns through decrees only when the material possibilities for them are provided. The building of towns is determined much more socio-economically than judicially: towns arise following the development of the methods of production. Precisely expressed, they are the result of the territorial division of labour, i.e., the local concentration of social labour dividing producers and the services, and the separation of tradesmen and handworkers. "The first steps to the urban way of settlement become visible in the long transformation period from primitive communism to slavery." (G. Schmidt-Renner: *Ökonomisch-geographische Grundsatzfragen*, etc., p.18).

The need for protection formed a powerful driving force for the building of towns at a definite stage of the development of the methods of production as well as under definite historical conditions. It must naturally be emphasized that the places which were prepared for protection and defence did not simply become towns (Schmidt-Renner; *Ursachen der Staedtebildung*, etc., p. 30). But the impulse for the building of towns, the formation of the urban core, can be derived from the need for protection and refuge. This has been very clearly expressed by J. Beaujeu-Garnier and G. Chabot (*Traite de geographie urbaine*, Paris, 1963, p.117): "*Mais de nombreuses villes ont été créés pour des fins militaires. L'oppidum, le refuge, n'était pas une ville, mais il a souvent été à l'origine d'une ville . . . Et aussi le château fort médiéval où venaient se réfugier les paysans des alentours et qui fut souvent le berceau d'une ville.*"

As already stated, the opinions about the building of towns in India of the Vedic period are divided. Whereas R. Junge (*Weltgeschichte der Standortentwicklung der Wirtschaft in der Klassengesellschaft*, Berlin, 1961, p. 234) saw the beginning of the towns even during the pre-Aryan population, W. Rau (*Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien*, Wiesbaden, 1957, p. 52) denied the existence of the towns even in the Brāhmaṇa-period. Let us, therefore, examine the available literary documents in the light of the above-mentioned theoretical considerations. It is useful to investigate in a series the quotations of the words which can mean a "town".

There is first of all the expression *āyatana*. This is the place to which one returned after a travel (*Kāthaka-Samhitā*, XXIII, 9). One who did not have such a place had to live depending upon others (KS, XXXIV, 9). *Āyatana* belonged to the prosperity (*Chāndogya-Upansad*, VII, 24, 2). Mostly it can be adequately translated as "the place of stay", "living place". Thus *Taittiriya-Samhitā*, I, 6, 7, 1-2 Or: *devānām vā*

etadāyatanam yad āhavanīyah the āhavanīya—"Fire is the place of stay for gods" (*Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā*, I, 4, 10). *Ya evamāsām āyatanamveda*: "who knows this place as home" (*Kaṭha-Kapisthala-Saṁhitā*, xxxi, 11). *Dhruvo 'yam yajamāno' sminnāyatane*: "Firmly (be) the sacrificer in this place of living" (*Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā*, v, 28). Some places have no doubt the meaning of a fortified place of living, such as a castle. *Yataro vai saṁgrabhāṇay* or *āyatanavattaro bhavati sa jayati*: "Out of the two opponents one who has a better *āyatana*, he wins" (MS II, 1, 2). "One who does not have any, he loses" (KS, x, 3). Gods without *āyatana* have also no chance of winning: *Anāyatanā hi vai smas tasmāt parajayāmaha iti*, "we are without *āyatana*, therefore, we will be defeated" (KS, xxiv, 10). Compare MS, III, 8, 1.10, 5; TS, II, 2, 6, 1; *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* (II, 2, 7).

Thus *āyatana* was variably a home, a dwelling place; sometimes it was a combination of a dwelling place and a fortification. Illustrative of this combination is the fact that the castle of God Brahmā in *Sāṅkhāyana-Āraṇyaka* (III, 3) is named as *āyatana*: in CU, VIII, 5, 3 as '*pur*'. This leads us to the analysis of the word *pur*. But before that let us look at the expression *utsedha*.

Tasmādutsedham prajā bhaye 'bhisamsrayanti: "Thereupon the subjects get to a raised place in case of danger". (*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 2, 2, 9). *Utsedhena vai devāḥ paśūnudaśedhan*: "The gods drove up the cattle through the *utsedha* (-*sāman*)" (*Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*, XV, 9, 10-11). Compare PB, XIX 7, 1.4; *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* (III, 8, 23, 3). *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* (I, 138) also emphasizes the driving together of the cattle in war. The fortifications existed at high points, which in case of danger served as castles of refuge and as places of stay for the cattle. The word *chardis* may have had a similar meaning and may have meant "protection wall", "secured place of living".

The most important expression for our problem is, however, *pur*. They are gods' places of refuge (ŚB X, 2, 5, 1) to protect from the *rākṣasa* the sacrifices offered to them. A *pur* has a gate, *dvār*, which can be opened and shut (ŚB, XI, 1, 1, 2-3). One can possess a *pur* only by force, mainly through *upasad*, by siege (ŚB, III, 4, 4, 3; VI, 3, 3, 25) and so on. One uses arrows to conquer (*Aitareya-Brahmaṇa*, I, 25). *Tayā puraḥ samarujat*: "With that he broke the *pur* to pieces" (KKS, xxxviii, 4). *Devā asurānām pauraṁdgena puro 'majjayan*: "The gods let the towns of *asuras* vanish through the *pauraṁdga* (a *sāman*)" (PB, XII, 3, 14). *Ghnanvṛtrāṇi vi puro dardarīti*: "Killing Vṛtras he broke the fortifications" (KS, IV, 16). *Aparājitā purbrāhmaṇah*: "Brahman's town unconquerable" (CU, VIII, 5, 3). *Pari tvāgne puram vipram sahasya dhīmah*: "We set you, mighty Agni, as a fortification around us, you as a priest" (VS, XI, 26 in Kāṇva recension—VSK, XII, 2, 15). That Indra searches for a fortification in water (ŚB, VII, 4, 1, 13) indicates most probably the water moats as fortifications. *Tasmādu haitatpuram paramam rupam yattripuram. Tasmātpuram*

parā varīyasī lekhā bhavanti lekhā hi purah: “Thereupon, the threefold fortification is the highest form of the fortification. Therefore, every following line is further from the fortification, for lines (walls) are the fortifications” (SB, VI, 3, 3, 25).

The *purah* must have had every now and then a considerable expansion. This is shown in *Rgveda-Samhitā* (RV) already: *pūs ca prthvī bahulā na urvī bhava*: “(Agni) Be for us a widely spread out broad town” (RV, I, 189, 2). *Śatanujbhis . . . pūrbhir*: “with hundred times walled towns” (RV, I, 166, 8). *Pūr bhavā śatabhujh*: “(Agni) Be us a hundred times walled town” (RV, VII, 15, 14). *Śataṁ aśmanmāyīnām purām Indro vy āsyat*: “Indra has destroyed a hundred stony fortifications” (RV, IV, 30, 20). *Indrāgnī navatīm puro dāśapatnīr adhūnutam sākam ēkena karmaṇā*: “Oh Indra and Agni, ninety fortifications, the masters of which were *dāśas*, you have overcome together with one act” (RV, III, 12, 6; TS, I, 1, 14, 1; MS, IV, 10, 5; KS, IV, 15-16). The expression *tripura* indicates the size of the *purah* (see above for SB, VI, 3, 3, 25), i.e., a fortification with three ring walls *Devāh . . . puras tripuram paryāsyanta yajñasya cātmanaśca guptyai*: “The gods laid out a town consisting of three fortifications to protect the sacrifice and themselves” (AB, II, 11, 1).

It may be remarked in parenthesis that a clue to the root form of “*pura*” does not exist. Sometimes SB, XI, 1, 1, 2 has been taken as a proof, but it has in “*puram*” only the accusative form of *pur*. *Purāni* in AB VIII, 27 seems to be a verbal form.

A further proof of the existence of bigger, fortified places is the word *mahāpura*: “*Teṣām asurāṇām tisrah pura āsann, ayasmayy avamā, ’the rajatā, ’tha harinī; tā devā jetuṁ nā śaknuvan, tā upasadaī ’vā ’jigisan; tasmād āhur yas cai ’vaṁ veda yas cano: ’pasadā vai mahāpuram jayanti ’tv*”: “The asuras had three fortifications, the lowest out of iron, the one out of silver, then one out of gold. The gods could not conquer them. They wanted to besiege them. Therefore, those who know, say, and also those who do not know: one conquers a big city by siege.” Compare to this KS, XXIV, 10; KKS, XXXVIII, 3; MS, III, 8, 1; AB, I, 23, 2; *Kausītaki-Brāhmaṇa* (KB, VIII, 8; GB, II, 2, 7).

At last we mention *nagara*, the usual word for town in epic and classical Sanskrit. It appears at first in *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* (I, 11, 7.31, 2). That it must have been concerned with bigger settlements is proved by *Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmaṇa* (II, 4, 2.5, 6). In SVB, II, 4, 2 the *nagara* is an upgrading of *grāma* and *niḡama* (market place). In SVB, II, 5, 6 its value lies between *grāma* and *janapada*. A man named *Nagarin* *Jānaśruteya* appears in *Jaiminiya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa* (III, 40, 2).

After this consideration of the definitions of settlements, fortifications and towns, the question arises whether the Vedic literature describes concrete towns with names. Let us examine this one by one:

Repeatedly — in parallel passages — appears the expression *kāmpīla-*

vāsinī: VS, XXIII, 18; VSK, XXV, 5, 1; TS, VII, 4, 19, 1; MS, III, 12, 20; KS, XLIV, 8; TB, III, 9, 6; SB XIII, 2, 8, 3. Mahīdhara gives to VS, XXIII, 18 the meaning "living in the town Kāmpīla". A. Weber und H. Zimmer see in Kāmpīla the Kāmpīlya of later literature. Macdoneli and Kēith (*Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Vol. I, p.149) see in Kāmpīla the capital of the Pañcālas. According to Majumdar-Pusalker (*The Vedic Age*, New York, 1951, p.252) the town is to be identified with the later Kampil between Budaun and Farrukhabad.

Further, Āsandīvant is mentioned, in the parallel passages of a *gāthā*, as the capital of Janamejaya Pārikṣita, king of the Kuru people AB, VIII, 21, 3; SB, XIII, 5, 4, 2. Majumdar-Pusalker (*op.cit.*, p.252) identify this town with Hastināpura; H. Raychaudhuri (*Political History of Ancient India*, 6th ed. Calcutta, 1953, p.23) saw in it with greater probability the modern Asandh near Chitang.

Parivakrā in SB, XIII, 5, 4, 7 was according to A. Weber a town of the Pañcālas, namely, the later Ekacakrā near Kāmpīla.

The town Kauśāmbī is not mentioned directly. But once a teacher Proti Kauśāmbeya Kausurubindī appears in SB, XII, 2, 2, 13. According to the commentator Harisvāmin, this is a man from Kauśāmbī. For the support of this supposition speaks the fact, that the teacher in GB, I, 4, 24 is called Predi Kauśāmbeya Kausurubindu; the names are changed, only the derivation from Kauśāmbī has remained constant in its right form. Majumdar-Pusalker (*op.cit.*, p.254) view Kauśāmbī as the capital of the Vatsās. B.G. Gokhale (*Ancient Indian History and Culture*, London, 1956, p.27) assumes in it the later Kosam in the west of Allahabad.

The place of Ayodhyā is not clear. It was the capital of Kosals. However, it remains doubtful whether Ayodhyā already existed in the Brāhmana era. In our texts the name appears in TA, I, 27, 3; *devānām pūrayodhyā*: "Ayodhyā is the city of the gods". R. Shamasastri (*Ayodhyā, the City of Gods: D.R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, Calcutta, 1940) infers that it dealt with a mythical dwelling place in heaven.

The city-names Hastināpura, Indraprastha, Mathurā, Kāśī, Mithilā, Rājagṛha and Girivraja are missing in our texts; they play a big part only in the later literature.

We conclude: In later Vedic times there were settlements with regional functions in India. According to the literary sources they consisted in providing protection and shelter for persons and cattle. They were more or less strongly fortified. Sometimes they lay higher, so that they occupied a ruling position geographically and topographically. Their expansion now and then must have been considerable. The bigger fortified settlements did not become cities merely owing to the existence of fortifications, but they formed the heart of the early Indian city. After the methods of production reached a definite stage of development and made possible and

necessary the construction of means of protection, new centralized relationships appeared in these settlements and caused many of these to grow into cities. The household of a king with its stores contributed mainly to this development (the existence of which had also to be considered by Rau, *op.cit.*, p.104). Such towns became the centres of the lives of various people. The later Vedic literature describes a few of them by name. Another practice also indirectly indicates the existence of towns. The *sattras* and other big festivals of sacrifice which lasted sometimes over a year or even longer, and which, not unusually, bore the character of State festivals and required large scale expenditure, can at best be thought of in a town area rather than as the military, political and religious centre of a territory. The developing third social division of labour caused in the same way the building of towns.

Finally, two accounts may be mentioned which evidently show the existence of towns in the later Vedic period beyond all doubt. The first one is the description of *nagara* in an early part of TA. The other argument is provided by archaeology. The researches of G.R. Sharma (Excavations at Kauśāmbī 1957-1959, Allahabad, 1960, pp. 21-22) have fixed the date of painted grey-ware of Kauśāmbī about 885 B.C.

This demonstration naturally does not involve the fact that the town in the Vedic times of India remained a subordinate, individual type of settlement. It exhibits the transitional character of this epoch. Side by side with the birth of towns, nomadism remained intact in wide parts of north India.

New Light on Kālidāsa

S. V. Sohoni

The depiction of the career of Agnivarṇa in Chapter 19 of *Raghuvamśa* (RV) has been regarded as unique in Sanskrit literature. But it poses a problem: why should Kālidāsa have thought it fit to incorporate this description of a moral wreck in his great epic where his main object was to highlight the careers of the meritorious kings of the Ikṣvāku dynasty? Why should a glorious series¹ of biographical sketches meant to emphasize the extraordinary position of the Ikṣvāku dynasty close on such a dismal note? The contrast between the greatness of the other kings of the Solar dynasty and the insignificance of the dying Agnivarṇa seems to have been deliberately drawn by Kālidāsa. Not only is Agnivarṇa an anomaly and an exception, but the exception and anomaly were deliberately put where they are. What could have been the reason?

The poet brilliantly succeeded in drawing a picture of growing addiction to unrestrained sex life on the part of a young man, an extreme instance of *yauvane viṣayaīṣiṇām*.² According to the notions of morality of kings prevailing in Kālidāsa's times, Agnivarṇa was not all his life immoral. His amours were strictly within the palace before his attention was distracted by the maids and female artistes in its precincts.

Secondly, his artistic accomplishments have been specially emphasized. One of Kālidāsa's objects was, apparently, to depict concentration on the fine arts and material pleasures on the part of a man of ample means, not weighed down by an executive responsibility. That is how an artist might like to function. But not a king. As Kālidāsa took good care to point out in a preceding context: "A king is the prisoner³ of his duties."

Moreover, the epic throughout stresses the need for a balanced outlook towards the relative claims of *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*.

Thus, about Dilipa, it has been observed अप्यर्थकामौ तस्यास्ता धर्म एव मनीषिण । (RV, I. 25). Even about Rāma himself, it is stated: धर्मार्थकामेषु सभां प्रपेते यथा तयेवावरजेषु वृत्तिम् । (RV, XIV. 21).

A statement of this ideal approach to life has been made in a most emphatic and almost mathematical form while narrating Atithi's model administration:

न धर्ममर्थमाम्या वबाधे, न च तेन तो ।

महगस्त्रिण ॥

नार्थं कामेन, काम वा मार्येन (RV XVII 57)

In fact, *Raghuvamśa* seems to have been composed mainly to preach this ideal view of a balanced, rational, well-rounded outlook which made for progress, prosperity, and peace. A narration concerning successive kings in a dynasty gave vast opportunities to emphasize the need for such an attitude towards life's problems, by means of constructing different models, based on permutations and combinations of varying degrees in which these three separate threads were put together by different individuals. Kālidāsa does refer to hereditary virtue or *vamśyaguṇāh* (RV, XIX. 49). There was also a continuum of political stability enjoyed by successive

generations no matter how a king behaved. Yet allowance was made⁴ for the factor of individual destiny.

The usual characteristics announcing the end of a Sanskrit epic are absent in *Raghuvamśa*, although the poetic convention⁵ seems to have been respected at its beginning, where Parameśvara and Pārvatī have been saluted.

S.P. Pandit and V.V. Mirashi have referred to a literary tradition that *Raghuvamśa* had more than nineteen chapters. According to what Pandit has ascertained, there were twenty-five chapters, and Mirashi has heard of twenty-six chapters.⁶ If they really were there, the missing chapters have not yet been found; and it is very unlikely that they will be found in the future. If the tradition were even partly correct, what had followed Chapter 19 is lost for ever.

This position is confirmed in remarkable manner by a literary tradition about Kālidāsa which was preserved by a king of Sri Lanka, Parākramabāhu VI of Kōṭṭe (A.D. 1412-15) in as many as five records on stone which have been recently deciphered. According to this tradition, preserved in Sri Lanka nearly 560 years ago, among other items of information, Kālidāsa wrote *Raghuvamśa* after composing *Meghadūta*; and this great epic poem was constructed by him at Kumāragupta's request and had consisted of twenty-five cantos, of which the last six contained historical information leading to the conclusion that Kumāragupta was connected with the great Ikṣvāku dynasty through his mother.

Kālidāsa was not writing pure history. He was *kavi-yaśah-prārthī* and his ambition was essentially that of a poet: he wanted to do better than other poets. The fact that Kālidāsa did not always follow Vālmiki's Rāmāyana, even while dealing with incidents in Rāma's life, deserves better attention than it has so far received. That there was a body of historical literature available to him which gave a different account of the Ikṣvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā is well established. Kālidāsa's departures from Rāma's story in Vālmiki's Rāmāyana have been commented upon in most editions of *Raghuvamśa*. There is even more reason to believe that he drew upon other sources both for his narration of careers of kings preceding Daśaratha and of kings who succeeded Rāma's son, Kuśa. Hemādri, who can easily be counted among the most erudite commentators of *Raghuvamśa*, observed, while commencing his comments on Chapter 19 of *Raghuvamśa* अथ रामायणादन्यदागमान्तरेण सर्गचतुष्टयं करोति [Kālidāsa constructed his (remaining) four chapters by using materials from other standard works]. Incidentally, the literary tradition about *Raghuvamśa* having more than nineteen chapters does not appear to have been known to Hemādri.

To what extent Kālidāsa departs from Vālmiki's Rāmāyana in spite of his obvious debt to that fundamental source of Indian literary values may be gauged by the fact that according to Vālmiki's list of

Ikṣvāku kings, Agnivarṇa preceded even Dilīpa I, whereas Agnivarṇa stood at the end of the line as described by Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa*.

In this context, a question logically arises: why was the epic named as *Raghuvamśa*, when the first three chapters, out of an available total of nineteen, deal with Dilīpa's career? It has been pointed out by at least two very competent scholars that Kālidāsa utilized accounts of this dynasty, including their sequence as mentioned in different Purāṇas, to a greater extent than Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. In a remarkable analysis, Pargiter has examined the difference in the sequence of kings detailed in different Purāṇas and that given in Rāmāyaṇa, *vis-a-vis* what was adopted by Kālidāsa in *Raghuvamśa*. The deviations between the incidents according to Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa and incidents in Rāma's career according to Kālidāsa were carefully examined earlier by Nandargikar.

The sequence of the immediate ancestors of Rāma is the same according to Aśvaghoṣa, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Kumāradāsa. This would justify an inference that they were drawing upon a common historical tradition. It appears that Kālidāsa took the liberty of omitting certain kings from such a standard list based on the Purāṇas but did not adjust that list in such a manner as to put a later king earlier in the gradation.

But this, by itself, does not explain why the epic was labelled *Raghuvamśa*, instead of *Dilīpavamśa*. What seems to have been decisive was the consideration that there were two Dilīpas in the standard list; and that it was Dilīpa II who was nearer to Raghu, and Raghu, in his turn, was not far removed from some immediate predecessors of Rāma. Kālidāsa did not want to write an *Ikṣvākuvamśa* but only about a limited part of that dynasty, whose most glorious achievements were recorded in Rāma's career. That is why Dilīpa's request was couched in these terms:

वशस्य कर्तारमनन्तकीर्ति सुदक्षिणाया तनय ययाचे । (RV, II. 64).

Raghu was founder of a line of Rāghavas. But his parentage, birth and career as heir-apparent had to be described to furnish a background. While so doing a confusion about Dilīpa I had to be avoided. Otherwise it would have become inevitable to describe at least some intermediate kings between Dilīpa I and Dilīpa II.

Does this premise lead to the position that Kālidāsa described Agnivarṇa's inglorious career because he deliberately wanted to omit dealing with one or more among those kings who succeeded Agnivarṇa according to Kālidāsa's standard list? It is quite unlikely that this was Kālidāsa's original design. He was deliberately shaping a contrast between Agnivarṇa and the bulk of his predecessors (especially his great father), whose common points he had summarized in his famous introductory verses in Chapter I of *Raghuvamśa*. Agnivarṇa was shown as a deliberate debauch who soon became a physical wreck, while still young, and died of tuberculosis. For months together, Agnivarṇa's premature death was not disclosed to the public by his ministers. If there could be

any poetic realism, or delineation true to life, this was it. Otherwise, it was not difficult for Kālidāsa to weave another plot and to say that Agnivarṇa was persuaded to give up his fast life by some sage, such as Vasistha, or that he was cured through a miracle. Both devices were handy. But Kālidāsa did not resort to such alternatives. Instead, he rapidly concluded his narration of Agnivarṇa's decadence by a very brilliant solution of the great, permanent and, therefore, never ending problem of evils. This was done by stating that the future of the dynasty was, literally, in the womb of a reigning dowager queen.

This, doubtless, was an astute pandit's reaction. But this too does not solve our problem. The concluding verse in Chapter 19 indicates the premise of a glorious reign which was expected to follow; and it is most unlikely that it was meant to serve as a fullstop. What prevented him from continuing his story of Ikṣvāku kings or what accounted for loss of what he wrote after Chapter 19, must remain a part of our ignorance. It may be that Kālidāsa pulled down the shutters of his literary workshop as his own life was fast approaching its physical extinction. That is why *Raghuvamśa* is without the usual setting of the close of a great literary work.

In view of Hemādri's specific statement about the last four chapters in *Raghuvamśa*, taken along with the fact that Kālidāsa depended more on a standard Purāṇic list, specifically modified by him in regard to earlier kings, it becomes significant that Agnivarṇa occupies not the ultimate point in the standard sequence adopted by Kālidāsa in respect of the later kings of Ikṣvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā, but a nearly penultimate position.

Chapter 18 which preceded the last available chapter of *Raghuvamśa*, has been styled, *Vamśānukrama*, or sequence of kings. It is obvious that it was constructed by Kālidāsa in order to enable him to race forward, as it were, to wind up the saga. If the standard list were taken into account there were not more than two or three kings after Agnivarṇa, e.g., Maru and Śrutāyu and Brhadbala.

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* mentions, after Agnivarṇa, the following kings: Śighra, Maru (who, by virtue of his power of devotion, is still living in the village called Kalpa and who in future will be the restorer of Kṣatriyas of the Solar dynasty), Prasuśruta, Sasandhi, Amarsa, Mahāswat, Viśrutavat (Śrutāyu of Padma?), and Brhadbala (who was slain in the Great War by Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna).

In dealing with the problem of whether Kālidāsa concluded his account with a description of a dissolute wreck, it is useful to analyse his depiction of Agnivarṇa's career. It is suggested that even such an analysis does not warrant an assumption that Kālidāsa did not want to carry forward the narration to the end of the standard list and had deliberately desired to stop short of it. It would be found that while Chapter 19 is complete in itself, it is clearly not marked out to be the final chapter.

Chapter 19 of *Raghuvamśa* describing Agnivarṇa succeeds Chapter 18 describing his father, Sudarśana, and the two together illustrate the artistic principle of *parabhāga*, i.e., of two colours making a greater effect through contrast.

Kālidāsa took care to depict not only the final stage of Agnivarṇa's moral downfall and physical decline. He has shown how there was accelerating deterioration in both these respects. Apart from such systematic development, there is evidence of exercise of a superb method in describing how Agnivarṇa indulged in different diversions: there were increasing festivities (st.5), followed by an ever widening gap between Agnivarṇa and his subjects (sts. 6, 7 and 8). Then there is reference to water sports (sts. 9 and 10) and participation in drinking bouts (sts. 11 and 12). *Nṛtya* is referred to in stanzas 13, 14 and 15. The imagery of an elephant surrounded by female elephants has been employed at different stages. Kālidāsa's deep knowledge of the science of erotics was fully utilized in stanzas which follow (st. 16 to 36). Thereafter, there is, in proper sequence, description of material pleasures, *indriya sukhāni*, resorted to in different seasons of the year (sts. 37 to 46). In verse 48 Kālidāsa has employed the strongest term in his vocabulary for denouncing a person, viz., *pramatta*; and in stanza 49, sternly drawn a moral out of this narration of Agnivarṇa's downfall, reminiscent of the *Gītā*. A great realistic touch is imparted in stanza 50 — a statement was made that Agnivarṇa contracted tuberculosis. In three successive stanzas there is a description of the circumstances leading to his death, followed by his secret cremation (verse 54). Changing metres rapidly, Kālidāsa refers to how there was coronation of Agnivarṇa's widow, how his posthumous successor performed penance⁷ and how that (unnamed) dowager queen ruled over her subjects who looked forward to the birth of their king.

What then was Kālidāsa's purpose in describing Agnivarṇa's downfall? A reference has already been made to the requirement of *parabhāga*. But there was an even more powerful incentive, viz., a desire to excel his predecessors. The nearest comparable circumstance is that furnished by Aśvaghosa. That great poet of Buddhism narrated how Prince Siddhārtha's father determined on a plan to engage Siddhārtha's mind completely in pursuit of material pleasures. In its external appearance, the scheme worked out on this basis was similar to that brought about by Agnivarṇa for himself. The common point was a royal personality being surrounded by courtesans who were bent on drawing him to carnal pleasures. It has already been recognized that there are several descriptions, long and short, in Kālidāsa's works which were obviously undertaken with a view to doing better than Aśvaghosa. I have separately shown⁸ how Kālidāsa utilized Aśvaghosa's account of the meeting between Ajātaśatru and Siddhārtha (*Buddha Carita*, canto IV), while dealing with his own account

of the conversation between Dilipa and the lion (Canto 3 of RV).

In order to appreciate this important aspect more fully, a reference is invited to a comparative statement between the contents of Chapter 4 of *Buddha Carita* and of Chapter 19 of *Raghuvamśa*. It would appear from this statement that while Siddhārtha was sent by his father to a *pramadavana*, Agnivarṇa sticks to his palace and its compound, which bears out Kālidāsa's superior dramatic insight. While there is much similarity between antics of courtesans in these two comparable accounts, Kālidāsa has taken care to employ greater erotic detail. Aśvaghosa was weighed down by the consideration that he was describing a voluptuous atmosphere being forced upon Siddhārtha, who ultimately got out of it through the power of his own will. Kālidāsa was describing not a prototype of Siddhārtha but Agnivarṇa, who was deliberately choosing to get more and more entangled in sensuous surroundings, completely unmindful of all consequences. While in his exercise Aśvaghosa described only one season, Kālidāsa took care to refer to all six seasons. The very first stanza of *Raghuvamśa*⁹ refers to the retiring king choosing to go to a forest to practise penance; and his successor, consciously deciding on selecting a life of exclusively carnal pleasures. Aśvaghosa dealt with a king setting up measures to compel his son to give up his idea of renunciation by trying to lure him towards a programme which pandered to sensuous pleasures. Kālidāsa dealt with a situation of one disciplined king being succeeded by a son who methodically sought only such pleasures. But in painting upon a much broader canvas in order to shape a contrast through employment of greater literary brilliance, Kālidāsa also chose to incorporate certain signs to serve as reliable evidence that this was conscious competition undertaken by him with a view to surpassing his great predecessor. Not only are there common ideas or related ideas or deliberately contrasted situations in his account of Agnivarṇa; Kālidāsa even took over certain striking words or phrases from this corresponding context in *Buddha Carita*.

Just as Aśvaghosa did not conclude his account of Buddha's career by stating how, as prince Siddhārtha, he had successfully overcome temptations which were set as a trap for him by his father, Kālidāsa did not intend that his account of Agnivarṇa's *śṅgāra* should be the conclusion of *Raghuvamśa*. Just as Aśvaghosa incorporated, in his *Buddha Carita*, the essence of Buddha's teachings, in due course, Kālidāsa intended to give his appreciation of what he thought best in Indian philosophy and culture, in the chapter or chapters to follow. Just as Aśvaghosa narrated Buddha's *sambodhi* and its results, there was a significant event in Indian history awaiting a later king of Ikṣvāku dynasty, viz., the great message to Arjuna. The Mahābhārata crisis was but a few generations away from Agnivarṇa, according to the standard list.

A persistent literary tradition would have it that Kālidāsa praised his patron Vikramāditya. In this connection, a reference is generally invited to

the play on the word, *vikrama*, occurring in Kālidāsa's drama, *Vikramorvaśīyam*. But the total volume of such references is comparatively negligible. It is also claimed that Raghu's *digvijaya* was modelled after Samudragupta's campaigns. Recent analyses have shown that Samudragupta's conquests in central and south India covered coastal Orissa and Andhra Pradesh plus a small part of eastern Madhya Pradesh. In any case, if Kālidāsa's initial patron were Candragupta Vikramāditya Sāhasānka, one does not discover in Kālidāsa's existing works an attempt to praise this great Gupta emperor in any direct manner. Could a guess be hazarded that making use of the prophecy in a verse in the Purāṇas according to which one of the last kings of Ikṣvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā would revive that dynasty's glory in *Kalyuga*, Kālidāsa had brought the narration up to date, so as to make an unvarnished plain reference to his patron emperor's ancestors?

According to the literary tradition available to Parākramabāhu VI of Kōṭṭe in Sri Lanka during the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the missing chapters in *Raghuvaṃśa* drew upon the history of the ancestry of Kumāragupta I, on his mother's side, so as to connect him with the Ikṣvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā. One may hazard a guess that it was mainly on account of their disputable and topical background that these six chapters first got dislocated and then went out of circulation. It is understood that the contents of these six chapters have been preserved in a manuscript belonging to a library in *Suvarṇapura* (*Śrīvijaya*, the *San-fo-tsi* of Chinese authors). Unfortunately, this portion of the manuscript has not yet been fully read. Their analysis would be of profound interest to students of Kālidāsa all over the world. It may throw significant light on the early history of the Gupta dynasty.

Whatever Kālidāsa's political motive might have been, his principal literary ambition in composing *Raghuvaṃśa* now becomes clearer. He wanted to link up the two main levels formed separately by India's two basic epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. It was an attempt¹⁰ to bridge the gap from one level to another. The technique of doing it was a dynastic account. That was the most convenient method which could be adopted to cover the vast distance. It was a magnificent approach. That which remained, probably, would have contained the accounts of the remaining few kings of the Ikṣvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā, concentrated on a grand description of the Mahābhārata war, with specific reference to doctrines of *Karmayoga* preached in that context, and ended with an indication of link between the Ikṣvākus of Ayodhyā and the ancestors of the imperial Guptas, who also belonged to that region.

Aśvaghoṣa recognized that literature could be a vehicle of religious propaganda. One may recall in this context, his famous verses in *Saundarānanda*:

विहाय तस्मादिह कार्यमात्मन कुरु स्थिरात्मन् परकार्यमप्यथो ।
भ्रमत्सु सत्त्वेषु तमोवृत्तात्मसु श्रुतप्रदीपो निशि धार्यतानयम् ॥ (XVIII 57)

यन्मोक्षात् वृत्तमान्यद ब्रहि मया तत्काव्यधर्मात्कृतम् ।
पातु तीव्रमिबोषध मधुयुत हृद्यं कथं स्यादिति ॥ (xviii, 63)

That Kālidāsa was expounding a certain school of thought or culture or philosophy, which, to some extent, was a challenge to Buddhism, is admitted in most criticisms of his works. This essay makes use of that proposition and adds another major proof in support of it.

Kālidāsa's final arguments in reply have been, so far, lost to posterity as they were contained in what he had planned to be concluding chapters of his last great work, viz., *Raghuvamśa*.

To sum up: Chapter 19 of *Raghuvamśa* was not intended by Kālidāsa to conclude that epic poem:

- (1) There is a tradition that some more chapters had been written.
- (2) Chapter 19 is not marked by the conventional signs of a literary work coming to an end.
- (3) It is unlikely that Kālidāsa wanted to conclude his chronicles of great kings by describing a king who was fit to be despised on account of his fast life in contrast with ideals which Kālidāsa preached and claimed to have been illustrated in biographies of earlier kings of Ikṣvāku dynasty.
- (4) Agnivarṇa was the *parabhāga* of Sudarśana and the two chapters 19 and 18 go together.
- (5) Kālidāsa wove the fabric of his description of Agnivarṇa in order to excel Aśvaghosa's account of temptations designed by prince Siddhārtha's father and faced by Siddhārtha.
- (6) Kālidāsa intended to conclude his great epic with an account of the philosophy of *Karmayoga* and also to suggest a link between the Ikṣvāku dynasty and the imperial Guptas.

The main suggestions are:

- (a) Kālidāsa had a definite plan for *Raghuvamśa*, being a most systematic writer who constructed his literary sequence very carefully.
- (b) *Raghuvamśa* is not a poem completed according to that plan whose main structure included bridging a gap between India's two basic epics, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata (including the Gītā).
- (c) As it exists, the final chapter does not complete the narration according to that plan, although it is complete in itself.
- (d) Kālidāsa made ample use of the Mahābhārata and other historical works, especially in (i) controlling the account of the Ikṣvāku dynasty contained in Vālmiki's Rāmāyana, and in (ii) drawing upon its¹⁰ *nīti* sequence, especially in the later parts of *Raghuvamśa*.
- (e) This analysis has biographical implications concerning Kālidāsa. One is that the concluding verses in Chapter 19 of *Raghuvamśa* might be the last lines that he wrote.

Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* is really ancient Indian political science distilled into extraordinarily rich poetry by means of a judiciously selected series of biographical sketches of that class of men who mattered most in his period, viz., royalty. But it lacks its final chapters. How many they were, one cannot tell. This conclusion is based on inferences derived from the fundamental characteristic of Kālidāsa's work, namely, that he was an exceedingly methodical and systematic writer. The more there is of method and system in an author, the clearer it would become to even an elementary student of that author to what extent the output remained incomplete. The apparatus of speculation, however, is most prominent in such an analysis. The writer of this essay is acutely conscious of such a criticism, of being told that there was little substance and far more surmise in his view of this matter.

II

The literary traditions about Kālidāsa which were prevalent among the Sanskrit pandits of the ancient kingdom of Suvarṇapura (or Śrīvijaya) and put together by Parākramabāhu VI of Kōṭṭe furnish an unexpected endorsement of the main conclusion in this essay, viz., that Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* did not end with Chapter 19 and that the remaining chapters had something very material to do with the dynasty of his patron. Parākramabāhu VI found it necessary to insert the text of a summarized account (*vr̥ttānta*) about Kālidāsa in between the lines of inscriptions incised under the command of other kings before his times. He had to take resort to this device in view of the open hostility maintained by the Mahāvihāra sect of Buddhism towards such writings. Dr. S. Paranavitana, who has recovered a number of documents of historical and literary interest, composed generally in Sanskrit language, from among such texts inscribed through using the surface of earlier inscriptions as palimpsests, has observed, "The extrication of one document from the other in this medley of writings is, therefore, a task involving great concentration and patience."¹¹ The text of the *vr̥ttānta* relating to Kālidāsa, incised under the orders of Parākramabāhu VI nearly 560 years ago in Sri Lanka, has been found, so far, at least at five different places:

- (1) On a slab which had been attributed by D.M. Adez. Wickremasinghe to Mahinda IV (middle of A.D. tenth century), vide Ep. Zey. Vol. I, No. 20.
- (2) On Ellavāva Pillar Inscription of Dappula IV (end of A.D. ninth century), vide Ep. Zey. Vol. V, No. 35.
- (3) On the Inscribed Slab No. M 111 kept in the Anurādhapura Museum.
- (4) On the inscribed pillar now kept standing on the foot of the flight of steps, ascending the Bō Maluva at Paṇduvasnuvara, left side; and
- (5) On the rock inscription at Rājagala (vide No. 42 of Appendix I in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, 1961-62)

In view of its importance, an English translation of this *vyttānta* handed down to posterity in an independently verifiable form by Parākrama-bāhu VI is given here. The rendering is by Dr. S. Paranvitana:

“Kālidāsa’s father was a Brahmin; his mother was a Vaiśya lady. When Kālidāsa was four years of age, his father left his mother. Kālidāsa was brought up by his mother. When he was seven years of age, Kālidāsa’s mother interviewed the master of the Sanskrit school at Ujjayinī, gave him presents, and requested him to teach Sanskrit to her son. The master told her that all the pupils in his school were Brahmin boys and, if a Vaiśya boy was admitted to their midst, he would experience great difficulties. There was also no gain that would come a Vaiśya’s way by acquiring a knowledge of Sanskrit. He, therefore, advised Kālidāsa’s mother to entrust the education of her son to the master of the Vaiśya school, so that Kālidāsa would acquire such lore as would be appropriate to a Vaiśya. Kālidāsa’s mother went with her son to meet the master of the Vaiśya school, and, having told him that her son was bent on learning Sanskrit, enquired whether the master could teach him that language. Now, the master of the Vaiśya school, too, was highly proficient in Sanskrit, and, therefore, accepted Kālidāsa as his pupil for teaching the boy Sanskrit. Kālidāsa applied assiduously to his studies and, in due time, acquired a good knowledge of the Sanskrit language with its grammar and lexicon, the art of versifying, the poetic art, dramatic art, logic, philosophy and various other arts and sciences.

“Kālidāsā, now in youthful manhood, inquired from his teacher whether there was any vocation that he could pursue as a means of livelihood. The teacher saw his friend, the chief bard (*sūta-pramukha*) of the Palace, told the latter about Kālidāsā, and enquired whether the youth could be enrolled in his company of bards. The chief bard, having obtained the approval of the Emperor Kumāragupta, employed Kālidāsā as an apprentice bard (*sūta-navaka*). Having served as apprentice for seven months, Kālidāsā was appointed a bard (*sūta*).

“Thereafter, in the early morning and at night every day, Kālidāsā, in the company of other bards, stood in front of the bed-chamber of Emperor Kumāragupta, and recited verses. Kālidāsā found that the verses recited were not beautiful. He, therefore, composed some verses himself, and handed them to the chief bard. The latter found them very charming, trained the other bards also to recite them, and had them recited so as to be heard by Kumāragupta. The Emperor liked these verses, and inquired from the chief bard about their source. The chief bard informed the Emperor that these verses were the compositions of the newly employed bard, named Kālidāsā. Kumāragupta ordered the chief bard to recite other verses by Kālidāsā, if there were any. Kālidāsā composed some more verses, which were also duly recited to be heard by Kumāragupta. Having

listened to them, Kumāragupta sent for Kālidāsa, complimented him on the excellence of the verses composed by him, and enquired whether Kālidāsa could write a drama. Kālidāsa replied in the affirmative, and shortly after he had attracted royal notice, started on the play entitled *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Having completed the drama, he sent a copy of it to the Emperor through the chief bard. Kumāragupta gave Kālidāsa's work to the poets of the Royal Sabhā to be read and evaluated. The opinion of the poets was highly favourable to Kālidāsa. Kumāragupta, having received that opinion, ordered the production of the play. Those who were privileged to see this first production of a play by Kālidāsa were unanimously of opinion that *Mālavikāgnimitra* was a drama of more than ordinary poetic and dramatic quality. Kālidāsa produced a second play, *Vikramorvaśīya*, which was also well received. Kālidāsa, having composed his third play, *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, sent it to Kumāragupta through the chief bard, stating that this work of his excelled the other two. The Emperor ordered the production of *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, and the select company of royalty and grantees who saw its first performance exclaimed that they had never before seen a drama so replete with *rasa*, and that the poetic genius of Kālidāsa was of a rare order. Kālidāsa was the recipient of costly presents from the Emperor, the feudatory kings, ministers and other grantees. Kumāragupta gave Kālidāsa a place among the poets of his court. Kālidāsa became affluent and, having espoused a young lady of his social status, was leading a happy and contented life.

“The chief bard was overcome with jealousy when he reflected that Kālidāsa, who was brought to the notice of the Emperor through him, was occupying a higher position at court than that of himself, and thought out a plan to bring about Kālidāsa's downfall. He suggested to Kālidāsa to compose a Mahākāvya on the birth of Skandakumāra, according to the legend given in the Rāmāyana, as an allegory on the birth of Kumāragupta. Such a poem, he thought, would delight Kumāragupta. Kālidāsa was himself at that time in search of a theme for a Mahākāvya; he, therefore, acted on the suggestion of the chief bard, and, having composed Cantos I-VII of the *Kumārasambhava*, gave them to the chief bard to read. The chief bard congratulated Kālidāsa on his achievement thus far, and enquired whether the poem was to end with canto seven, which closes with the entering of Śiva and Pārvatī to the Kautukāgāra. Kālidāsa replied that it was not so, but that he was considering how best to deal with the Rāmāyana account of what took place in the Kautukāgāra after Śiva and Pārvatī entered it. The chief bard suggested that the theme be dealt with on the basis of Kālidāsa's own experience when he entered a Kautukāgāra for the first time in his life. Kālidāsa accepted this suggestion, and the eighth canto of the *Kumārasambhava* was the result. The chief bard, after having read this, said to himself that the canto was

highly poetic indeed, but was most inappropriate.

“He saw Emperor Kumāragupta, and informed His Majesty that Kālidāsa had begun a Mahākāvya on the birth of Skandakumāra as an allegory on His Majesty’s own birth, and explained how Kālidāsa had dealt with the theme in the eighth canto. ‘If the poem is meant to be an allegory on the birth of Your Majesty, the conduct of Śiva and Pārvatī, as described in the eighth canto, would be the conduct of the parents of Your Majesty. The depiction of the parents of Your Majesty in that position is likely to cause loss of respect in the people towards the parents of Your Majesty. If they lose respect towards the parents of Your Majesty, they would also lose the respect that they entertain towards Your Majesty.’ So saying, the chief bard began weeping. Asked by Kumāragupta why he was weeping, he replied that his weeping was because of the love that he had for His Majesty, and that it was caused unintentionally when he thought of the ill-disciplined nature of Kālidāsa. ‘Your Majesty is the best judge in this matter.’ So saying, he took leave of Kumāragupta and went home, evidently leaving with the Emperor the copy of the eighth canto of the *Kumārasambhava*.

“After having read the eighth canto of the *Kumārasambhava*, Kumāragupta summoned Kālidāsa, told him of what the chief bard had brought to the notice of His Majesty, and enquired whether it was true. Kālidāsa replied that it was true, but he had himself realized later that the eighth canto of the Mahākāvya that he was composing was inappropriate, and had decided to burn it as soon as he got it back from the chief bard. Kumāragupta told Kālidāsa that it should not be burnt, that it might in the future be a text for those studying the *Kāmasāstra*, and that he had ordered all the eight cantos of the *Kumārasambhava* to be kept in the royal library. He further stated that the legend of the birth of Skandakumāra as given in the Rāmāyana,¹² was not a suitable theme for a Mahākāvya; therefore, *Kumārasambhava* should not be proceeded with any further.

“The Emperor then stated that a complaint had been made to him that Kālidāsa had been guilty of an impropriety. One who has committed an improper action should not be admitted to the royal assembly. Kālidāsa himself had admitted his guilt. But in the three previous works of Kālidāsa, there was nothing improper or indiscreet. Therefore, it would be a sufficient punishment for Kālidāsa to be debarred from entry to the king’s Sabhā for a period of one year. Kālidāsa could spend this period in travel abroad, and broaden his knowledge. Kumāragupta advised him to visit the Daksināpatha.

“Kālidāsa took leave of the Emperor, returned home, arranged for his wife to remain with her father, and started on his travels. After having spent seven months in visiting various regions of the south, he arrived at Rāmagiri at the beginning of the rainy season. When he was immersed

in thought as to how he could spend the remaining five months of his exile, he saw a rain cloud on the top of the mountain, and the theme of the *Meghadūta* flashed to his mind. After having composed this poem, he sent a copy to Kumāragupta, who read it and rejoiced that he had made Kālidāsa compose an immortal poem. At this juncture, he came to know from his spies that the eighth canto of the *Kumārasambhava* was composed by Kālidāsa at the suggestion of the chief bard. Kumāragupta dismissed the chief bard from his office, which he decided to give to Kālidāsa. He sent a message to Kālidāsa, stating that Kālidāsa now had permission to enter Ujjayinī and the royal assembly.

“Having received this message, Kālidāsa lost no time in returning to Ujjayinī. He visited his wife and consoled her. Then he saw Kumāragupta and expressed his pleasure at being able to serve His Majesty once again. Kumāragupta invited Kālidāsa to compose a Mahākāvya on his own descent from the Ikṣvāku race as the theme. Kālidāsa accepted this request, and composed the *Raghuvamśa* in twenty-five cantos.”

There are many reasons why this *ṛttānta* should be taken as far more serious a statement than a version based on mere traveller’s tale. To my mind, its most important part consists in locating Kālidāsa as a contemporary of Kumāragupta I and of his son, Skandagupta. The most important sentence in the text of the *ṛttānta* is that occurring right at the end, according to which Kālidāsa was given honours both by Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta. It is most unlikely that anybody could invent these two names in the beginning of A.D. fifteenth century, during which period there was virtually no knowledge of the Gupta dynasty; and it was not possible on anybody’s part then to hold that Skandagupta’s reign followed that of Kumāragupta I. That Kālidāsa was a contemporary of these two rulers of imperial Gupta dynasty is very significant result of this inscriptional evidence from Sri Lanka, recorded at a time so greatly removed from our modern era of controversy in respect of such topics.

That the last chapter in the available text of *Raghuvamśa* was not intended to mark the conclusion of this great epic poem of Kālidāsa has been explained in the earlier paragraphs of this essay.¹³ The literary tradition that *Raghuvamśa* contained more chapters than nineteen has been noticed earlier.¹⁴ But its mention in stone inscriptions incised nearly six centuries ago in Sri Lanka is valuable corroboration.

There is independently verifiable evidence, in certain inscriptions, of Kālidāsa’s influence. For example, it had been conceded long ago that Kālidāsa’s style had been imitated in Bandhu Varman’s Daśapura (Mandasour) record (A.D. 436) inscribed during the reign of Kumāragupta I. Kālidāsa is mentioned by name in Ravi Kirti’s Aihole inscription of A.D. 473. Another Daśapura (Mandasour) inscription of A.D. 466-67 also shows the influence of Kālidāsa’s writings. Further, we

have other evidence derived from coin types which circulated in the reign of Kumāragupta I. His rhinoceros protector coin type is directly based on a stanza taken from Chapter 9 of *Raghuvamśa*, which is devoted to descriptions of *mrigayā* conducted by Daśaratha. The elephant-rider and lion-slayer coins of Kumāragupta I are also based on Kālidāsa's ideas. Candragupta II, father of Kumāragupta I, was the first to strike the lion-slayer type of coin. But the variations introduced by Kumāragupta I in this coin type initiated by his predecessor are directly traceable to Kālidāsa's poetry. I have analysed this elsewhere.

Accordingly, it is possible to conclude that since a literary genius immediately influences his contemporary world, such evidence regarding the influence of his style derived from inscriptions and coinage would definitely associate Kālidāsa with the reign of Kumāragupta I, which, probably, marked the zenith of the material prosperity of north India under the imperial Guptas.

A much later south Indian inscription¹⁵ suggests that the imperial Guptas belonged to a Lunar dynasty. According to this old *ṛttānta* of Kālidāsa whose text has now been made available from Sri Lanka, Kālidāsa's two patron kings did not belong to the Solar Ikṣvāku dynasty but were connected with it through the mother of Kumāragupta I. We have some independent information about this lady: her name was Dhruvaswāminī; and a seal bearing her name along with additional details like the fact that she was the queen of Mahārājadhirāja Śrī Candragupta II and that Śrī Candragupta was her son was discovered during Vaiśālī excavations in 1903-4. Whether Dhruvaswāminī was an Ikṣvāku princess or not cannot be stated definitely. If it were likely that her father was a Licchavi, which is pure surmise based on her association with a prominent Licchavi area like the Vaiśālī region, her family before marriage might have been Ikṣvāku. The Licchavis were proud Ksatriyas of the Solar group, like those of the Śākya clan to which Prince Siddhārtha of Kapilavastu belonged. Anyway, this *ṛttānta* confirms the position that the imperial Guptas were Ksatriyas.

The *ṛttānta* throws valuable light on the sequence of the stages in Kālidāsa's literary career. It makes, however, no reference to his early poem, *Ṛitusamhāra*. Kālidāsa's early education has been the subject of many fanciful literary legends. The version preserved by Parākramabāhu VI adds to their number. It is likely that this part of the literary tradition is unreliable — both in respect of Kālidāsa's parentage and his alleged difficulty in finding a suitable Pāṭhaśālā for studying Sanskrit in Ujjayinī.

The portion relating to *Meghadūta* is very interesting. It indirectly confirms that Rāmagiri was in Dakṣiṇāpatha; and directly supports the view that *Meghadūta* was partly autobiographical.

Similarly important is the information that the eighth canto in *Kumārasambhava* was based on the narration of Kumāra's birth in Vālmiki

Rāmāyaṇa. In fact, it is noteworthy that even the title of the work, *Kumārasambhava*, occurs in Vālmīki's¹⁶ account.

- ¹ The purpose of this great classic was to highlight the virtues of kings. That is what drew Kālidāsa to this enterprise. According to Dr Altekar, "It is not unlikely that this great poet may have been one of the tutors appointed by Candragupta to educate the Vākāṭaka princess". (NHIP, p. 112).
- ² RV, I. 8.
- ³ RV, XVIII. 18.
- ⁴ This was fully in accordance with the *Gītā* view of life which permits complete individual liberty in deciding one's career.
- ⁵ Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa had different outlooks towards purely hereditary factors. The former ridiculed the importance of varṇa or family tradition in an individual's accomplishment of greatness. Kālidāsa, true to his balanced outlook, permitted some scope for hereditary influences. One can counter this point by asserting that Kālidāsa might have disregarded the rules of such convention, at least once.
- ⁶ V.V. Mirashi: *Kālidāsa* (Hindi, 1956 edition), p. 137.
- ⁷ This was an extremely clever touch. This variety of penance was called *śyāma-śabala* or *agni-pāṇīya vrata* and has also been referred to in *Kumārasambhava*, 23-25.
- ⁸ J.B R.S., Buddha Jayanti Special issue, 1956.
- ⁹ This sentence is based on Kālidāsa's own famous verse, RV, I.2.
- ¹⁰ As *Raghuvamśa* dealt with conclusions of political science, in one form or another, it was but natural that Kālidāsa should draw upon political maxims occurring in the Mahābhārata.
- ¹¹ See his paper "Traditions about Kālidāsa which were prevalent in Śrīvijaya."
- ¹² See *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, Bāla-Kāṇḍa, 36-37, as also footnote (16) below.
- ¹³ In fact, those paragraphs constitute an article which I had contributed to Vikram University's Special Kālidāsa Number for 1969.
- ¹⁴ See above paragraph 2(5).
- ¹⁵ Bombay Gazetteer I, 11, p. 578.
- ¹⁶ *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, Bāla-Kāṇḍa, 37.31, the account of Kumara's birth being stated in cantos 36.37 of Bāla-Kāṇḍa.

Religious Condition under the Śīlāhāras

V. V. Mirashi

The Śīlāhāra family originally hailed from Tagara, modern Ter, in the Osmanabad district of the Marathawada division of Maharashtra. There were as many as six branches of the family which settled in different parts of South India. Of these, three branches which ruled in north and south Koṅkan and in the Kolhapur territory are better known. The founder of the north Koṅkan branch was Kapardin I, who rose to power as a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūta emperor Govinda III in *circa* A.D. 800. He was ruling over the modern Thana and Kolaba districts with his capital at Sthānaka (modern Thana, near Bombay). This branch was ruling for more than four and a half centuries. It was finally overthrown by the Yādava king Mahādeva in *circa* A.D. 1265. The second branch was governing south Koṅkan, comprising modern Ratnagiri district. Its founder was Saṇaphulla, who obtained his kingdom by the favour of the Rāshtrakūta suzerain Kṛishnarāja I in *circa* A.D. 765. Its capital was Balipaṭṭana, probably identical with modern Khārepātan in the Ratnagiri district. This family was overthrown in *circa* A.D. 1020 by the Later Chālukya king Jayasīma. The third branch was governing what is now known as the southern Marāṭhā country. It seems to have risen to power in *circa* A.D. 940 as a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūta emperor Kṛishṇa III. It acknowledged the suzerainty of the Later Chālukyas after the overthrow of the Rāshtrakūtas. It continued to reign till *circa* A.D. 1215, when its last member Bhoja II was defeated by the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa. Its capital was probably at Kolhapur, where several inscriptions of this branch have been discovered. Vaḷivāḍa and Pranālaka are mentioned in some records as places of royal residence. The former is probably identical with the village Vaḷivāḍe, about six miles east of Kolhapur, and the latter with the famous fort of Panhālā.

All the three branches of the Śīlāhāra family gave liberal patronage to religion, art and literature. It is proposed to discuss here the religious condition in their dominions in the period from *circa* A.D. 800 to A.D. 1200. The following account is based mainly on the inscriptional records of the Śīlāhāras.

Of the three ancient religions of India, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Jainism, the first seems to have had very few votaries in the period of the Śīlāhāras. The only Buddhist inscriptions¹ of the period discovered so far exist at Kānherī, which seems to have been a fairly flourishing centre of that religion in Koṅkan in the reign of the early Śīlāhāras. The inscriptions show that the centre attracted devotees from far-off places like Gauḍa or West Bengal. They made permanent endowments (*akshaya-nīvis*) for the worship of the Bhagavat (Buddha) and the food, clothing and books of the monks residing in the caves by depositing the necessary amounts of *drammas* with the veneral community of the place. We have no further mention of this centre of Buddhism until we come to the time of Millikārjuna (the second half of the twelfth century A.D.), one of the

later Śilāhāras. Meruttuṅga tells us that Āmbaḍa, a minister of the Chālukya king Kumārapāla, when he was unsuccessful in the invasion of north Koṅkaṇ, took shelter in the Buddhist caves of Kānherī, putting on black raiment.² Meruttuṅga's tale is not wholly reliable, but it seems to suggest that some Buddhist monks were staying at Kānherī as late as the twelfth century A.D. Soḍḍhala, who flourished a century earlier, describes a Buddhist *chaitya* situated in Khandesh in his *Udayasundarikathā*, but that statement belongs to the realm of fiction. It seems, however, that there were a few adherents of Buddhism in the southern Marāṭhā country as the Śilāhāra king Gaṇḍarāditya of the Kolhapur branch is known to have built a temple of the Buddha along with those of Śiva and Jina at the village of Irukuḍī (modern Iraḷī in the Miraj *tālukā*) and donated a *nivartana* each for their worship.³

Hinduism was in the most flourishing condition in this period. The old Vedic sacrifices had long been out of vogue. There are no references to the performance of such Śrauta sacrifices as the Vājapeya and Aśvamedha in any Śilāhāra inscriptions. The Smṛitis also, which were held authoritative in this period as also their commentaries, do not preach the performance of costly Vedic sacrifices. They emphasize instead the importance of the *pañcha-mahāyajñas*, viz., *bali* (offerings to living creatures), *charu* (offerings to gods), *vaiśvadeva* (worship of deities), *agnihotra* (maintenance of the sacred fire) and *atithi-pūjana* (reception of guests). Many of the land-grants made to Brāhmaṇas by the Śilāhāras as also by other kings in this period were intended to enable the donees to perform these sacrifices regularly. It was believed that the regular performance of these rites conduced to the welfare of the State.

As the Vedic religion lost ground in this period and Purāṇic Hinduism came to the forefront, the worship of Purāṇic gods and goddesses prevailed throughout this period. Most of the grants made by the Śilāhāras, their ministers and even common people were for the construction of their temples, their worship with the five provisions (*pañchopachārapūjā*), the maintenance of lamps in their temples, provision for the residence of ascetics in the *maṭhas* attached to them and for the maintenance of the *sattras* (charitable feeding halls) connected therewith. Among gods, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Āditya (the Sun), and Brahmā, and among goddesses, Mahālakshmī, Jogeśvarī and Bhagavatī are mentioned in the records of the Śilāhāras. Śiva was the most favourite deity. The Śilāhāras were ardent Śaivas. Most of their grants were made for the worship of Śiva. Jhañjha of north Koṅkaṇ is said to have built twelve temples of that god evidently at the sites of the twelve *Jyotirlingas* and named them after himself. Chhittarāja began the construction of the famous temple of Śiva at Ambarnāth, which was completed in the reign of his youngest brother Mummuni.⁴ The Khārepāṭan plates⁵ of Raṭṭarāja record certain grants made by the king for the worship of Avveśvara, evidently Śiva installed by his father Avasāra

III and named after himself. Some Śīlāhāras undertook pilgrimages to the well-known Śiva-*kshetra* Somanāthapaṭṭaṇa and made grants of lands in their kingdom to the god Someśvara. Many Śīlāhāra inscriptions state that Arikesarin, even while he was a mere boy, went to Somanāthapaṭṭaṇa as directed by his father and offered to the god there all his victories. Even ministers and common people constructed temples of Śiva and named the god after themselves. Thus Vyomaśiva, a *Rājaguru* and also one of the ministers of the Śīlāhāra king Aparāditya II, constructed a temple of Śiva named Vyomeśvara, and, with the king's permission, made a land-grant for his worship. Lakshmaṇanāyaka, another minister of the same king, made certain donations of *drammas* out of the proceeds of a *vāṭikā* (orchard) at Sthānaka in favour of the god Somanātha in Saurāshṭra (i.e. at Somanāthapaṭṭana). Some other names of Śiva in whose honour gifts are recorded in Śīlāhāra inscriptions are Marudīśvara at Marutkshetra (Murud), Uttareśvara of Sthānaka (Thana), Someśvara (Bhivandi *tālukā*), Gudaleśvara at the village Gudālaya (Radhanagari *tālukā*), Mādhavēśvara in Sedambāla (Kolhapur district), etc. Sometimes, gifts are found made not to Śiva only but to the Śiva-*pañchāyatana* (i.e., Śiva, Pārvatī, Gajānana, etc.).

Of the two sons of Śiva, Kārttikeya had receded to the background, there being no reference to him in any Śīlāhāra record. But the other son Gaṇanāyaka (i.e., Gaṇapati) came to the forefront. Though no shrines in his honour are mentioned, he is invariably praised in the beginning of almost all inscriptions of the Northern Śīlāhāras. His mount, a rat, is mentioned in a passage cited from Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha in the Aparārka commentary, Vol. I, p. 571.

Visnu was another popular deity, but Śīlāhāra records contain very few references to grants made to him. There was a temple of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa at Māṇḍavalī (modern Mandavi in the Thana district), to which a grant was made in the reign of Keśideva II.⁶ It was constructed by Lakshmīdhara, a minister of that king. There were some other temples of that god such as that at Brahmapurī near Kolhapur erected by the Śīlāhāras and their ministers. As the Kolhapur Śīlāhāras were fervent devotees of Mahālakshmī, the *Maṅgala-śloka* of many of their characters is in praise of the Varāha incarnation of Visnu, the consort of that goddess.

Brahmā had declined in importance. He was, of course, worshipped in the beginning of religious rites and his images were carved on the outside of the walls of the temples of Śiva such as that at Ambarnāth, but temples were rarely dedicated to him. One such was erected at Brahmapurī on the outskirts of Kolhapur by Maillapaiyya, *Kaḍṭāmātya* (military minister) of Gaṇḍarāditya, when he repaired the temple of Kheḍāditya there.⁷ Sūrya had more devotees. Śīlāhāra inscriptions from north Koṅkaṇ invariably mention that the kings worshipped him before making any grants

to gods and Brāhmaṇas. References to his temples occur in some records. There was a temple of Loṇāditya at Lavaṇetata (modern Loṇad, south-west of Bhivandī), to which the Śīlāhāra king Aparājita made a land-grant. At the aforementioned Brahmapurī, a suburb of Kolhapur, there was an old temple of Kheḍāditya (the Sun). Maillapaiyya, the aforesaid *āmātya* of Gaṇḍarāditya, while repairing it, added to it two other shrines of Brahmā and Viṣṇu and requested the king to make a grant to keep the three-spired temple in good repair.

Some temples of goddesses are also mentioned in Śīlāhāra inscriptions. The most famous of them was the temple of Mahālakṣmī at Kolhapur. Who constructed it is not known definitely; but the goddess had become well-known before the ninth century A.D.; for the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I is said to have offered her a finger of his left hand to ward off a public calamity.⁸ Her temple is a star-shaped triple shrine, with Mahālakṣmī in the central *garbhagriha* and Mahākālī and Mahāsarasvatī in the shrines to her right and left respectively. The present temple may have been constructed by one of the Sinda kings who was ruling at Karahāṭa (modern Karad) before the Śīlāhāras conquered the Kolhapur country as shown earlier. It had already become famous as a well-known *Śākta-pīṭha*. These Śīlāhāras were her fervent devotees. They believed that they had obtained their kingdom by her grace; for they state in their grants that they had secured her gracious boon. The goddess Bhagavatī at Saṁyāna (modern Sanjan in the Thana district) seems to have been well known in that age. Copper-plate grants made to her in the reigns of the Arab feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the *Māṇḍalika* Chāmuṇḍarāja, who owed allegiance to the northern Śīlāhāras, have been discovered recently.⁹ The goddess Jogeśvarī is mentioned in the Cintra stone inscription which seems to have originally belonged to a place named after her in the Sāshtī island. Padmāvatī, a Śāsana-devatā of the Jaina faith, is mentioned in a record of the reign of Vijayāditya.

As the Śīlāhāras of north and south Koṅkaṇ were ardent Śaivas, they invited Śaiva ascetics to their capital even from distant places and made liberal grants to them. It is interesting to note that Ātreya, who received the grant recorded in the Khārepāṭaṇ plates dated Śaka 930 from the Śīlāhāra king Raṭṭarāja, was a disciple of the learned Śaiva ascetic Am̐bhojaśaṁbhu, who belonged to the Karkaroni branch of the Mattamayūra clan.¹⁰ Karkaroni has not yet been identified, but it seems to have been situated somewhere in central India. The Mattamayūra clan, of which it was a branch, took its name from the capital of the Chālukya kings who flourished in central India in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D.¹¹ This place has not been definitely identified, but was probably identical with modern Kadvāhā, in the former Gwalior State, which possesses the remains of a Hindu monastery and not less than fourteen Brahmanical temples, all belonging to the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. M.B. Garde, former

Director of Archaeology, Gwalior State, says, "Such a group of temples is found at no other single place in the Gwalior State." The Mattamayūra clan sent its Āchāryas to distant countries such as Chedi and Andhra to found *maṭhas* for the propagation of the Śaiva doctrine.

There are four well-known sects of Śaivism, viz., Śaiva, Pāśupata, Kāruka (or Kāruṇika) and Kāpālika. The Āchāryas of the Mattamayūra clan belonged to the first or the Śaiva School. Their names ended in *śiva* or *śambhu* as those of the Pāśupatas ended in *rāśi*. Some Śaiva Āchāryas of both these schools are mentioned in Śilāhāra inscriptions. Thus, Jñānaśiva, who received the gift on behalf of the temple of Bhāiyapeśvara, probably belonged to this Śaiva sect. He is described as a disciple of Vādāchārya of the western Āmnāya. This shows that there was a great centre of this sect in western India. Āmbhojaśambhu, another ascetic of this sect, has been mentioned above. Vedaśiva, who was the *Rājaguru* of Mallikārjuna, was also of this sect. Vyomaśiva, who is described as Bhōpaka, also belonged to this very sect. He later became the *Mahāpradhāna* of Mallikārjuna's successor Aparāditya II.¹² This indicates what political influence these Śaiva Āchāryas wielded at the court of the Northern Śilāhāras. The Miraj plates of Mārasimha mention the Pāśupata Paṇḍita Brahmeśvara, who is highly eulogized therein. His disciple was Chikkadeva, who also was learned like him.

There is a lengthy discussion in the Aparārka commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* about the acceptance of the doctrines and the observance of the practices of these sects of Śaivism. The orthodox followers of the Vedas did not look with favour on them. Some of them said that they were proclaimed by Śiva for misguiding the people who had strayed from the correct path of the Vedas. Aparārka condemns certain rites of these sects which required the use of liquor, the offerings of victims to Chandikā, the preparation of mystic collyrium in skull-cups on the occasion of eclipses for the smearing of the eyes for the attainment of miraculous powers, etc., as sinful and prohibited in the Kali Age. He sums up the discussion by stating that only those practices of these sects which are not opposed to the dictates of the orthodox sacred texts should be followed.

The worship of Śiva and other gods consisted of *aṅgabhoga* and *raṅgabhoga*. The former comprised the eight offerings (*aṣṭavidhā archanā*) of water, sandal paste, flowers, *akshatas*, incense, lamp, food, and *tāmbūla*. The latter included entertainment of the deity with singing, music and dancing. One record mentions the *dārikās*, who correspond to the modern *devadāsīs* and who entertained the god with singing and dancing. The Śiva temples were resorts of the ascetics of the sects, for whose food and raiment provision was made out of the proceeds of the donated villages. In the *maṭhas* attached to the temple of Mahālakṣmī in Kolhapur provision was made for the residence and maintenance of the Sahavāsī and Karahāṭa Brāhmaṇas for the worship, with fivefold offerings, of the

goddess. Several temples had schools attached to them where the sacred texts were taught. The *maṭhas*, attached to the temples, had *satthas* or charitable feeding halls, which gave food and shelter to travellers and destitute persons. One record mentions the provision made for the smearing, with oil, of the feet of Vedic students, guests and Brāhmṇas residing in the temple. Another record mentions the institution of the *Pañchamahāmaṭha*, the exact nature of which is not clear. Similar references occur in several Kannada records. According to some scholars prominence was given in these *maṭhas* to five deities, namely, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, Buddha and Jina. It is, however, doubtful if there were *maṭhas* dedicated to Buddha and Jina in Koṅkaṇ in our period.

Jainism also was flourishing in the dominion of the Śīlāhāras. Soḍḍhala mentions some Jaina poets and authors who were honoured in the Lāṭa and Koṅkaṇ countries, but we have no references to any Jaina temples in the inscriptions of the Śīlāhāras of both north and south Koṅkaṇ. Some records of the Kolhapur Śīlāhāras, however, mention grants made to Jaina temples. At Kolhapur there was a Jaina saint named Māghanandi-siddhāntadeva, who officiated as the priest of the temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa.¹³ The temple was evidently erected by a Śīlāhāra king who bore that *biruda*. He may have been Gaṇḍarāditya, who is known to have had that *biruda*. Besides, Gaṇḍarāditya is known to have built a temple of Jina, together with those of Śiva and Buddha, on the bank of the tank Gaṇḍasāgara which he got excavated at Irukuḍī in the Mīrīṇja-deśa. Māghanandi-siddhāntadeva was the head of the Pustaka Gachchha of the Deśīya Gaṇa of the Mūla Saṅgha. His disciples officiated as priests at different temples and received gift for the worship of the Tīrthaṅkaras and the repairs of their temples. We know from inscriptions that there was a temple of Pārśvanātha at the village Hāvina-Herilāge (modern Here in the Ajre mahal of the Kolhapur district). The temple was built by one Vāsudeva, the *Haḍapavaḷa* (betel-box-bearing attendant) of the *Sāmanta* Kāmadeva, who owed allegiance to the Śīlāhāra king Vijayāditya.¹⁴ Another temple of Pārśvanātha was at Maṇḍalūra (modern Maḍur in the Bhudargaḍ talukā of the Kolhapur district). At the request of his maternal uncle *Sāmanta* Lakshmana, King Vijayāditya granted some land, etc., to another disciple of the aforementioned Māghanandi-siddhāntadeva, who officiated as the priest of the temple. A third temple of Pārśvanātha was at Kavaḍegolla built by Nimbadevarasa, a feudatory of Gaṇḍarāditya. It received several donations of rates and taxes from the merchant guild of the Vīra-Baṇaṇjas of Ayyāvoḷe (modern Aihole in the Bijapur district). The priest Śrutakīrti, who was then in charge of the temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa in Kolhapur, received them for the benefit of the temple. Another Jaina temple dedicated to Neminātha was at Ājurikā (modern Ajre in the Kolhapur district). It was called Tribhuvanatilaka and was constructed by the Śīlāhāra king Gaṇḍarādityadeva, who evidently bore that *biruda*.¹⁵ It is mentioned in

the grammatical work *Śabdārṇavachandrikā* of Somadeva.

The Smṛitis and commentaries on them held authoritative in this period preach the performance of *ishṭa* and *pūrta* for the acquisition of religious merit. *Ishṭa* denoted Vedic sacrifices, which could be performed only by members of the three higher castes. But *pūrta*, which denoted charitable works, was open to all. The Aparārka commentary cites the following verse from the Mahābhārata, defining the *pūrta*:

वापीकूप तडागानि देवतायतनानि च ।
अन्नप्रदानमारामं पूर्तमित्यभिधीयते ॥

[The *pūrta* includes the following: Construction of large and small wells, tanks and temples of gods, as well as the maintenance of *sattras* (charitable feeding halls) and gardens.]

We find from the inscriptions that the people of the age tried to secure religious merit by means of all these. We have already described the temple-building activity of the age. As an example of the excavation of a tank, we have the mention of the *Gaṇḍasāgara* dug by the Śilāhāra king Gaṇḍarāditya at Irukuḍī (modern Iralī) in the Miriṇja-deśa. References to the digging of public wells occur in some records and to the donation of *vāṭikās* or orchards in many others. *Sattras* were attached to the temples and *maṭhas*, where ascetics, students and guests were charitably fed.

An analysis of the inscriptions of the age would yield interesting results about the religious tendencies of the time.

Of the sixty-eight known inscriptions of the Śilāhāras of the three branches named before, three are concerned with Buddhism, and four with Jainism. Of the remaining, as many as eight relate to secular matters such as the appointment of a *Daṇḍādhipati* (provincial governor), royal gifts to officers, royal assent to the claim for a particular village, exemptions from customs dues and from house-tax, etc. Of the remaining inscriptions, nineteen record gifts in honour of gods, and seventeen those to Brāhmaṇas. The former relate to the erection, completion, or repairs of the temples of gods, provision for their regular worship, maintenance of a perpetual lamp in their sanctums, and of *sattras* for ascetics and students, and the performance of periodical rites and ceremonies. One grant was made to the royal *parishad* that advised the king in regard to religious and judicial matters. The remaining seventeen record grants to Brāhmaṇas on a sacred *tithi* or an eclipse for the performance of their religious duties and the maintenance of their families.

The sacred occasions on which gifts were made to gods and Brāhmaṇas are mentioned in the following verse of Jātūkarnya cited in the commentary of Aparārka:

ग्रहोपदाने यद्दानं सूर्यसंक्रमणेषु च ।
द्वादश्यादौ च यद्दानं पूर्तमित्यभिधीयते ॥

This verse tells us that eclipses (of the sun and the moon), the *saṅkrāntis* and the twelfth and other *tithis* in certain months are sacred occasions on which charitable gifts should be made. The Śilāhāra inscriptions record gifts made on all these occasions.

Eclipses — Grants of land were made on both the solar and the lunar eclipses.

Solar eclipses — As many as eight grants were made on the occasion of the eclipses of the sun. It is perhaps a coincidence that all of them were made by the Śilāhāras of north Koṅkaṇ. The inscriptions describe that the kings used to bathe in the water of the ocean, worship Sūrya with flowers, etc., and then make the grants. The dates of all of them can be verified.

Lunar eclipses — Śilāhāra inscriptions record nine gifts made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. Seven of these were made by the Śilāhāras of north Koṅkaṇ and two by those of Kolhapur.

Saṅkrāntis — Several gifts were made on the *Saṅkrāntis*, which were regarded as very sacred. Of the *Saṅkrāntis*, the Meṣa *Saṅkrānti* or *Uttarāyaṇa*, and the Karkata *Saṅkrānti* or the *Dakṣiṇāyaṇa* were regarded as very holy. As many as six land-grants are recorded as made on the occasion of the *Uttarāyaṇa Saṅkrānti*.

The number of grants made on the occasion of the *Dakṣiṇāyaṇa Saṅkrānti* is less, viz., three. One grant seems to have been made on the Vṛiṣchika *Saṅkrānti*, though there is no explicit mention of it.

Gifts were made on some sacred *tithis* also. The Śilāhāras of north Koṅkaṇ were ardent devotees of Śiva. They regarded the *tithi* Māgha *va. di.* 14 (Śivarātri) very sacred. Hence we find that the Chaudharapāḍā stone inscription records the grant made by the Śilāhāra king Keśideva II on that *tithi*.

Another sacred *tithi* mentioned in the Śilāhāra records is Vaiśākha *śu. di.* 3 called *Akshaya-tṛtīyā*, when Mallikārjuna appointed Supriya the *Daṇḍādhipati* of Praṇāla-nagara. On account of its combination with the week-day Tuesday and the *nakshatra* Mrigaśiras, it was regarded as *yugādi*, i.e., marking the beginning of the Tretā Yuga. The first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina was regarded as very holy, as it marked the commencement of the *navarātra* of Mahālakshmī. A grant made on it is recorded in an inscription of Bhoja II.

The *paurṇimā* was also regarded as a holy *tithi*. Two grants were made on that *tithi*, viz., that recorded in the Khārepāṭaṇ plates of Raṭṭarāja, which was made on the full-moon *tithi* of Jyeṣṭha, and the other recorded in the Māṇḍavī inscription of Keśideva which was made on that *tithi* in Māgha.

Besides, the *paurṇimā* in Chaitra is mentioned in the Thana inscription of Aparāditya as sacred to Śiva.

One other *tithi* is mentioned in the last cited record, viz., *Pavitrika*.¹⁶ This is probably identical with the *tithi* of *pavitri-āroḥaṇa-vrata* or investiture

of a deity with the sacred thread called *poṃvale* in Maharashtra. Different *tithis* are prescribed for different deities. The one intended in that record is that sacred to Śiva. It is the eighth or the fourteenth of any of the fortnights of Āśvina (the best), Śrāvana (the middling) or Bhādrapada (the lowest).

It is noteworthy that while eclipses and *Sankrāntis* were regarded as sacred occasions for the making of gifts, the *Ekādaśī tithi*, which in the earlier Gupta-Vākātaka age was regarded as the most important *tithi* for making gifts, declined in importance. No grant is recorded in any Śilāhāra inscription as made on the eleventh *tithi* of either the bright or the dark fortnight of any month. This is perhaps not surprising because the *tithi* is sacred to Viṣṇu, while the Śilāhāras of both north and south Koṅkaṇ were devotees of Śiva; but there is a lengthy discussion in the contemporary Aparārka commentary as to whether one should fast on the *Ekādaśī* day. Aparārka sums it up by saying that householders should not fast if they have living sons, others may.¹⁷

The importance of making *dānas* and observing *vratas* is emphasized in the Smṛitis. Some of these are mentioned in the Śilāhāra inscriptions. The kings of the period tried to secure religious merit by making *mahādānas* such as the *tulādāna* (weighing oneself against gold), that of parturient (*ubhayatomukhī*) cows, maintaining *prapās* for distributing water to travellers, arranging for the marriages of Brāhmanas at sacred places, maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the shrines of gods, feeding of a lakh Brāhmanas, etc. Two of the *vratas* mentioned in a grant of Gaṇḍarāditya deserve special mention. One was the *Pañcha-lāṅgula-vrata*, in which land was gifted together with five ploughs made of hard wood, five golden ploughs and ten bulls. The other was the *Agnisṭikā*, which was performed in the cold seasons of Hemanta and Śiśira.¹⁸ The *vrata* consists of the kindling of fire with the recitation of appropriate *mantras* and the feeding of Brāhmanas and suppliants every morning and evening, commencing from an auspicious day in the month of Mārgaśīrsa. It was believed that it yields great religious reward in the next world as the fire is enjoyed by the people who sit round it and talk on all sorts of matters, political, religious and social. The *vrata* is mentioned in some other inscriptions of the period and also in contemporary literature.

- ¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 137 f.
- ² *Prabandhachintāmani*, Prakāśa IV.
- ³ *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XIII (Old Series), pp. 1 f.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 329 f.
- ⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 292 f.
- ⁶ Tulpule, *Prāchīna Marāṭhī Korīva Lekha* (Marathī), pp. 98 f.
- ⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 28 f.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 248.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 63 f.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 292 f.
- ¹¹ Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. IV, Introd. pp. cli f.
- ¹² Tulpule, *P.M.K.L.*, pp. 72 f.
- ¹³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 207 f.
- ¹⁴ *Loc. cit.*
- ¹⁵ See *Śabdārṇavachandrikā*, p. 221.
- ¹⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 277 f.
- ¹⁷ *Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti*, with com. of Aparārka, Vol. I, pp. 206 f.
- ¹⁸ *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XIII (Old Series), pp. 1 f.

Some Fundamental Aspects of Jainism

A.N. Upadhye

The Jaina philosopher divides all that is existing around him into two categories, living and non-living. All the living beings are collectively known as Jivas. An individualized Jiva is Ātman. In this world, Jiva is always found in association with material forms. A subtle variety of this material form is known as Karman. The Ātman is an embodied being in some form of life or the other. Human beings are endowed with mental, verbal and physical activities. These generate a sort of inner vibrations which make the Ātman subject to the influx of Karmic matter which shapes his future. Thus a man himself is responsible for his future due to his activities of the mind, speech and body. Jainism, therefore, makes the individual responsible to himself: one makes or mars one's career. One will not escape from the consequences, good or bad, of one's own activities. The Jaina philosopher holds that the Karma is a law which automatically operates and gives its fruits. Their nature, the duration for which they are effective, their intensity and their contents — all depend on the nature of individual's thoughts, words and deeds. Here, there is no place for any God to intervene, either to favour or to punish an individual for this or that act of his. If God is admitted in Jainism, he is not a Creator, nor is he the Dispenser of favours or punishments. He is just the spiritual ideal, which a man struggles to attain by getting rid of every bit of blemish associated with his Ātman. Such a philosophical attitude cuts at the very root of an emissary between God and man. Once an individual realizes this, his credulous belief that even if he commits any error God would forgive him through some appeasement disappears; and naturally he tries to evolve for himself a code of morality of the highest type.

Such an attitude is especially relevant in the present age which is characterized by scientific methods and rational enquiry. Today the religious dogmas and the fear of sin are getting outmoded. Individual freedom is the guiding star. So the individual must be held responsible for the consequences of his thinking, speaking, and behaving. To be a responsible citizen, one lives not only for oneself but also for the benefit of all others who live around him. Jainism shows the way to attain this. Its insistence on good motives, beneficial speech, and benevolent acts opens the way to being a good citizen. In a highly competitive society, conscience is often stifled in the name of individual liberty. Personal advantages loom so large that one is ready to trample upon the interests of others, provided one can manage to escape the clutches of law. This is possible because man-made laws do not operate by themselves; and there is no guarantee that they would be brought into operation by the custodians of law. Nor one can be sure that they would be men of integrity. Moreover, the law can at the most govern our acts. It cannot control our emotions and impulses. That is why there is so much of hypocrisy in behaviour. One is induced to put forth the appearance of goodness, though one's intentions are anything but good.

In order to remove this duplicity in conduct, a man should maintain a high standard of ethical behaviour not only for his spiritual benefit but also in his dealings with all those with whom he may come in contact, directly or indirectly. With this aim in view a man must conquer two impulses: they are attachment and aversion. If the former begets love, infatuation, or greed, the latter gives rise to hatred and vindictiveness. What then is the universal standard by which a man's behaviour should be judged? A high standard of behaviour consists in freedom from attachment and aversion. This answer raises another question, equally important: what is it that is of the highest value in this universe? Everyone wants to be happy, and nobody likes to be troubled by others. If this is true, by the law of reciprocity the Jaina philosopher arrives at the conclusion that the sentient beings are of the highest value and non-injury to the sentient is the highest aim which should actuate every man. This is a concept of far-reaching implications. Every living being has as much right to live happily as a man has. There are gradations in the range of the animate world; and they have to be understood, respected and protected in the light of the overall application of this Law. Thus Ahimsā or non-injury is the fundamental law of civilized life and rational living. It is the basis of all moral instructions in Jainism. Albert Schweitzer (*Indian Thought and Its Development*, London, 1951, pp. 81-2) has rightly observed: "The laying down of the commandment not to kill and not to damage is one of the greatest events in the spiritual history of mankind. Starting from its principles, founded on world and life denial, of abstention from action, ancient Indian thought — and this in a period when in other respects ethics have not progressed very far — reaches the tremendous discovery that ethics know no bounds. So far as we know, this is for the first time clearly expressed in Jainism."

It is in this spirit that the doctrine of Ahimsā has been propounded by the Jaina philosopher. It is suitably graded and explained to enable men and women to put it into practice according to their status and circumstances. Certain contexts in life, where violence is inevitable, are conceded; still Ahimsā or non-injury stands as the universal norm in judging human behaviour. Moreover the practice of Ahimsā is both an individual and a collective virtue. It consists in cultivating a kindly attitude to all living beings. This principle acts as a positive force and has universal appeal. Its necessity is particularly felt in these days, when scientific discoveries and technological progress have put tremendous power in the hands of men. Are the benefits of science and technology for the entire humanity and animate world or only for the affluent nations? The power-mad heads of nations, if they have no respect for humanity as a whole, can destroy the entire civilization with atomic weapons. The choice then is between the nuclear bomb and Ahimsā: the latter alone can save humanity and its achievements. It is for us to choose whether we want to

achieve forward progress for the betterment of man (irrespective of caste, creed, race, colour and language) and his environment, or just reduce everything to a heap of radioactive ashes.

The Jaina philosopher has laid stress on Aparigraha. It means sturdy and progressive restraint on acquisitiveness, which manifests itself in the form of yearning for sensual or sex pleasures and for amassing property. Pursuit of pleasure is an endless game. That is why the ideal of Aparigraha is of great consequence. It shows the way to curbing and restraining individual passions and inclinations. Only thus can mental poise and spiritual balance be achieved. A voluntary limitation of possession of property is a community virtue; and it results in social justice by a fair distribution of wealth and commodities. Men of position and wealth should not have the power to exploit or suppress the weak and the poor. By voluntary restrictions on the power which surplus wealth gives, the under-privileged too will have a fair chance in life. These qualities cannot be forced by an external and legal authority, either on the individual or a society, because that necessarily will lead to hypocrisy and secret criminal tendencies. That is why Jainism advocates what may be described as "conscientious socialism". It is for the sensible individuals to practise it, and thus set an example from which an enlightened society will be gradually developed in course of time.

The Jaina philosopher fully realized that the reality is highly complex, and that the mental powers of human beings have a limited capacity to grasp them fully. Further, a man's ability to express the nature of reality has its own limitations. Under the circumstances, no one should claim that he is the custodian of the entire truth. What one sees and understands, and what one is able to express — all these have limitations. Obviously what one says is correct only from a particular point of view. This means that what others say deserves to be heard patiently and even respected as much as one's own point of view. This approach to reality is signified by the Jaina doctrine of Anekānta which inspires intellectual tolerance and demands the greatest respect for the viewpoints of others. This quality is of the highest value in running democratic institutions. The views of others must be respected. They should not be suppressed; and no violence against those who hold different views is justified under any circumstances. What is true in individual relations is also true between nations. Governments of different nations must learn to live in amity and peace even with those who have different political and social ideology; and they have no moral right to suppress or overpower them violently.

Reverence for life, restraint on the acquisitive instinct, and intellectual tolerance are contagious virtues. What is true of an individual is also true of a group — social, racial, or political. A clear understanding of one's self and of others can alone remove mutual suspicion and will help to counterbalance the constant menace of war, and thus lead us to a true

condition of peaceful coexistence.

Today there are many agencies which are crippling our freedom of thinking and liberty of speech in a subtle manner. Tendentious propaganda not only conceals but also perverts the apparent facts, and the world is put on a wrong track. The thinking man, therefore, has to keep himself vigilant, understand the limitations of his knowledge, and thus learn to respect the views of others, as taught by the Anekānta. Let us not lose faith in man as man, and let us learn to cultivate reverence for all living beings. To make all others happy, let us learn to relinquish our possessions and comforts for others. These are some of the fundamental principles preached by the Jaina philosopher. If they are sincerely put into practice by all of us as worthy citizens, we can make life worth living for all.

Dara Shukoh and the Upanishads

Tara Chand

I

Dara Shukoh was born on 29 Safar 1024 A.H. (A.D. March 20, 1615). He was the first male child of Shah Jahan and his beloved spouse Mumtaz Mahal, whose mortal remains lie buried in the famous mausoleum of Taj Mahal. The child was given the name of Dara Shukoh and he was fondly hailed as "the first rose of the garden of royalty" (*Gul-i-awwalin-i-gulistan-i-Shah*).

Dara was brought up according to the custom of the imperial court. He learnt the Quran and its auxiliary sciences and also the usual branches of knowledge like history and poetry. He mastered the art of calligraphy and the practical skills required of a prince — horsemanship, use of arms, etc. Persian was his mother-tongue. Besides, he knew Arabic, possibly Turkish, Hindi and almost certainly Sanskrit.

Dara's studies were mainly directed to religion and philosophy, specially mysticism. But his interest in these subjects did not end with their theoretical study. He wanted himself to travel along the path of the mystics' quest. His meeting with the celebrated Darvesh Mian Mir at Lahore in 1634 powerfully stimulated his mystic leanings.

Meanwhile Dara Shukoh was advancing on the conventional career set for a prince. He was married in 1632 to his cousin Karim-un-Nisa, popularly known as Nadira Begam, daughter of Sultan Parviz. His first child was born in 1634, but the child died in a few months and Dara was so struck with grief that he fell ill. In this state of mind he met Mian Mir and sought relief and consolation.

Dara's official career commenced in 1635 when he received his first *mansab*, 12,000 *zat* and 6,000 *sawar*. His subsequent promotion was rapid; higher ranks were conferred upon him and in 1655 he was proclaimed the Crown Prince with the title of Shah Buland Iqbal.

The military campaigns in which he engaged brought no credit to him. Unfortunately, his ineptitude ultimately cost him the succession to the crown, and his life. His defeat at the hands of his younger brother Aurangzeb on the battlefield of Samugarh led to his capture and cruel death on August 30, 1659. His body was taken to the tomb of Humayun and buried in a corner under the vault. His grave bears no inscription.

Dara's failure in the world of affairs and his sad and tragic end throw into prominent relief his great achievement in the field of scholarship. His supreme interest was mysticism both in its practical and theoretical aspects. He was an earnest and enthusiastic seeker after the truth. From the early days of his life he had sought the company of mystics, Muslim and Hindu, to learn from them the ways of self-realization. From his first meeting with Mian Mir in 1634 his leaning towards mysticism received a powerful stimulus. He soon became acquainted with Mulla Shah Badakhshani and became his disciple. He joined the Qadiriya order and

learnt its devotional practices. The other mystics with whom he came in contact and who influenced him were Shah Muhib Ullah Allahabadi, Shah Dilruba and Gosain Baba Lal. He met Sarmad also and held discussions with him. Sarmad was later condemned as the “saint of insanity” and a heretic and executed.

Dara Shukoh dutifully performed the spiritual exercises prescribed by the rules of the Qadiriya order and according to his own statement gained much benefit from restraint of breath (*habs-i-dam*) and meditation (*dhikr*). He advanced rapidly upon the path of self-realization. His soul was filled with the rays of divine love.

Dara Shukoh differed from the narrow-minded legists in his attitude towards other religions, especially Hinduism. His studies of Indian religious literature, the Upanishads, the Bhagavad-Gītā, the Yoga-Vasishtha, had brought to him the conviction that Islam and Hinduism had a common basis in the doctrine of the Unity of God. His career as an author was devoted to the exposition of Sufism and the establishment of the identity of Sufism and the Vedanta. In the short period of eighteen years he produced a number of books covering these two aspects of his views.

All the writings of Dara Shukoh had a single aim, namely, to summon men to the truth, to abandon narrowness, to forget differences and to join together in a common religion of love. For him the highest aim of life was the realization of unity as it was the goal of man’s quest for knowledge. He believed that all religions taught the same truth and, therefore, knowledge of different religions should help in breaking down the walls of ignorance and bigotry and in promoting feelings of amity and respect among followers of different faiths.

But of all his works the translation of the Upanishads is his highest achievement. In the translation, Dara Shukoh exhibits a rare understanding of the archaic and classical Sanskrit, as well as of Persian.

The list of the Upanishads translated by Dara Shukoh is also interesting. He has chosen the following:

Three from the Ṛg-Veda, namely: (1) *Āitareya*, (2) *Kauṣītaki*, and (3) *Bāskala*, which are included among the ancient texts.

One from the Sāma-Veda, that is, (4) the *Chāndogya*, an ancient text, (5) the *Kena*, which modern scholars count among the Sāma-Veda Upanishads, but is included among the Atharvan Upanishads in the manuscripts of *Sirr-i-Akbar*.

The following twelve are regarded as the Yajur-Veda Upanishads in the Persian manuscript:

(6) the *Śatarudrīya*, (7) the *Purusha-Sūkta*, (8) the *Tadeva*, (9) the *Śivasankalpa*, (10) the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, (11) the *Maitri*, (12) the *Śvêtāsvatara*, (13) the *Isāvāsyā*, (14) the *Mahā-Nārāyaṇa*, (15) the *Bhṛgu-Valli*, (16) the *Anand-Valli*, and (17) the *Chāgaleya*.

But the fact is that Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9 are chapters of the *Śukla-Yajur-Veda Vājasneyi Saṁhitā*, i.e., chapters 16, 31, 32 and 34. Of the remaining texts the *Mahā-nārāyaṇa*'s status is disputed; some include it among the oldest texts, others among later. Dara Shukoh has treated Nos. 15 and 16 as separate Upanishads, but in modern printed editions they are two parts of the *Taittirīya Upanishad* which consists of three parts.

The remaining thirty-three Upanishads belong to the Atharva-Veda: (18) the *Muṇḍaka*, (19) the *Sarva* or the *Sarvasāra*, (20) the *Nārāyaṇa*, (21) the *Atharvasiras*, (22) the *Haṁsanāda*, (23) the *Praśna*, (24) the *Dhyānabindu*, (25) the *Maha*, (26) the *Ātmaprabodh*, (27) the *Kaivalya*, (28) the *Yoga-Śikha*, (29) the *Yoga-Tattva*, (30) the *Atharva-Śikha*, (31) the *Ātmā*, (32) the *Brahma-Vidyā* or the *Brahmabindu*, (33) the *Amṛtabindu*, (34) the *Tejobindu*, (35) the *Garbha*, (36) the *Jābāla*, (37) the *Māṇḍūkya*, (38) the *Paingala*, (39) the *Gūlika* or *Mantrika*, (40) the *Param Hamsa*, (41) the *Ārunika*, (42) the *Kāthaka*, (43) the *Kshurika*, (44) the *Mrityalāṅgūla*, (45) the *Amṛtānāda*, (46) the *Tarka*, (47) the *Pranava*, (48) the *Āśheya*, (49) the *Śaunaka*, (50) the *Nṛsimhatapanīya*.

Among these, the ancient ones are Nos. 18, 37 and possibly 48.

II

The Upanishads as they have come now to us are mostly collections of disparate teachings. Being very ancient their dates are difficult to determine. It is still more difficult to analyse the different parts of each Upanishad and to arrange them in a chronological order. What interval of time elapsed between the utterance of a particular passage and its incorporation in a particular Upanishad is impossible to ascertain.

The Upanishads are made up of the utterances of dedicated men and women who were engaged in the pursuit of the highest truth in order to live by it. Wisdom for them involved not merely the intellect but the whole of the soul. It was not with the theories that they were concerned. For them the entire conduct of life was at stake and success depended upon the understanding of the meaning and destiny of man and the Universe. The sayings of the Upanishads are charged with exalted emotion. They use words in which the high tension of the spirit finds relief. The authors regard their words as the revelation of God. The sage Śvetāśvatara said that the Upanishad was revealed to him through the power of his penance and the grace of God. They were deliverances of seers in a state of God-intoxication.

The difficulties of interpretation inherent in the structure of the Upanishads are enormous. Their dependence upon the Vedas is undeniable. Nevertheless, the Upanishads make it quite clear that they embody a philosophy which goes beyond Vedic thought. In many passages Vedic knowledge is held of secondary importance, if not valueless, for the

attainment of the highest aims of life. In the *Chāndogya Upanishad*, Narada, a sage, confesses to Sanat-Kumāra that although he had studied the *R̥g-Veda*, the *Yajur-Veda*, the *Sāma-Veda*, the *Atharva-Veda* and other sciences, and was, therefore, learned in the scriptures, he was “not learned in the *ātman*. Yet, I have heard from such as are like you that he who knows the *ātman* vanquishes sorrow”. The *Katha Upanishad* teaches, “not by learning is the *ātman* attained, not by genius and much knowledge of books”. In the *Muṇḍaka Upanishad* the four Vedas and the six auxiliary sciences are spoken of as inferior knowledge (*aparā vidyā*), through which the Imperishable Being cannot be known.

Śvetaketu, who had been sent by his father Aruni to study the Vedas, returns after 12 years “full of conceit and arrogance, believing himself wise”. But he fails to answer his father’s questions on the One, the self-existent, with whose knowledge everything is known. The father thereupon instructs the son on this subject. In the *Chandogya*, while the Vedas are regarded as nectar, the Upanishads are stated to be “the nectar of nectar”. According to the *Kena*, the Upanishads are the summary and essence of the Vedas. The *Taittirīya* points out that intellect (*manas*) is the basis of Vedic knowledge, but in reality it is only the husk of the essence of man.

The Upanishads distinguish between two kinds of knowledge. One is called *Para* (the higher) the other *Apara* (inferior). *Apara* knowledge is empirical; it is the knowledge of plurality, of becoming, of the world of phenomena. In the picturesque language of the *Kaṭha*, the Creator pierces holes outwards in reality and hence men look outwards to find the real. The world of forms is the expression of the empirical attributes of the Supreme Being. They give rise to phenomenal forms of experience. Thus the phenomenal is known through the phenomenal.

Our sense organs and their experiences, the intellect and its logic, are the means of acquiring this knowledge. Its basis is the duality of the knowing subject and the known object. The sense data upon which empirical knowledge is based give to us the knowledge of the fleeting world but not of the eternal; the knowledge of the other but not of the self; the knowledge of the veils but not of the mystery which lies concealed under them. Such knowledge is a matter of the words, of mere names. This knowledge is accompanied with feelings of pain or pleasure, and both these cause soul’s unrest. It is speculative, discursive knowledge, and is a hindrance to the realization of the Truth of the True (*Satyasya Satyam*). In contrast with the highest knowledge ordinary relative knowledge is as good as ignorance (*avidyā*), false knowledge, or delusion (*māyā*).

Para or the higher knowledge is the knowledge of the Absolute, of the truly Real. While the end of the Vedas is long life and happiness on earth and dwelling in paradise after death, and the reward of sacrifice, well-being and success on earth and the company of gods hereafter, the aim of the Upanishads is deliverance from bondage of the temporal and the

phenomenal. So long as man chooses to remain under the imperious yoke of the senses, he is the slave of here and now. He is estranged from his imperishable and eternal centre of being. He is the sport of instincts, inclinations, emotions and passions. He is like a ship which tosses upon the waves in a stormy sea, rudderless and without compass. The Upanishads point to the haven of calm and serene waters where there is no buffeting from winds nor rocking from sea-swells. The spirit of man, conscious of itself, refulgent and majestic, watches the panorama of change and appearance, self-assured, harmonized, a centre of light. The mind of such a man is compared to the flame of a lamp which does not flicker though winds blow around it from the four quarters. His reason and will are steady and balanced, the pleasures of this world and of paradise do not tempt him, nor do pains and sorrows terrify him.

The ideal of non-attachment is the goal of knowledge. This knowledge cannot be reached by ordinary processes of sensation, perception and conception. The Upanishads point out: "Thou canst not see the seer of seeing, thou canst not hear the hearer of hearing, thou canst not comprehend the comprehender of comprehending, thou canst not know the knower of knowing" (*Brhadāranyaka*, 3.4.2). Again the *Chandogya* explains (7.24.1): "If a man sees no other, hears no other, that is the infinite, if he sees, hears and knows another, that is the finite. The infinite is the immortal, the finite is mortal."

III

The Upanishads discuss the means by which the higher knowledge can be achieved. The end of this endeavour is to know the *Brahman* or the *ātman*. It is, therefore, named the *Brahma-Vidyā* or the *Ātma-Vidyā*. Now the *ātman* is "the immortal veiled by the (empirical) reality". It becomes wrapped up in name and form. The *Taittirīya* mentions the material, the physiological, the vital, the mental and the rational sheaths. Within them is seated the *ātman* which is pure bliss.

The way to this innermost sanctum is lighted by the higher knowledge. The way of higher knowledge leads to the state of unity, the realization of identity, confluence of being and thought. The *Māitri Upanishad* asks the traveller along this path:

That which abides in consciousness

Unknown, beyond conception, wrapped in mystery,

In that do thou immerse consciousness

The instruments of inferior knowledge (*Aparā vidyā*) are senses, intellect, the discursive reason. Higher knowledge (*Parā vidyā*) is the reverse of empirical knowledge; the method of its acquisition is the reverse of that of the other, namely, the suppression of the activity of senses (*Brhadāranyaka*, 1.5.23) and the cessation of empirical thinking (*Muṇḍaka*, 3.1.8).

This requires the fulfilment of certain preparatory conditions and a discipline. A preparatory condition is compliance with the law of Dharma — study, worship, almsgiving, penance. But this is dispensable. Other conditions are discipleship of a teacher who knows the ways and cultivation of certain qualities. Within man is seated the *ātman* which is pure bliss; by tranquillity, self-restraint, self-denial, patience, collectedness and purity of body and mind is that known.

The discipline consists of the practice of meditation and concentration. By the *yoga* one gains complete mastery over one's mind, and realizes the unity of the Self and the Absolute. The *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad* describes the practice and explains its philosophy. The practice consists of two parts. The first part prescribes a physiological discipline — the control of breath (*prāṇāyāma*), and the control of the senses by the mind (*pratyāhāra*); and the second part lays down the system of psychological discipline, namely, collection of the mind and its abstraction from external activity (*dhāraṇa*), and meditation to intuit the Real (*dhyāna*). These steps lead to the absorption of thought into Reality, of subject into object, to the realization of the oneness of the individual soul and the universal soul (*samādhi*).

One who reaches this state of higher knowledge or cosmic consciousness passes beyond sorrow, doubt and fear. He has destroyed all the particularism of the ego, overcome the separateness of the self and the other, resolved all conflicts, realized the unity of all existence, the identity of his self with all other selves. He makes the universal good the end of his life because he understands the nature of the universal self and he makes his body and mind the vehicle of his supreme consciousness. He acts without attachment, devotes himself to disinterested service with a firm and steady mind. Master of himself, poised, he is indifferent to pain and pleasure. He lives and moves in the world; like a white swan uncontaminated by the impurities of the lake on which it swims. He has gained wisdom, grace and peace and he dwells ever more in the land of no sorrow.

IV

The Vedic spirit of enquiry inspires the Vedic thinkers to ask questions concerning the nature of that which is subject to change and that which persists in change. The *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad* opens with the question: "What is the cause? (Is it) Brahman? Whence are we born? By what do we live? And on what are we established?"

This search for the substratum, "that from which all things spring, into which they are resolved, and in which they live and have their being" is answered in many ways. Sometimes it is one of the elements water or air or fire and sometimes a vital function like breath (*Prāṇa*), which is regarded as the First Principle of the Universe. At other times

creation is considered as the activity of a personal god — Prajāpati, and a theistic explanation is offered.

According to the *Taittirīya*, Brahman is being, knowledge and infinity. "From this Self, verily, ether arose; from ether air; from air fire; from fire water; from water the earth; from the earth the herbs; from herbs food; from food the person (*purusa*).” It is explained that the *purusa* or the individual soul is covered with five sheaths, the innermost is the sheath of bliss (*ānandamaya-kośa*), outside it is the sheath of intellect (*vijñāna*), then comes the mind-sheath (*manas*), then the sheath of life or breath (*prāṇa*) and then the outermost or the material sheath (*anna*). The *ātman* dwells inside the five sheaths.

In the *Mundaka Upanishad* a pupil asks his teacher: "What is that in a person which keeps awake, goes to sleep, dreams and enjoys happiness?" The answer is that all these are states of the *ātman* which is established in the Supreme self (*Paramātmā*). This *ātman* is the first principle and is completely present in itself. Yājñavalkya explains to his wife Maitreyī, who is anxious to know how to attain immortality, that all objects in the world, earthly possessions, men and relations, even gods, are valued not for their own sake but for the sake of the *ātman*. "Verily, Oh Maitreyī, it is the Self (*ātman*) that should be seen, heard of, reflected on and meditated upon. Verily, by the seeing of, by the hearing of, by the thinking of, by the understanding of the self, all this is known." (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 11 4.5.)

Thus the Upanishads teach that by knowing the *ātman* the Universe is known, for indeed there is no universe outside the *ātman*. Hence the famous phrases: "This verily is that (*Etad vai tat*), "That thou art" (*Tat tvamasi*), "I am Brahma" (*Aham Brahmasmi*), which is exactly equivalent to the Sufistic aphorism '*Anal Haq*' (I am the Reality).

V

The great theme of the Upanishads is to call man to his high destiny. Man may be a part of nature, man may be involved in the universe of time, space and causality, but man is not merely that, for he is the bearer of a Self which transcends nature and the categories of the transient, changing world. Each individual is therefore compelled by his very constitution to endeavour to find himself, to realize through his limitations the eternal and the immortal self which he really and truly is. The Upanishads do not merely propound a philosophy, they lay down a practical course of life and indicate the goal to be attained.

The Upanishads seek truth and pursue it by reason. They do not exclude anyone from this search because of creed or caste or colour. In fact this is not a privilege which may be granted to some and denied to others. Knowledge of the self and of truth is the right of every human being; none can be deprived of it.

According to the Upanishads, life is a pilgrimage, man is a pilgrim. The pilgrim's point of departure is his natural state. A firm conviction and an unfaltering faith are the prerequisites of the journey, for only those who are stout of heart and do not weary have the chance to reach the top, and to attain a prize of unsurpassing value, beyond the dreams of desire.

This is a state of release from passion, of freedom from desire, of self-illumination wherein is bliss everlasting. The entire process is a lifelong discipline in which the whole of man is involved — intellect, will, feeling. It is a training of will to overcome transient desire; it is a subjugation of enslaving passion; it is a pursuit of action without expectation of reward or fear of punishment, a withdrawal from attachment to pleasure and pain.

The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* tells us: "Therefore, he who knows it (Brahman) as such, having become calm, self-controlled, withdrawn, patient and collected, sees the Self in his own self, sees all in the Self. Evil does not overcome him; he overcomes all evil. Evil does not affect him; he consumes all evil. Free from evil, free from taint, free from doubt he becomes a knower of Brahma."

The discipline of mind which leads to this state is known as the *yoga* (union), whose elements have been described above. By its means the senses are merged into mind, mind into knowledge, knowledge into the great self, the great self into the Absolute. "The revelation of the Absolute procures freedom from fetters and sorrow; sickness, old age, and death are overcome." In the state of *samādhi* (absorption), the consciousness of separateness of subject and object disappears and the state of selflessness is reached. This is the supreme object of the philosophy of the Upanishads.

VI

The credit of introducing the philosophy of the Upanishads to Europe belongs to Dara Shukoh. His translation of fifty Upanishads from the original Sanskrit into Persian was the first attempt to make them known to the people who did not know the Sanskrit language. But for more than a century the translation did not pass beyond the frontiers of India. Then by a strange act of fortune it reached Europe. Anquetil Duperron, a French scholar, who had visited the East and shown interest in the ancient religions, received from Gentil, the French Resident at the court of Shuja Uddaulah, Nawab of Oudh, a copy of Dara Shukoh's translation, which was carried to Paris by Bernier.

Anquetil Duperron translated it into French and Latin. The French translation remained in manuscript but the Latin version was published in 1801-2. This fell into the hands of German philosopher Schopenhauer, who studied it and realized its great importance. He considered the discovery "the great privilege of the nineteenth century", and proclaimed, "in the whole world there is no study except that of the originals, so

beneficial and so elevating as that of the Oupnekhat. It has been the solace of my life; it will be the solace of my death."

Schelling and his school used rapturous language about the teachings of the Upanishads. Thus introduced, the vogue spread German writers wrote treatises on them. In India Raja Rammohan Roy made the first translations into English and soon there were translations in the other languages of Europe.

The Persian translation of Dara Shukoh was copied many times but it was printed for the first time in three volumes in 1910 and 1911 at Jaipur. It is now difficult to find copies of this edition. Dara Shukoh's version possesses a historical value; but more than that it has inherent merits of its own and it deserves because of them to be better known. For one thing there are still many Upanishads which remain untranslated into English. Dara Shukoh produced his version with the help of the most learned *pandits* of the time and his rendering of the ancient texts has a great deal of value in disentangling difficulties and unravelling the meaning of obscure passages. Dara Shukoh's Persian is lucid and his understanding of the Upanishads remarkably clear. His Persian equivalents of Sanskrit technical terms wherever given are enlightening and in any case indicate the close correspondence of Hindu and Muslim philosophies.

In the determination of the texts of the Upanishads the translation offers much help. A comparison of the printed Sanskrit Upanishads with the Persian translation makes it obvious that the texts before Dara Shukoh differed from those available now. In almost every case the older texts are briefer than the modern ones. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that since the middle of the seventeenth century much additional matter has found its way into the texts. Even some of the older Upanishads have been tampered with. The modern Sanskrit edition of the Upanishads contains many passages which are obviously later interpolations.

Three hundred years ago Dara Shukoh launched his Persian translation of the Upanishads in the faith that by making these books which enshrined in them the best and the highest thoughts of the Hindus available to non-Hindus, he was paving the way for unity of minds among the great communities of India. To promote the process of conciliation no more potent instrument exists than the propagation of the great books which embody man's deepest thinking on subjects most vital to human welfare.

Cultural Integration and Indian History

Satish Chandra

The manner in which a country views its past is directly related to what a country is and what it aspires to be. While India was in slavery, the views of the British administrative historians dominated the field. Though nationalist historians attempted to break away from the British point of view, it can be demonstrated that many of their intellectual categories were based on British thinking. Thus they generally accepted the British view that the Indians were essentially spiritual and other-worldly, looking upon the created world as illusory and, hence, less interested in it than in *moksha* or liberation from the cycle of birth and rebirth; that religion was the warp and woof of Indian life; and that Indian culture, political life, etc., all turned largely on religion. It is not that these aspects did not contain an element of truth. But to overemphasize them to the neglect of others, such as the rich Indian tradition of the development of science and technology, the growth of material culture in India, etc., means distorting the whole picture. It was this view of history which portrayed the Hindus and Muslims as being divided into two warring camps with little in common between them, thus paving the way for the emergence of the two-nation theory.

Though Jawaharlal Nehru in his book, *The Discovery of India*, was at pains to refute the view that the common people of India were more concerned with their spiritual than their material welfare,¹ the earlier British view of India as a land of spiritualism was picked up uncritically both by the nationalists and the communalists and continues to influence historical thinking in the country.

An important element in the distortion of Indian history was the emphasis on racialism. Thus, the word 'Arya' began to be equated with a race of people who had come into India a long time back and who, allegedly, were mainly responsible for the growth of the religion and culture in ancient India. It was forgotten, owing to the influence of German racial theories repeated by the same British historians, that in the Sanskrit tradition, the word 'Arya' was applied most of the time to a culture, and that in the evolution of this culture various sections in India, belonging to different regions and races had contributed.

The distortion of Indian history has not only provided a rationale and intellectual sustenance to communalism in our country, it is also the backdrop to the recent Aryan-Dravidian controversy. One of the major issues in the understanding of Indian history is the manner of cultural development and assimilation of various sections in the cultural stream. The second is the nature of the state in India during various historical phases. As far as the first is concerned, two ideal prototypes have been put forward — first, the alleged assimilation of the Dravidians into Aryan culture, and second, the assimilation of the Scythians, Hunas, etc., in the Hindu fold later on. These are contrasted to the situation following the arrival of the Muslims in India in the twelfth century. Dr. R.C. Majumdar,

representing this point of view, deplores that the Muslims "did not merge themselves into this pattern and form with the Hindus a single type of homogeneous culture". His picture of medieval India is one which remained "permanently divided into two powerful units, which did not prove amenable to a fusion or even any close permanent co-ordination".²

It may be noticed that in this approach cultural development or synthesis is equated with merging, or loss of identity in something given, rather than with the evolution of new forms. Whether this was the manner in which the Aryan and Dravidian or pre-Aryan cultural synthesis took place is in fact questionable. We know now from archaeological data, as well as from analysis of languages, that the Aryan tribes who came into India did not bring with them a higher civilization and culture. Mohen-jo-daro, Harappa, Kali-Bangan and Lothal represented a civilization which was decidedly more developed than anything the Aryans could boast of. Even in the cultural field, many of the later ideas seem to be of non-Aryan origin. Recent excavations show that an advanced urban civilization — known to archaeologists as the Red and Black ware — existed even in the Ganga valley. What is now considered the Aryan civilization was thus a synthesis, i.e., development of new forms based on these civilizations and the culture the Aryans brought with them.

There is every reason to believe that the attempt to absorb the Scythians and the Hunas led once more to profound changes in society, and even in the field of values. Historians subsume many of these changes under the broad head of growth of feudal elements in Indian society.³

There is no doubt that the arrival of the Turks, Afghans and Mughals in India from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries led to profound changes once again in social structure, religious ideas and beliefs, and culture in the country. In the process, not only Indians, but the Turks, Afghans and Mughals underwent many changes. One of the important tasks of Indian scholarship is to assess the exact nature of these changes. The strongly held belief that Hindu and Muslim societies remained permanently divided and that the Muslims developed a type of culture which was unassimilated and unassimilable has tended to interfere with this work.

A closer look at the manner of cultural development in India shows that it has proceeded not on one level but at multiple levels, with the pattern varying from region to region, as the Aryan-Dravidian pattern varied between north and south India, and between the west and the east. As we know, the structure of caste itself varies from area to area. Any study of the pattern of cultural assimilation in India, whether in the ancient period or in the medieval period, has to take into account the two basic ingredients of region and caste.

How far is it historically correct to regard Hindu or Muslim cultures

as being single entities, impervious to mutual assimilation? It is argued that Hinduism would have assimilated the Turks, Afghans and Mughals, too, if the latter had not been so determined to maintain their separate identity and/or, had not held political power in their hands. With the events of 1947 in the background, this argument appears to be an appealing one, and puts the responsibility for failure of cultural assimilation between Hindus and Muslims squarely on Muslim political and religious leaders and thinkers. It is, of course, fashionable in some historical quarters in Pakistan to argue that the *leit-motif* of Muslim movements in medieval times was to assert the uniqueness of Islam. Simultaneously, they blame the Hindus for their casteist narrowness.⁴ That caste prejudices played a considerable role in keeping Hindu and Muslim societies separate is undeniable. But this presumes that the Muslims would have been willing to be assimilated in a common culture in such a manner as to lose completely their separate identity but for the caste system. Unity in diversity has always been regarded as a basic feature of Indian culture which even before the arrival of the Muslims contained within itself different sects and religions, such as Buddhism, Jainism, Brahmanism, etc., as well as sub-cultures based on region. The Muslim community, too, revealed wide differences. An Arab or an Ottoman Turk professing the Muslim faith was culturally far different from an Indian Muslim. Even Iranians and Turanians who had lived in India for a couple of generations were considered to be different.⁵ The Muslims in India were powerfully influenced not only by the Indian environment, but also by the regional sub-cultures. Scant attention has so far been paid by the Indian historians to the growth of these sub-cultures. As we study the growth of Bengali, Maharashtrian, Gujarati, or Punjabi sub-cultures, the Hindu-Muslim differences on an all-India plane appear in a different perspective. Both Hindus and Muslims contributed to the growth of Punjabi and Bengali language and literature. Which part of them can be called Hindu, and which Muslim? Similarly, the outlook of a Muslim Bohra merchant and a Gujarati Bania were hardly distinguishable. In Awadh (Eastern U.P.) the manner, appearance, language and outlook of the Hindus and Muslims in both towns and villages were hardly distinguishable in the nineteenth century.

In the field of architecture, painting, and music, while the Turks destroyed a great deal, particularly in the early phase, they also built a great deal. The magnificent buildings which the Khalji, Tughlaq, Afghan and Mughal rulers constructed in north India were equalled, if not surpassed, by the rulers of Gujarat, Malwa, and the Deccan. These buildings, which assimilated both Indian and west Asian architectural traditions, gradually led to the evolution of a national style under the Mughals. This style continued to have vitality till the early twentieth century. Sir Edward Lutyens incorporated this style in his design of

New Delhi. In recent years, a few persons have started asserting that some of the medieval buildings are really Hindu or Rajput buildings. These arguments fly in the face of historical evidence, and are against the entire development of architectural style in medieval India. In any case, what does it prove? Did the Muslims not put up magnificent buildings outside India? Hence the attempt to deny the cultural contribution of the Muslims only shows a remarkable insularity, or a deep-rooted sense of inferiority.

It is not possible here to try to trace the growth of painting and music during the period. The classical music we know today in north India was really the product of this period. Many new *rāgas* and modes as well as instruments were introduced and incorporated during this period. In fact, classical music is the best example of the fusion of Hindu and Muslim traditions. The impact of Mughal painting (itself a fusion of Persian and Indian traditions) on Rajput and Pahari painting is too well known to be repeated here.

It may be argued that the real problem of medieval India was not cultural assimilation but the distribution of political and economic power between the Hindus and the Muslims, and the allied problem of the relationship between State and religion. Communal writings in Indian history distort the notion of the State. The State in ancient India is presented as a vehicle of *dharma* or righteousness by some writers. If the State in ancient India is to be based on the Dharmashāstra, it would be difficult to deny that this implied the oppression of the Shudras indirectly by saddling upon the ruler the responsibility of maintaining the fourfold caste system, and of being responsible for enforcing the extreme injunctions prescribed by Manu, such as cutting out the tongue of a Shudra if he recited the Vedas.⁶ But the reality was different. As a tenth century writer, Medhatithi, explains, the king's duty was derived both from the Dharmashāstra and the Arthashāstra, i.e., both from canon, law and politics. His *rājadharma* or public duty is based substantially on the latter.⁷ This means that religion and politics are separate, and the king is guided mainly by politics, though he does have a preceptor to advise him, and would not commit an open breach of canon law if avoidable. Thus, in a real sense, the State in ancient India was essentially secular.

The situation in medieval India under the Sultans was not fundamentally different. Alauddin Khalji bluntly told Qazi Mughisuddin that he did not know what was lawful and unlawful, but whatever was the need of the situation or the good of the State, that he decreed. The result of this approach was that even an orthodox man like Ziauddin Barani, the historian, concluded that a *truly Islamic State could not exist in India*. It could only be a State which had the outer trappings of Islam. A Muslim king was supposed to see that there was no open breach of the laws of Islam, that honest God-fearing Muslims should be appointed as qazis

(judges), etc., that no honour should be shown to the Hindus, and that in general the ruler should continually wage war (*jihad*) against the unbeliever. The private conduct of the citizens did not concern the king; nor did the private life of the king concern the public. A State policy of this type he called *jahan-dari* as distinguished from the policy of *din-dari* which visualized the strict enforcement of all the laws of Shariat.⁸ A second effect was the growth of secular laws called *Zawabit*, in contradistinction from Holy law or Shariat. It is significant that one of the most important compendiums of such laws, the *Zawabit-i-Alamgiri*, was compiled in the reign of the most orthodox Muslim ruler, Aurangzeb. It is thus clear that the State in India was never truly Islamic, and in course of time, as the Hindus were admitted to the highest offices owing to the force of circumstances, it became even less religious and more secular in outlook.

Recent studies have shown conclusively that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well as during the earlier period, economic power and political authority, particularly at the local and regional level, almost everywhere rested in the hands of a class of people designated zamindars by the writers of the period. Unlike the zamindars of the British period, these zamindars were generally not outsiders, or money-grubbers. They enjoyed great prestige in the rural areas, being closely linked with the castes and communities settled on the land. Normally they did not interfere with the traditional rights of the peasants. They also had considerable military forces at their disposal. During Akbar's time, the forces at the disposal of zamindars amounted to 3,84,558 cavalry, 43,77,057 infantry, 1,863 elephants, 4,260 guns and 4,500 boats.⁹ No wonder the Turkish and Mughal rulers tried to establish friendly relations with the zamindars. For all practical purposes, the village affairs thus continued largely to be managed by persons familiar to the villagers. In the time of Akbar, many of these zamindars were admitted to the nobility and thus given authority over a wider region. During the second half of the seventeenth century, the proportion of Hindus in the nobility at various levels, from the highest to the lowest, rose to about 33 per cent.¹⁰

The communal interpretation of medieval Indian history, which considers conflict between Muslims and Hindus as the major theme, oversimplifies a complex reality and slurs over social problems. The relations of the Turkish and Mughal rulers with the zamindars, who were predominantly Hindu, was not primarily a communal but a social problem. The zamindars posed a serious administrative problem because they engaged in mutual warfare, sometimes acted as petty tyrants to the peasants, and resisted and opposed centralized political authority and administration. At the same time, they were indispensable by virtue of their influence and knowledge of local affairs. This was a dilemma

which the medieval State and society were unable to resolve. It had important implications for the subsequent period.

Muhammad Tughlaq in the fourteenth century was the first Turkish ruler who systematically tried to enrol Hindus into the central ruling elite, the nobility, in order to develop a homogeneous ruling class. Points of contact between the Hindu and Muslim ruling classes increased after the disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate. In Bengal as in Gujarat, in Kashmir as in the Bahmani Kingdom,¹¹ Hindus were appointed ministers and they continued to man the lower rungs of the administration. Matrimonial alliances between the two was an index of the convergence of their interests and greater social intercourse. Thus, Firuz Shah Bahman married the daughter of the Vijayanagar ruler, Deva Raya, in 1403. The Gujarat rulers married Rajput princesses. And the favourite queens of Zain-ul-Abidin, the famous Kashmiri ruler, were Hindus. The Sufi and the Bhakti movements developed in this atmosphere of liberalism.

The deliberate effort made by Akbar to integrate the Hindu and Muslim ruling classes by granting high offices (*mansabs*) to the Rajputs, and by forming personal relations with them was a logical culmination of this process. Matrimonial relations were formed by him and members of his immediate family with many saintly families, and with the families of leading zamindars, both Hindu and Muslim. In Akbar's time matrimonial relations became a means of forging political and personal bonds with these sections. Even before the fall of Chittor and the siege of Ranthambhor, Akbar had clearly indicated to the Hadas that the sending of *dolā* was not a precondition for good relations. The struggle between Akbar and Rana Pratap was not, therefore, concerned with the question of marriages but with political issues. The marriages, though they were essentially political in nature, did help to bring the Mughals and the Rajputs together in more ways than one. It is significant that during the nineteenth century, reputed Hindu historians such as Banki Das, Kaviraj Shyamal Das, etc., did not condemn these marriages as an outrage on Hindu honour.

In the end, it may be said that despite assimilation and understanding at different levels in various regions, Hindu and Muslim cultures contained many separate elements. The reasons for this may have been two. In the first place, a unified culture presupposes a unified society, at least at the higher level. The extent to which either Hindu or Muslim societies at the higher level were unified is questionable. Hindu society was always riven by claims of superiority between the two higher castes — Brahmins and Kshatriyas. To this may be added regional and linguistic disparities. Muslim society too was riven by racial and sectarian differences. Secondly, in the field of religion and thought also, many new ideas were broached. But the basis on which a

measure of agreement was arrived at between Hindus and Muslims was mysticism. Although the medieval mystical movement in India has many remarkable achievements to its credit, its essential approach was emotional and non-rational. This was an insecure basis for unity and could be subverted at any time by both rational and non-rational arguments. How weak this basis was was made manifest towards the end of the nineteenth century when the interests of the upper classes in the two communities began to diverge.

An objective interpretation of Indian history does not imply denying cultural and social differences between Hindus and Muslims. But it means that all aspects, not merely religious differences, should be studied. Not only points of difference, but points of contact and understanding should also be brought out. Secondly, in order to understand the medieval reality, we should study not only the attitudes of a few rulers but the entire relationship between the different communities including, above all, the masses. The communal interpretation of history overlooks the role of the people. It concerns itself more with heroes and villains than with the structure of society, the distribution of political and economic power within it, and the cultural patterns between different sections, communities, and regions.

Enough has been said to show that without carefully analysing the role of different castes, classes, and regions, we cannot understand the processes of cultural integration in India. The terms Hindu and Muslim tend to obscure these divisions. The refusal of many historians, both Hindu and Muslim, to look beneath the surface has led to the misuse of history and the distortion of the medieval reality. Recent events on the subcontinent, particularly the emergence of Bangladesh, hold out the hope that many historians who had been virtually mesmerized by the terms Hindu and Muslim will be enabled to embark upon a more realistic appraisal of the complex process of cultural integration in India.

¹ Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, (Asia, 1969) pp. 506-14.

² Ed. R.C. Majumdar and others, *The Delhi Sultanate*, 1960, XXVIII (Vidya Bhavan Series, Vol. VI).

³ See R.S. Sharma, *Feudalism in India*, 109; D.D. Kosambi, *Introduction to the History*.

⁴ See I.H. Quraishi, *The Muslim Community in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent*, 1962, 78-82, I.H. Ikram, *History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, Lahore 1961, pp. 209-10.

⁵ See Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, 1707-40*, 2nd ed. 1971, Intro. XXXII.

⁶ U N. Ghoshal, *The Age of Imperial Kanauy* (Vidyā Bhavan Series, Vol. IV, Chapter X), pp. 232-33.

“Medhatithi, the tenth century commentator on Dharmashāstras, brings out clearly the dominance of the King’s public functions: ‘Rājadharmā, while equivalent to the whole duty of the King, comprises chiefly his public acts, or to put it more generally, is synonymous with politics’. Rājadharmā, then, has a twofold source, namely, the Vedic and the non-Vedic (Arthashāstra)”.

⁷ Ziauddin Barani, *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, English tr. by M. Habib and A. Jahan, “*Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*”, Advice, IX.

⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari*, quoted by I. Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 164.

⁹ Athar Ali, *Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, 31.

¹⁰ *The Delhi Sultanate*, ed. M. Habib and K. A. Nizami, pp. 754-8, 861, 981-2, *et seq.*

¹¹ Satish Chandra, *Mediaeval India*, Ch. X (In press).

B. N. Pande

I

IMPACT OF INDIAN CULTURE ON ISLAMIC THOUGHT

The rise of Islam is one of the marvels of history. "In the summer of A.D. 622, a prophet without honour in his own country fled from his native city to seek asylum in the town of Yathrib — since known as Madinat-un-Nabi, 'the city of the Prophet', rather more than two hundred miles north of Mecca, the town which had cast him out. Little more than a century later the successors and the followers of the fugitive were ruling an empire which extended from the Atlantic to the Indus and from the Caspian to the cataracts of the Nile and included Spain and Portugal, some of the most fertile regions of southern France, the whole of the northern coast of Africa, upper and lower Egypt, their own native Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Persia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Transoxiana."¹

It was in A.D. 711 that the first Muslim invader, Muhammad-bin-Qasim, crossed the sea, defeated Dahir, and laid the foundation of the first Muslim kingdom in Sind. When the Arab commander reached Alor, the citizens resisted the invaders vigorously for several months. Then they sued for peace, insisting on two conditions: one, that no resident of the city be killed, and two, that there should be no interference with their places of worship. Muhammad-bin-Qasim in accepting these terms said: "The temples of Hindustan are like the churches of Christians, the synagogues of Jews and the fire-temples of the Magians."²

It may be conceded at once that the Arab conquest of Sind was an insignificant event in the history of Islam, from the political point of view. But the effects of this conquest upon Muslim culture were profound and far-reaching. When the Arabs came to India, they were astonished at the superiority of the civilization which they found here. The sublimity of Indian philosophical ideas and the richness and versatility of the Indian intellect were a strange revelation to them. The cardinal doctrine of Muslim theology, that there is one God, was already known to the Indian saints and philosophers. The Arabs found that in the nobler arts which enhance the dignity of man the Indians far excelled them. The Indian musician, the mason and the painter were as much admired by the Arabs as the philosopher and the man of learning.³

Tabari writes that Khalifa Harun once sent for an Indian physician to cure him of an obstinate and painful disease. The Arabs learnt from the Indians a great deal in the practical art of administration. The employment of Brahmin officials on a large scale was due to their better knowledge, experience and fitness for discharging efficiently the duties of administration. A great many of the elements of Arabian culture, which afterwards had such a marvellous effect upon European civilization,

were borrowed from India. Arab scholars sat at the feet of Buddhist monks and Brahmin pandits to learn philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, chemistry and other subjects of study. The court at Baghdad extended its patronage to Indian scholarship. During the Khilafat of Mansur (A.D. 750-774) Arab scholars returned from India to Baghdad carrying with them two books, the *Brahma Siddhānta* of Brahmagupta and his *Khand Khadyaka*. These works were translated by Al Fazari into Arabic with the help of Indian scholars. It was from these two works that the Arabs learnt the first principles of scientific astronomy. There is ample reason to endorse Havell's view that it was India, not Greece, that taught Islam in the impressionable years of its youth, formed its philosophy and esoteric religious ideals, and inspired its most characteristic expressions in literature, art and architecture.⁴

Arab authors have accepted in unambiguous terms the superiority of Indian achievements. Thus Al-Jahiz (A.D. 869) writes:

"The Hindus excel in astrology and mathematics. They have a special Indian script. They excel in medicine and possess some wonderful secrets of that art, in particular those remedies that are of the greatest use in the most dangerous diseases. They have developed to a perfection their arts like sculpture, painting, and architecture. They are the inventors of chess. They make good swords and know all the tricks of fencing. They know charms that can remove poison and pain from the body. Their music is pleasant and they have all sorts of dances. From India we received that book called *Khalilah-wa-Dimnah*. These people have judgment and are brave. In some virtues they surpass the Chinese."⁵

Yaqubi (A.D. 895) observes:

"The Hindus are superior to all other nations in intelligence and thoughtfulness. They are more exact in astronomy and astrology than any other people. *The Brahma Siddhānta* is a good proof of their intellectual powers; by this book the Greeks and the Persians have also profited"⁶

Al-Idrisi (A.D. 1154), speaking of the accomplishments of the Hindus, says:

"The Hindus are by nature inclined to justice and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty, and faithfulness to their promises are well known, and they are so famous for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side."⁷

Another Arab historian, Qazi S'aid, observes:

"The Hindus have always been considered by all other people as the custodians of learning and wisdom. Their knowledge of God ascertains His unity and purity. To kill or injure an animal is a sin with them"⁸

Influence of Buddhism on Islam: Long before the Muslim scholars translated Hindu works into Arabic or Persian, and before the Muslim travellers brought news from India, the Muslims had some glimpses

of India's religious conceptions through Persian literature and also through the Buddhistic influence that still lingered in some of the most remote parts of Persia. They knew the Buddhists as '*Samani Y Yah*'. The word 'Bud' or 'But' had long ago degenerated into the sense of idol-worship and conveyed no other meaning. *Buzasaf*, that is, *Bodhisattva*, was known to them as the founder of Buddhism. Not long ago Buddhism had flourished in Balkh, Transoxiana, Khurasan, Turkistan and Persia, and to some extent also in Iraq, before the Muslims conquered them. After these countries were converted to Islam the Buddhist priests did not at once stop their preaching. The rosary is one of the objects that Muslims inherited from the Buddhists. The Sufi doctrine of *Fana* is the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddhists. The whole Sufi system of spiritual *Muqamat* (stations) or *chakras*, that the seeker after illumination realizes on his way to 'extinction', is Buddhistic.

The inhabitants of Balkh and Bukhara had displayed a strong tendency to revert to their old Buddhistic habits of thought. Abu Nasr Ahmad-bin-Narshakhi (A.D. 943) relates in his history of Bukhara: "Every time the people of Bukhara were conquered, they accepted Islam, and no sooner than the Arabs retired, they gave it up again."⁹

Twice a year there used to be held a bazaar in which people sold Buddha's idols. On each market day the sale of idols used to amount to fifty thousand dirhams. Muhammad-bin-Jafar has recorded that "the bazaar continued down to our times". (A.D. 940).¹⁰

A good number of thinkers amongst Muslims, especially in the Abbasid reign, were more or less directly influenced by Buddhism. Ibn Muqaffah (A.D. 760) translated the *Kalilah-wa-Damnah* from Pahlavi into Arabic. In his introduction to the *Kalilah-wa-Damnah* he describes an ascetic in the following words: "And I found that divine tranquillity comes over the ascetic when he is absorbed in meditation; for he is still contented, unambitious, satisfied, free from cares, has renounced the world, has escaped from evils, is devoid of greed, is pure, independent, protected against sorrow, above jealousy, manifests pure love does none any harm and remains himself unmolested."¹¹

Abul Ala-al-Ma'arri, the famous blind poet (A.D. 973-1058), was a veritable Buddhist, nay even a Jain. Von Kramer considers him as one of the greatest moralists of all times whose profound genius anticipated much that is commonly attributed to the modern spirit of enlightenment.¹²

Explaining the philosophical aspect of idol worship Abul Fazl says:

"The inhabitants of this land are religious, affectionate, hospitable, genial and frank. They are fond of scientific pursuits, inclined to austerity of life, seekers after justice, contented, industrious, capable in affairs, loyal, truthful, and constant. The true worth of this people shines most in the day of adversity and its soldiers know no retreat from the field They, one and all, believe in the unity of God, and as to the reverence

they pay to the images of stones and wood and the like, which simpletons regard as idolatry, it is not so. The writer of these pages has exhaustively discussed the subject with many enlightened and upright men, and it became evident that these images of some chosen souls nearest in approach to the throne of God are fashioned as aids to fix the mind and keep the thoughts from wandering, while the worship of God alone is required as indispensable.”¹³

Long before Europe had learnt to enquire about religion in a scientific and detached spirit, many Muslim learned men had compiled books of comparative religion in which they displayed an amazingly free and rationalistic attitude of mind. Among them was that most eminent scholar Abu Rihan Albiruni who compiled a comprehensive treatise on Hindu religions and philosophies as early as the eleventh century.¹⁴

Throughout the middle ages the Muslims took enormous pains to acquaint themselves with the religious literature of the Hindus. They translated almost all the important texts into Persian — the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Dharma Śāstra Purāṇas, the *Yoga Vasīṣṭha*, the *Yogaśāstra*, *Vedānta Śāstra*, etc.¹⁵

Among later writers may be mentioned the name of Mirza Jan Janan Mazhar (b. 1699). Mazhar wrote about the Hindu worship of Idols:

“Idol worship, the process is similar to the *Dhikr*, contemplative ritual, which is prescribed for Muslim Sufis.”¹⁶

Mahmud Sha-bistari (A.D. 1317), the well-known writer of *Gulshan-i-Raz*, writing on the theme of idol worship, explains the difference and similarity between it and Islam:

“The idol is the expression of love and unity in this world, and to wear the sacred thread is to take the resolve of service. As both faith and unfaith are founded in existence, unity of God is the essence of idol worship. As things are the expression of existence, one out of them must at least be the idol. If the Muslim knew what the idol is, then he would understand that religion consists in idolatry. And if the idol worshipper understood the idol, he would not go astray in his faith. The latter did not see in the idol anything but external creation, and for this reason he became *kafir* in the eyes of the law. If thou too would not see that reality is hidden in the idol thou wilt also be not known as a Muslim according to the law.”¹⁷

Islamic mysticism originated and grew in two regions of the Muslim world — ancient Khorasan and Mesopotamia. In both these regions seekers of truth and enlightenment among the Muslims came into close contact with Indian mystics. All Khorasan was studded with Buddhist monasteries and Hindu temples at the time of the Muslim conquest, as is testified by Hiuen Tsiang who had passed through these lands barely seventy years earlier. In Mesopotamia, Junda Shapur, Damascus, and Baghdad were centres of learning where Hindu scholars taught Indian

science and Hindu ascetics (yogīs) held debates with Muslim scholars. The Pramukhas of the Nava Vihāra of Transoxiana became the prime ministers (Baramakas) of the Abbasid Caliphs and they invited Hindu doctors, astronomers and scientists to Baghdad and encouraged the translation of Sanskrit treatises into Arabic. Thus it was that the philosophy of pantheism and the practical discipline of Yoga passed into the Sufi circles of the Middle East.¹⁸

The mystic teachings of Vedānta, on the one hand, inspired Islamic mysticism and on the other, gave birth to the movement of Bhakti in India. Ramanuja was the pioneer of this Bhakti movement.

The Bhakti Movement: The spirit of Bhakti moved across the country from one end to the other. As Priyadas points out in his *Bhaktirasabodhini*, "The tree of Bhakti was once but a sapling . . . now it has climbed to the sky with its glory spread over the earth . . . Once but a feeble thing, now contentedly sways the mighty elephants of the passions."¹⁹

It was in schools of Rāma Bhakti and Kṛishṇa Bhakti that the doctrines of mystic practices were developed, and the differentiation of the stages of progress towards unification with God, and of the emotions which accompanied them and the causes that excited and enhanced the emotional states and psychic conditions which followed them expounded.

The process of training in devotion implied worship for the Adorable One, sorrow for one's sins, doubt of all objects other than He, celebration of His praise, living for His sake, assigning everything to Him, resignation to His will, seeing Him in all things, renouncing anger, envy, greed and impure thoughts.²⁰

These states of emotions and processes bear comparison with what the Muslim Sufis taught in regard to *hal* and *muqam* (states of rapture and stages of ecstasy). For instance, Abu Nasr al-Sarraj, the author of the oldest treatise on Sufism, recounts the seven stages, namely, (1) Repentance, (2) Abstinence, (3) Renunciation, (4) Poverty, (5) Patience, (6) Trust in God, and (7) Satisfaction; and the ten psychic states, namely, (1) Meditation, (2) Nearness to God, (3) Love, (4) Fear, (5) Hope, (6) Longing, (7) Intimacy, (8) Tranquillity, (9) Contemplation, and (10) Certainty.

Apart from the founders of the four Sampradāyas — Rāmānuja, Mādhva, Viṣṇuswāmī and Nimbāditya — who composed their religious treatises in Sanskrit, and the propagators of Vaishṇavite Bhakti of the schools of Rāma and Kṛishṇa, who appealed to the conservative-minded among the general public, there was a third group of mystics who employed the language of the people to preach their radical creeds. They mostly belonged to the lower castes and their movement represents the urge of the unprivileged masses to uplift themselves. Some of them were persecuted by government, some incurred social opprobrium, and others were not regarded as worthy of notice. But they were held in high esteem

among the humbler classes who followed their simple teachings with eagerness and understanding. They laid stress upon the dignity of man, for they thought that every individual would reach the highest goal of human life by his own effort. They rejected the claim to special sanctity of priests (Pandits and Maulvis), of books (scriptures of Hindus and Muslims), of temples and pilgrimages, of rites and ceremonies, and encouraged the establishment of direct relation between man and God. The movement arose in the fifteenth century and continued till the middle of the seventeenth.

The leaders of this group hailed from all parts of India, but their teachings manifest the distinct influence of Islam on their beliefs. In the Hindi-speaking region, the most notable reformer was Kabir, who was a powerful exponent of devotional faith centred on an impersonal, transcendental God, and a fearless denouncer of hypocritical and superstitious practices, Hindu or Muslim. Love of God and man was his religion and he accepted whatever he thought true in Hinduism and Islam.²¹ There were a number of other teachers whose point of view was similar to that of Kabir and who founded their orders in different parts of the country.

In the Punjab Guru Nanak founded the Sikh religion which was nourished by his nine successors. The last of them, Guru Govind Singh, transformed Sikhism into a military mission.

In Maharashtra Namdeo, Eknath, Tukaram and Ramdas were noted saints who were hostile to idol worship, indifferent towards external acts of religion such as vows, fasts, austerities, pilgrimages, etc. They worshipped Vitthal, the one God who conferred tranquillity, and prayed for release from the snares of the illusory world. They condemned caste distinctions and sought to reconcile Hindu and Muslim faiths.

Bengal had the good fortune to produce Chaitanya, who was a devotee of Krishna but at the same time opposed the Brahminical system of ritualism and caste. Among his disciples was Thakur Haridas, a Muslim. But there were sects in Bengal which went far beyond Chaitanya in their criticism of Hindu orthodoxy, for example the Kartabhajas.²²

The Viraśaivas or Lingayats of the Kannada region were a sect which came into existence in the twelfth century but rapidly spread in Mysore and the neighbouring districts. Their belief in one God who cannot be represented by images or propitiated by sacrifices, and their rejection of caste, show their independence from the conservative religious ways. They did not approve of sacrifices, fasts, feasts and pilgrimages, nor did they recognize distinctions based on birth. A pariah and a Brahmin were equal as members of the sect.²³

In the deep South the Tamil Siddhars rejected the theory of transmigration and the authority of the Shāstras. They held that God and love are the same and desired mankind to live in peace considering love as God.²⁴

Thus a powerful religious impulse, which drew its inspiration from Hindu as well as Muslim sources, spread all over India and sought to bring together the masses into a faith which transcended social, intellectual and communal barriers.

Islamic Mysticism: The stirring in the Hindu society had its parallel in the Muslim community. We have seen that Sufism even before its arrival in India had absorbed the main features of Vedanta — for instance the philosophy of absolute monism. The Indian *Advaita* had become the Muslim *Wahadat-al-Wujud*.

Ibnal Arabi, the great master of Islamic mysticism, affirms that God is one and the universe is His appearance. Creation is a process of emanation of which the three steps are: (1) the stage of absolute unity (*ahdiat*), (2) the stage of latent or potential multiplicity (*wahadat*), and (3) the stage of apparent or actual multiplicity (*wahidiat*). The multiplicity expresses itself in souls (*Ruh*), forms (*Mithal*) and bodies (*Jism*).²⁵

For both there is a common discipline. It includes purification of self, mastering of passions and desires, filling of the mind exclusively with the thought of God, obtaining control over bodily functions and mental processes till the objective world ceases to distract consciousness, till man passes away (*fana, nirvāṇa*) from phenomenal existence and attains union with the divine. The soul stands self-enlightened and unperturbed by temptations and apprehensions.²⁶

II

THE RELIGIOUS POLICY OF MUSLIM RULERS

The Muslim conquest of India was very slow. It took them six centuries to reach the southern confines of India. The invaders came to India in three stages. The first invasion took place in A.D. 712, the invaders being Arabs led by Muhammad-bin-Qasim. The second set of invasions occurred at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. These were led by Subuktigin and Mahmud of Ghazni who belonged to a Turkish family. The final stage, which led to the establishment of Muslim rule in India, consisted of the invasions of Muhammad Ghorī two hundred years later.

Muhammad-bin-Qasim maintained the dignity of Brahmins and passed orders confirming their pre-eminence. They were protected against opposition and violence. Each of them was entrusted with an office.

Hajjaj, Governor of Iraq, the uncle of Qasim and his immediate superior, wrote as follows to him: "As they (Hindus) have made submission and have agreed to pay taxes to the Khalifa, nothing more can be properly required from them. They have been taken under our protection and we cannot in any way stretch our hands upon their lives

or property. Permission is given them to worship their gods. Nobody must be forbidden or prevented from following his own religion. They may live in their houses in whatever manner they like.”²⁷

“He (Muhammad-bin-Qasim) directed the nobles, the principal inhabitants, and the Brahmins to build their temples, traffic with the Muhammadans, live without fear, and to strive to better themselves. He also enjoined them to maintain the indigent Brahmins with kindness, observe the rites and customs of their ancestors and give oblations and alms to the Brahmins according to former practice”²⁸

It should be noted here that in India there was an altogether new departure in the treatment of the subject races. Idolatry was tolerated. Temples were left standing and their worship not disallowed. . . In India a new leaf was turned. As Muir remarks: “It no longer was a holy war, with the view, that is to say, of the conversion of the heathen. That object was now dropped Side by side with Allah, idols might be worshipped, if only tribute were duly paid.”²⁹

The invasions of the Ghaznavides were undertaken more for the sake of plunder than conquest. Mahmud’s chief aim was the establishment of an empire from the Punjab to the Euphrates and his Indian adventures were mainly intended to provide him with the means for the fulfilment of his imperialistic designs, which embraced even the subordination of the Caliph to his will. This explains why he attacked one after another the great centres of wealth in northern India and never seriously considered the problem of subjugating and ruling the country. A curious light is thrown upon his policy and proceedings by the fact that Indian troops formed part of his forces which fought on the confines of his dominions. There is no doubt that the Ghaznavides had a high opinion of the military qualities of the Hindus, and the Hindus appeared to have had no repugnance to serving them. Mahmud’s son Masud employed Servand Rao in his fight with his brother, and Tilak, son of Jai Sen, to bring to book Ahmad Nialitgin, the rebel Governor of the Indian Province. Again, he raised Hindu troops to fight against the Seljuk Turks, while his successor deputed the Kotwal of Ghazni to recall Bijai Rai, a Hindu general, to Ghazni from which he had fled on account of some political dissensions.³⁰

Dr Ishwari Prasad in his *History of Medieval India* says: “It is not difficult to determine Mahmud’s place in history. To the Musalmans of his day, he was *Ghazi*, a champion of faith, who tried to extirpate infidelity in heathen lands. To the Hindus, he is to this day an inhuman tyrant, a veritable Hun, who destroyed their most sacred shrines and wantonly wounded their religious susceptibilities. But the unbiased enquirer who keeps in mind the peculiar circumstances of the age must record a different verdict. In his estimate, Mahmud was a great leader of men, a just and upright ruler according to his own lights, an intrepid and gifted

soldier, a dispenser of justice, a patron of letters, and deserves to be ranked amongst the greatest kings of the world.”³¹

After the Ghaznis came the Ghoris. Their first exploit was the destruction of the city of Ghazni which Mahmud had converted into one of the most beautiful cities in the world. Alaptgin followed up his victory and took the city of Ghazni by storm. The finest buildings of the city, exquisite memorials of the greatness and splendour of Mahmud, were demolished, and during the seven days the Ghorī chieftain remained in occupation of the town “the air from the blackness of the smoke continued as black as night, and those nights, from the flames rising in the burning city, were lighted up as bright as day. Rapine and massacre were carried on with the greatest pertinacity and vindictiveness, and men, women and children were either killed or made slaves. The dead bodies of all the Sultans of Ghazni except those of Mahmud and Ibrahim were dug out from their graves and treated with indignity and burnt.”³²

The Ghoris next turned their attention to India. The victories of Shahabuddin Ghorī are described by Persian chroniclers as victory of Islam, but when the actual facts are analysed even historians who can in no way be described as partial to the Muslims form the following estimate of Shahabuddin:

“It cannot be alleged that the religious fervour actuating Shahabuddin and his Mohammadans was stronger than that actuating the Rajputs. Although Mohammadan historians describe the former as making a religious war, Shahabuddin was fighting for conquest of territory and not for extending religion. Indeed we find that conversion of the people to Mohammadanism was not his motive in conquering Northern India.”³³

After Shahabuddin the campaigns of Qutubuddin and Iltutmish are described in the self-same strains. But when we prune away the hyperbolic setting we find:

“Qutubuddin and Iltutmish were not fanatical Muslims and were wise rulers who, like the British, saw the justice and even the wisdom of not interfering with the religion of the people.”³⁴

The conquests of Ghorī and his general Qutubuddin Aibak were in the nature of a triumphal march made easy by the internecine quarrels of Rajput princes who controlled the destinies of northern India. Within the interval of less than a quarter of a century the whole of northern India had been overrun and brought under subjection. But the establishment of Muslim rule implied little more than the substitution of Muslim Chiefs for Hindu Rajas and Zamindars. Sir Wolseley Haig, in the *Cambridge History of India*, points out:

“The rhapsodies of Muslim historians in their accounts of the suppression of a rising or the capture of a fortress, of towns and villages burnt, of whole districts laid waste . . . might delude us into the belief that the early Muslim conquest of Northern India was a prolonged holy war

waged for the extirpation of idolatry and the propagation of Islam, had we not proof that this cannot have been the case. . . . All Muslim rulers in India from Mahmud downwards, accepted, when it suited them to do so, the allegiance of Hindu rulers and landholders, and confirmed them as vassals in the possession of their hereditary lands."

And again, "On this (Hindu) population they (the Muslim rulers) relied not only for the means of support, but also to a great extent for the subordinate machinery of Government, for there can be no doubt that practically all minor posts connected with the assessment and collection of the land revenue and with accounts of public and State finance generally were filled, as they were many generations later, by Hindus.

"Rebellion and overt disaffection were repressed with ruthless severity and were doubtless made occasions of proselytism, but the sin was rebellion, not religious error, and there is no reason to believe that the position of the Hindu cultivator was worse under a Muslim than under a Hindu landlord. . . . It was certainly possible for Hindus to obtain justice even against Muslims."³⁵

Although in the mediaeval period the head of the State in India was a Muslim, the State was not Islamic. The State did not follow the injunctions of the holy scriptures — the Quran, the Hadith, or the laws elaborated in the four schools of Sunni jurisprudence. It is a mistake to call the medieval State of India theocratic, for it did not function under the guidance of the Muslim theologians.

Almost every one of the Muslim monarchs of India from the thirteenth century onwards expressed his inability and indicated the impossibility of conducting government in accordance with the Shariat. Iltutmish, Balban, Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad Tughlaq were among the pre-Mughal sovereigns of India who questioned the suitability of applying Muslim law to India. Zia-ud-Din Barni, the historian, in his *Fatawa-i-Fahandari* says, "True religion consists in following in the footsteps of the Prophet. . . . But royal government, on the contrary, can only be carried on by following the policies of Khusrau Parvez and the great emperors of Iran " He admits that "between the traditions (Sunnat) of the Prophet Muhammad and his mode of life and living and the customs of the Iranian emperors and their mode of life and living, there is a complete contradiction and total opposition." But he points out that the Shariat, which is the command of God, could be followed in State matters only in exceptional times. Muhammad succeeded in enforcing Shara because he was directly inspired by God, the first four Khalifas did so because they had been the associates of the Prophet. But their successors were faced with two irreconcilable alternatives: traditions of the Prophet and the policy of the Iranian emperors. But "Prophethood is the perfection of religion and kingship is the perfection

of worldly fortune. These two perfections are opposed and contradictory to each other, and their combination is not within the bounds of possibility.”³⁶

Iltutmish was approached by some Ulema with the request that as the Hindus were not the people of the Book (*ahl-i-Kitab*) who could be taken under Muslim protection as *dhimmis*, they should be asked to accept Islam and in case of refusal put to the sword. Iltutmish asked his Wazir to give an answer, and he replied that the request was impossible of execution. So far as Balban is concerned, Nizam-ud-Din the historian observes, “He gave precedence to the affairs of the State (over religion).”³⁷ Barni states: “In the matter of punishment and exercise of royal authority he acted without fear of God, and whatever he regarded to be in the interest of government, irrespective of whether it was in accord with Shara or not, he carried into action.”³⁸ Alauddin’s discussion with Qazi Mughis-al-Din is well known. His parting reply to the Qazi was, “Whatever I consider to be in the interests of government, and find to be the requirement of the time, I order. I do not know what the Exalted God will do to me on the Day of Resurrection.”

Professor M. Habib says: “It is true that Muslim kings, mostly of foreign extraction, sat on Indian thrones for some six or seven centuries. But they could only do so because their enthronement was not the enthronement of ‘Muslim rule’; had it been otherwise, they could not have lasted for a single generation.”³⁹

Among the Mughal emperors Babar, because he reigned for such a short period, and Humayun, because he was so beset with difficulties, had little opportunity to pay much attention to administrative matters. Akbar inaugurated a State policy which was not subordinated to the dictates of Islam. He treated all religions alike and regarded it his duty to make no difference between his subjects on the basis of religion. He threw open the highest appointments to non-Muslims. He married Hindu princesses and allowed them to retain their religion and perform Hindu rites in the palace. Their sons were successors to the Mughal throne. He eliminated the interference of the Ulema by assuming the authority to give final decisions on religious questions on which there might be conflicting opinions among the Mujtahids (Muslim divines). In many social and other matters he showed respect to the sentiments and traditions of his non-Muslim subjects. Among these the most important was his abolition of *Jazia* (poll tax on the Hindus). Abul Fazl says, “Kingship is a gift of God. . . . And on coming to exalted dignity if he do not inaugurate universal peace (toleration) and if he do not regard all conditions of humanity, and all sects of religion with the single eye of favour . . . and not bemoan some and bestemother others — he will not become fit for the exalted dignity.”⁴⁰ Again he adds, “Differences in religion must not withhold him from his duty of watching,

and all classes of men must have repose, so that the shadow of God may confer glory.”⁴¹ Thus, in the words of Ibn Hasan, “Both Islamic law and Hadis ceased to be the code of government.”⁴²

The Muslims adopted many Hindu marriage customs, and followed a number of practices which were repugnant to Islamic law, for example, in the matter of fixing the degree of kinship for eligibility in marriage, in prescribing limits of endogamy and exogamy based upon tribal and class divisions, in the observance of ceremonial accompanying the marriage contract. Laws of inheritance were supplanted by custom (*urf*) in many parts of India. Widow marriage and divorce were frowned upon as among the Hindus.⁴³

The various Hindu and Muslim festivals were celebrated with impartial splendour. On the Dasehra, the anniversary of Rāma’s victory over the demons, the Imperial horses and elephants were arrayed in decorated panoply and paraded for inspection. On the Raksha-bandhan, the Hindu nobles and Brahmīns fastened strings on the Emperor’s arm. Divali saw gambling in the palace, and Shivaratri was duly observed. Nor were the Muslim Id and Shabi-i-barat neglected.⁴⁴

Marriages between Muslims and Hindus were rare, but those among the ruling families were well recognized. The Mughal emperors were not the pioneers of this policy. In Kashmir Hindu-Muslim marriages were of a long standing. Zain-ul-Abedin (1420-70) married the two daughters of Raja Manakdeo of Jammu.⁴⁵ Another daughter was married to Raja Jasrath, the Muslim Gakkhar chief.⁴⁶

The Bahmani kings of the Deccan allied themselves with Hindu families. Taj-ud-Din Firuz (1397-1422) married the daughters of Deva Raya of Vijayanagar and Narsingh Rao of Kherla.⁴⁷ Ahmad Shah Wali, the ninth Bahmani ruler, wedded the daughter of the Raja of Sonkhed. Yusuf Adil Shah, the Sultan of Bijapur (died A.D. 1510), took to wife the sister of Mukund Rao, a Brahmana, and she became his chief queen. Amur Barid of Bidar (died A.D. 1539) followed the example.⁴⁸

Akbar, Jahangir, Farrukh Siyar, Sulaiman Shukoh and Sipihr Shukoh took Hindu princesses for their wives. The Hindu royal family of Kachh formed matrimonial alliances with the Muslims.⁴⁹

On the other side, the Hindu was far too ridden with caste inhibitions to receive a Muslim lady in the innermost sanctum of his palace. Yet such instances were not unknown. In Rajauri, Ladakh and Baltistan, Jahangir noticed inter-marriages between the two communities.⁵⁰ The love affair of Peshwa Bajī Rao I with Mastani is well known. She was a dancing girl who became the Peshwa’s constant companion and “accompanied Bajī Rao in his campaigns and rode stirrup to stirrup with him.”⁵¹

In 1734 she bore the Peshwa a son, Shamsher Bahadur, who was brought up as a Muslim, the Brahmanas having refused to allow him

to enter the Hindu fold. He was killed at Panipat in 1761. He was succeeded in his jagir by his son Ali Bahadur. In 1787 when Mahadji Sindhia suffered reverses, reinforcements were despatched from the south under the command of Ali Bahadur as the representative of the Peshwa's house.

It was realized by the Muslim rulers on the whole that in the conditions existing in India the Islamic laws promulgated for the Arab society of Medina were not strictly applicable. The form of society which the Prophet of Islam envisaged and in which the State was the Church and the Church the State, did not last more than thirty years. The Umayyads ceased to function as Imams and became merely heads of State. The Abbasids who came after them shed the simple Arab manners, surrounded themselves with pomp and pelf, and introduced in their courts the etiquette, ceremony and splendour of ancient Iran.⁵²

In 1258 the Mongol conqueror destroyed the Caliphate, and a new era began in the Islamic civilization. The old concept of a single Muslim society with a single chief disappeared. It need not surprise us, therefore, if we find Muslim rulers and Muslim divines in India differing in their views concerning government, especially concerning the relations between the government and the people. "From the time of Iltutmish, who expressed his inability to follow the advice of the *Ulema* in the matter of imposing Islam on the Hindus by force, to Balban, Ala-ud-din Khalji, Mohammad Tughlak and Sher Shah, most of them held the view that combination of religion and kingship was not possible. Similar opinions prevailed among provincial Sultans of Kashmir, Bengal and the Deccan."⁵³

Search for Religious Synthesis: "The Mughals endeavoured to transmute this negative attitude into a positive policy. Babar, before his death, advised Humayun not to distinguish between a Muslim and a Hindu. Akbar's courageous efforts in this behalf are well known. Akbar found that there was no dearth of people in every religion who thought of themselves as perfect, who misinterpreted their religious belief and did not bring the standard work of their religion to the knowledge of the common people. Thus the spirit of the faith remained concealed. Akbar found it essential to prevent the people from falling victims to the nefarious designs of such custodians of faith, and decided that if the standard works of different religions were translated into simple language, they will be able to know the truth for themselves. This would put an end to the monopoly of those who did not state the real spirit of their religion to their respective followers."⁵⁴

Akbar initiated a bold policy so that in his age "the pillars of blind following" were demolished and a new era of research and enquiry in religious matters commenced.⁵⁵

The translations of Sanskrit works prepared in Akbar's reign were

illustrated by the court painters. One of the copies of the Mahābhārata made for the Imperial Library is now in the possession of the Maharaja of Jaipur.⁵⁶ Several independent translations of other Sanskrit works were made in the reign of Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, besides the works of Dara Shukoh.⁵⁷ Abdal Rahman Chishti (died 1683) gave an Islamizing explanation of the Bhagavad Gitā in his *Mir'at al-Haqaiq*.⁵⁸

Several original works on the fine arts, sciences and the philosophy of the Hindus were also written. The most noteworthy is the *Tuhfat-al-Hind* composed by Mirza Muhammad-ibn-Fakhr-al-Din Muhammad, in the reign of Aurangzeb, at the request of Kukultash Khan for the emperor's son, Prince Muhammad Mu'izz-al-Din Jahandar Shah. Jahangir did not depart from the tolerant ways of his father and Shahjahan after some hesitation continued on the whole to follow the same lines.

Aurangzeb's Outlook: Unfortunately, Aurangzeb sought to turn back the hands of the clock. But he too realized ultimately the futility and undesirability of mixing religion with politics. In his *Ahkam* (precepts) collected by Hamid-ud-Din Khan, a favoured officer well known by his sobriquet "dagger of Alamgir" (*Nimcha-i-Alamgir*), the following passages occur: "What have the worldly affairs to do with religion? And why should bigotry intrude into matters of religion?" "For you there is your religion, and for me mine (*Lakum dinkum walia din-Quran*)."⁵⁹ If the law were followed it would have been necessary to annihilate all the Rajas and their subjects. Another of his precepts was: "What concern have we with the religion of anybody? Let Jesus follow his own religion and Moses his own."

Aurangzeb blamed his teacher, Mulla Saleh, for his narrow outlook. Bernier reports:

Aurangzeb asked Mulla Saleh: "But what was the knowledge I derived under your tuition?" and complained, "Was it not incumbent upon my preceptor to make me acquainted with the distinguishing features of every nation of the earth; its resources and strength; its mode of warfare; its manners, its religions, its form of government and wherein its interests principally consist; and by a regular course of historical reading to render me familiar with the origin of States; their progress and decline; the events, accidents, or errors, owing to which such great changes and mighty revolutions have been effected?" He added, "A familiarity with the languages of surrounding nations may be indispensable in a king, but you would teach me to read and write (only) Arabic . . . forgetting how many important subjects ought to be embraced in the education of a Prince, you acted as if it were chiefly necessary that he should possess great skill in grammar, and such knowledge of law and of the sciences only through the medium of Arabic? . . . I have a perfect remembrance of your having, during several years, harassed my brain with idle and foolish propositions, the solution of which yield

no satisfaction to the mind — propositions that seldom enter into the business of life. When I left you, I could boast of no greater attainment in the sciences than the use of many obscure and uncouth terms, calculated to discourage, confound, and appal a youth of the most masculine understanding. . . . If you had taught me that philosophy which adapts the mind to reason, and will not suffer it to rest satisfied with anything short of the most solid arguments; if you had made me acquainted with the nature of man, accustomed me always to refer to first principles, and given me a sublime and adequate conception of the universe, and of the order and regular motions of its parts . . . I should have been more indebted to you than Alexander was to Aristotle.’’⁶⁰

Synthesis in Art and Architecture: Most of the Mughal emperors were deeply interested in art. They were both patrons and critics, encouraging talent and guiding skill. They invited to their courts great masters of painting from Central Asia and Persia. They gathered the humble but competent practitioners of art of India. The two worked together and the one was influenced by the other. The result was a style of wondrous beauty. Whatever the subject, the picture is always bathed in clear light, every detail is rendered with immense care, the ground is carpeted with green and trees are in bloom. The mien of the human dwellers in these scenes is one of good cheer, the hearts are elated, heads are held high and the eyes look straight.⁶¹

The style of painting at the Mughal courts became the prototype of the schools at the courts of provincial governors and of the Hindu Rajas of Rajasthan and the hill States in the Himalayas. Humayun brought with him two pupils of Bihzad, namely, Mir Saiyid Ali and Khwaja Abdus Samad. Akbar invited Farrukh Qalmaq and Aqa Raza. But among his artists, there were many Hindu painters of great ability like Basavan, Daswant and Kesho. They were entrusted with the illustrations of works like *Shāh Nāmah*, *Khamsa-i-Nizami*, *Bābar Nāmah* and *Timur Nāmah*, as well as the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyana*, *Nal Damyanti* and *Pāncatantra*. Jahangir carried the art to perfection. He has stated in his *Tuzuk* that he could distinguish between the style of all living and dead painters and could say who the painter of a particular picture was. One of his painters was Mansur who was an expert in painting birds and flowers. Bishandas exulted in portrait painting and Murad and Manohar were unequalled in drawing. Shahjahan maintained the high traditions of his father. The great painters of his reign were Muhammad Nadir Samarquandi, Faquirullah Khan, Mir Hashim, Bishandas and Bichittar. Though the art continued under Aurangzeb, it began to decline rapidly after him.⁶²

Painting is the delicate plant and architecture the stately tree that adorn the arbour of culture. The Mughal emperors, endowed with an extremely refined taste in the arts, nurtured both with loving

care. Babar laid out beautiful gardens with running water, cascading fountains and marble pavilions. Humayun erected a seven-chambered palace in which each hall was dedicated to one of the seven planets. Akbar created Fatehpur Sikri. Jahangir directed the completion of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, and the Jahangiri Mahal in Agra. Shahjahan's contribution to India's architectural monuments is well known. The Red Fort in Delhi with its numerous halls, mansions and mosque, the Jama Masjid, above all, the incomparable Taj Mahal, are immortal witnesses of his taste.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar says: "Two hundred years of Mughal rule, from the accession of Akbar to the death of Mohammad Shah (1556-1749), gave to the whole of Northern India, and much of the Deccan also, oneness of the official language, administrative system, coinage, and also a popular lingua Indica . . . even outside the territory directly administered by the Mughal emperors, their administrative system, official nomenclature court etiquette and monetary type were borrowed more or less by the neighbouring Hindu Rajas.

"All the twenty Indian Subahs of the Mughal Empire were governed by means of exactly the same administrative machinery with exactly the same procedure and official titles. Persian was the one language used in all office records, *farmans*, *sanads*, land-grants, passes, despatches and receipts. The same monetary standard prevailed throughout the Empire with coins having the same names and same purity and the same denomination, differing only in the name of mint town. Officials and soldiers were frequently transferred from one province to another. Thus the native of one province felt himself almost at home in another province; traders and travellers passed most easily from city to city, subah to subah, and all realized the imperial oneness of this vast country."⁶³

III

THE STORY OF CO-OPERATION AND CONFRONTATION

When the followers of Islam came to India they must have seen that the entire country lived up to high tenets in regard to religious tolerance, perhaps the highest for the age in which they were given. They must have wondered all the more that the people, who were so tolerant to outsiders and so free from all racial and political bias, were the most conservative in the world and rigidly exclusive in their social habits and customs.

The mosaic of their caste system with its political replica of independent and conflicting units had to be built up anew into a harmonious structure. The people had to be welded into a common brotherhood, and corresponding political unity had to be evolved to serve their common needs and save them from unending conflicts. The need of the hour

was religious tolerance, social and cultural synthesis, political integration and a secular outlook. Destiny had ordained the Mughals to play this unifying role. Such was this unifying force that even Aurangzeb could play the bigot only half-heartedly and with considerable self-restraint. And in spite of the disruption which followed at the end of his rule, the convulsions of politics could not overwhelm the synthesis of social life, and Hindu-Muslim relations continued the same up to the War of Independence of 1857.

The universal surge of loyalty and devotion towards Bahadur Shah, the symbol of political revolution, conclusively showed, for the first time in history, that India had become politically self-conscious and that the foundations of Indian nationalism had been truly and deeply laid.

After 1857 the British rulers lost no time in evolving a policy of 'divide and rule'. In 1858 a commission was appointed to consider wherein the existing system had proved defective. Many high officers put forward their views before the commission. Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, in a minute dated May 14, 1858, wrote:

"*Divide et impera* was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours. I might perhaps hesitate to express my conviction so decidedly if I were not able to show that my views upon this subject are entirely in accordance with those of the Duke of Wellington."

A glimpse into the official British records will show how this policy of *divide et impera* was taking shape:

Wood, in a letter to Elgin, says: "We have maintained our power by playing off one part against the other, and we must continue to do so. . . . Do what you can, therefore, to prevent all having a common feeling."⁶⁴ Then again: "I have been always very anxious to avoid any fraternizing and combining amongst the troops. It obviously is a cardinal point in India to keep races and classes so far away from each other as to obviate, as far as possible, all danger of this kind. Do the ordinary work of the North-Western Provinces with North-Western troops, Punjab ditto, and then have your Punjab troops ready to beat the Eastern with, and your Eastern troops to beat the Sikhs with, if occasion should arise."⁶⁵ In yet another letter Wood sagely remarks: "We cannot afford in India to neglect any means of strengthening our position. Depend upon it, the natural antagonism of races is no inconsiderable element of our strength. If all India was to unite against us, how long could we maintain ourselves?"⁶⁶

Discussing the relations of Turkey with India and the sympathies of Indian Muslims with the Ottoman Caliph, Lytton warned Salisbury that "there is no getting over the fact that the British empire of India is a Mohammadan Power, and that it entirely depends on the policy of Her Majesty's Government whether the sentiment of our Mohammadan subjects is to be an immense security or an immense danger to us."⁶⁷

The launching of political agitation by Surendranath Banerjee through all-India tours, and the founding of the Indian Association in 1877-78, and the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 created a flutter in the official dove-cotes. Lord Reay, while forwarding a memorial from the Anjuman-i-Islam to Dufferin, remarked that "the Mohammadans are undoubtedly handicapped in their competition with the Hindus; and I am anxious to see what can be done for them, though any increase of number of applicants for Government offices is not pleasant to contemplate."⁶⁸ Sir Rivers Thompson, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, welcomed the change in the Government's policy of extending "a helping hand to Muhammadans in securing appointments".⁶⁹ Sir W.H. Gregory most heartily approved the Resolution of the Government of India on Muhammadan education. He wrote to Dufferin: "I am confident that it will bear good fruits; indeed, it seems to have done so already by the complete abstention of the Muhammadans from Brahmin and Baboo agitation. It will be a great matter to sweeten our relations with this portion of the Indian population, the bravest and at one time the most dangerous. But they all with one voice declared that they got their whipping in 1857, and they take it like men. They now look to us, and to us alone, not to be subject to Hindu domination."⁷⁰ A year later, Gregory again wrote to the Governor-General: "They (Muslims) see clearly they had best stick to us, as they would get scant favour from a Baboo or Brahmins ascendancy."⁷¹ Then next year, he congratulated Dufferin in these words: "It is a comfort to you to find how staunch you have made the Muhammadans to our Raj by your judicious treatment of them. You can well afford to smile at Baboo malignity."⁷² Colvin, Lieutenant Governor of the N.W. Provinces, assured Dufferin that the Muslims of his province would be bitterly hostile to the Congress which they regarded as a claim for Hindu supremacy. He regarded the theory of national movement in India as necessarily absurd, to which the Muslims would not subscribe.⁷³

Sir John Strachey confessed that "the truth plainly is that the existence of these hostile creeds side by side is one of the strongest points in our political position in India."⁷⁴

George Francis Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India, wrote to Curzon, the Viceroy: "I think the real danger to our rule in India, not now but say 50 years hence, is the gradual adoption and extension of Western ideas of agitation and organization, and, if we could break the educated Hindu party into two sections holding widely different views, we should by such a division, strengthen our position against the subtle and continuous attack which the spread of education must make upon our system of Government."⁷⁵ Lord Dufferin himself confided to Cross that "the Muhammadans, whose goodwill I gained directly I arrived in this country, have also been very friendly and I am receiving addresses

from the Muhammadan population of almost every town in India".⁷⁶ And Cross had already informed him in the same strain, that "this division of religious feeling is greatly to our advantage and I look for some good as the result of your Committee of Inquiry".⁷⁷

When the expansion of the Legislative Councils took place in 1892, the question of selecting members arose. Lord Landsdowne in his speech in the Imperial Legislative Council explained that there was no intention of setting up bodies possessing the attributes of parliamentary assemblies of the European type; what was desired was "to obtain for these councils the services of members who will be in the truest sense representatives, but who will represent types and classes rather than areas and numbers".⁷⁸ Thus the principle of separate representation for religious communities and groups was introduced and India was treated as a conglomeration of varying interests, classes and cultures with no organic political unity—actual or potential.

Birth of the Indian National Congress : After 1857 the Hindus readily took to Western education, which brought with it a yearning for participation in the administration of the country and for Western political institutions. This yearning had continued to grow till it began to organize itself in the shape of an all-India demand and an all-India organization. As a consequence, a great gathering met in Bombay in 1885 which adopted the name and laid the foundation of the Indian National Congress. The soul of India was yearning to find some avenue of self-expression and self-assertion, and the Indian National Congress afforded her such an opportunity. The tone of the correspondent of *The Times* gives an idea of the feelings with which this new organization was received at the time:

"This last week the Bombay leaders have again given proof of their organizing powers. They have brought together a National Congress composed of delegates from every political society of any importance throughout the country. For the first time perhaps since the World began, the Indians as a nation met together. Its congeries of races, its diversity of castes, all seemed to find common ground in their political aspirations."

It was indeed for the first time in Indian history that India was acting as a political unit, not through her kings but through her people. The formative stage had ended with the kings. Political unity had now become an accomplished fact. It was this aspect of the movement, the claim of the people of India to come into their own, that excited the fears and roused the indignation of her foreign possessors.

Sir Syed Ahmad, at that time, was occupying the foremost place as leader of the Muslim community. He had a broad national outlook. In 1866 he advised his co-religionists: "If the giving up of the cow-slaughter will establish amity and friendliness among Hindus and Mussalmans then please do not sacrifice cows, which is a thousand

times better”⁷⁹ In his Patna speech dated January 27, 1883, he said: “Please remember that the Hindu and Muslim are religious terms. In fact, all the inhabitants of India, whether Hindu, Muslim or Christian, are by virtue of the fact of their residence one Nation. The time is past when merely on the ground of religion the inhabitants of one country could be regarded as members of two nations.”⁸⁰ In his speech made at Gurdaspur on January 27, 1884, he said: “We (Hindus and Muslims) should try to become one heart and one soul and act in unison; if united, we can support each other. If not, the effect of one against the other would tend to the destruction and downfall of both.”⁸¹

The British authorities felt alarmed. Lord Dufferin made serious efforts to wean away Sir Syed from the national movement. Ultimately he had a very satisfactory interview with Sir Syed.

Fifty-five Muslim delegates attended the second session and seventy-six attended the third. The third session in 1887 was presided over by Badruddin Tyabji. He belonged to an Arab family which had settled down in Bombay. Lord Dufferin personally tried to influence Badruddin, by presenting to him a photograph of himself and his family, but the effort of the Viceroy had no effect on him. Badruddin confessed, “I am much afraid of donees bringing presents.”⁸² Syed Amir Ali and Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay, also tried to win him over but did not have any success. In a letter addressed to Syed Amir Ali, Badruddin Tyabji reiterated his political views in these words: “My own views are that in regard to general political questions affecting India as a whole, it is the duty of all educated and public spirited citizens to work together irrespective of their caste, colour or creed.”⁸³

India possessed the basic conditions for national unity, namely, geographical individuality, historical continuity and a unique cultural personality. But to overcome the medieval and traditional social forces, aided as they were by governmental influence, was a task of colossal magnitude. It is not surprising, therefore, that in spite of the determination of the politically conscious class and the efforts of the Indian National Congress rifts appeared in the national movement.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan took the lead and exhorted the Muslims to remain aloof from the Congress and, with the co-operation of the Hindu landlords of Uttar Pradesh, set up a rival organization under the name of Indian Patriotic Association. This, however, was short-lived, and then Sir Syed and the Aligarh party sought to rally the Muslim community in support of British rule. But here, too, his success was not outstanding. Many leaders of the traditional school — the Ulema — opposed Sir Syed, and a number of educated and enlightened Muslims in many parts of India supported the Congress.

Unfortunately, communal relations all of a sudden deteriorated after 1890 and riots took place to embarrass the Congress and question

its claim that India was a homogeneous country fit to be given representative institutions. The *London Standard* wrote: "We think the policy of advancing the natives to responsible posts, of selecting men because they have satisfied some educational test, has been carried to dangerous lengths. We hold India, as we would, by the sword. We keep the peace in a country or rather in a collection of countries liable to be perpetually distracted and convulsed by internecine warfare."⁸⁴

The Indian reaction was that the riots were the result of the policy of divide and rule, actively pursued by the British officials who were annoyed with the Congress demands and who encouraged the Muslims to obstruct the national movement. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* wrote: "The Mussalmans were indirectly encouraged and patted on the back."⁸⁵

The Congress endeavoured to counteract communalism and proclaimed through its President, Pherozeshah Mehta: "The members of the Congress meet together as men, on the common basis of nationality, being citizens of one country."⁸⁶ Badruddin Tyabji declared in his presidential address (1887): "I for one am utterly at a loss to understand why Mussalmans should not work shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-countrymen of other races and creeds for the common benefit of all."⁸⁷

The national movement continued to grow and the national feeling continued to spread all over the country, and though it was not able to draw the Muslims as a body they could not escape its healthy influences altogether. The general temper of the people continued to be friendly and the communal passions generally remained localized in some towns and cities.

In 1900, the Government of Sir Anthony Macdonell, the then Lieutenant-Governor of North-Western Provinces (as Uttar Pradesh was known then), passed an order authorizing the use of Nagri for certain specific purposes in courts and public offices. It was an innocuous order. In fact, a knowledge of both Urdu and Hindi was essential for establishing a cultural link between the two communities, but at the time it effectively divided the two communities. U.P. was the cultural centre of Islamic India. From this centre radiated currents of agitation which shook the whole country from end to end. In August 1900, representative Muslims from various provinces met together in a big conference to ponder over the fate of their injured community. It was at this time that a meeting of chosen Muslim leaders decided to form a permanent all-India Muslim organization to watch with vigilance the political interests of the community. So deep has the controversy sunk into the social organism and so inexhaustible has proved the store of bitterness engendered that its deadly energy has not even yet exhausted itself.

On the heels of the Hindi-Urdu controversy came the partition of Bengal. The Hindus had gloated over the discomfiture of the Muslims in

the Hindi-Urdu controversy; it was now the turn of the Mussalmans to gloat over the discomfiture of the Hindus. The agitation against partition, while it deepened and widened the political consciousness of India, deepened and widened proportionately the gulf between the Hindu and Muslim communities. It was a measure fatally designed to achieve this purpose, and it was made more fatal by the manner of its execution

By such an unscrupulous use of one section of the people against another, the bureaucracy succeeded in antagonizing the communities over the whole length and breadth of India.

Not content with the deadly antagonism it had thus created, the Government now conceived a still more disastrous scheme for perpetuating it. About this time it whispered into the ears of some responsible Muslim leaders that they should demand separate electorate for the protection of minority rights. Accordingly, a command deputation waited on Lord Minto in October, 1906, and demanded that separate electorate should be made a part of the constitution. The same year the All-India Muslim League came into existence.

In 1909 separate electorates became a part of the constitution, and elections on a communal basis began to carry the communal virus into those sections of Indian society which up to this time were comparatively free from it. In this year was held the first Punjab Hindu Conference at Lahore, and a Hindu Sabha was founded as a counterblast to the Muslim League. The introduction of separate electorate was the crowning measure of the divide and rule policy. According to Ramsay MacDonald: "Hindus went about saying that it was no good trying further to co-operate with the Mohammadans for national purposes and Mohammadans were making no secret of their delight and of their determination to continue the policy which has yielded them so much."⁸⁸

After this nothing remained to be done but to let things work. The communal tension was already there; the political sections had been successfully divided; civic and economic life too was effectively penetrated; all that remained was, when policy demanded, to pull a wire here and a wire there at psychological moments to produce the desired explosion. In fact, so dependable were the batteries and so surcharged the atmosphere with destructive energy that huge explosions were created which ultimately ended in the partition of the country.

Unfortunately, the circumstances which attended the establishment of independence have left behind a trail of misery, bitterness, hostility and fear. Communal tension has poisoned the springs of national life and worked as an irritant hardly allowing the old sores to heal.

In this situation our duty is clear. In the words of our Prime Minister, "We must fight all those tendencies which create divisions, spread ill-will towards any community and invite violence."

A year before his martyrdom Gandhiji wrote in the *Harijan*:

“All those who are born in this country and claim her as their motherland, whether they be Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, Christian, Jain or Sikh, are equally her children and are, therefore, brothers, united together with a bond stronger than that of blood.”⁸⁹

When Gandhiji undertook his last fast on January 13, 1948, some people complained that the Mahatma had sympathy for the Muslims only. Gandhiji answered that “in a sense they were right. All my life I had stood for minorities or those in need. Pakistan had resulted in depriving the Muslims of the Union of their pride and self-confidence. It hurts me to think that this should be so. It weakened the foundations of a State to have any class of people lose self-confidence”.⁹⁰

Repeating his theory of nationhood Gandhiji said: “From Kanyakumari to Kashmir and from Dwarka to Dibrugarh in Assam, all Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians and Jews, who people this vast subcontinent and have adopted it as their dear motherland, have an equal right to it. No one can say that it belongs to the majority community only and that the minority community can only remain there as the underdog. Therefore, anyone who wants to drive out of Delhi all Mussalmans as such must be set down as its Enemy Number One and, therefore, Enemy Number One of India.”⁹¹

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is determined to fight the divisive tendencies that are raising their head. The whole nation is behind her in her unifying efforts. May she live long to achieve this great objective.

¹ *Cambridge History of Medieval India*.

² *Arab aur Hind ke Talluqāt*, by Suleman Nadvi, p. 194.

³ *The History of Medieval India* by Dr. Ishwari Prasad, p. 59

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

⁵ *Al-Jahiz, Rasa'ul*, p. 81.

⁶ *Tarikh Ibn-Yāqūbī*, Vol. II, p. 104.

⁷ *Tarikh Al-Idrisi*, p. 169.

⁸ *Tabqat-ul-Uman*, pp. 11-15.

⁹ *Tarikh-i-Bukhara*, (ed. C. Schefer, Paris, 1892), p. 18.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹¹ Neoldeke, quoted in the Appendix III, *The Iranian Influence on Muslim Literature*, pp. 150-3.

¹² Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 316.

¹³ *The A'in-i-Akbari* (Jarret), Vol. III, pp. 7-8

¹⁴ *The Hindu Muslim Problem* by Dr. Tarachand, pp. 34-5.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹⁸ Dr. Tarachand, *Society and State in the Mughal Period*, 1960, p. 87.

¹⁹ *Ibid* , pp. 90-91; also Priyadas, *Bhaktirasabodhini*, p. 89.

²⁰ *Ibid* , p. 90

²¹ *Ibid* , p. 91.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 92.

²³ *Ibid* , p. 92

²⁴ *Ibid* , p. 93

²⁵ *Ibid* , p. 95

²⁶ *Ibid* , p. 96. See also *Siyar-ul-Auliya*.

The *Khilafat Nāmāhs* given by Sheikh Nizamuddin Aulia to his senior disciples definitely enjoined upon them. "(You) ought to reject the world Do not be inclined towards the world and the worldly men Do not accept any village. And do not take any gift from kings."

Another great Sufi, Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar's family had very often to starve. "It was an Eid day for us when we got a saltless dish of pelu" — they used to say

"In the days of Balban," Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia used to say, "melons were sold at the rate of one jital per maund but very often the season passed without my tasting a slice Two seers of bread could be had for one jital, but out of sheer poverty I was unable to purchase it in the market. My mother, sister and other dependents suffered with me 'Nizamuddin! we are the guests of God today!' (Mehman-Khuda Yam), my mother used to say when we had no food left in the house " Despite this poverty, he refused to accept the gift of a few villages offered by Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji.

Baba Farid used to say to his disciples. "Do not mix with the kings and the nobles. Take their visits to your house as calamities. Every *darvesh* who opens the door of association to kings and nobles is doomed." (*Siyar-ul-Auliya*).

²⁷ Elliot, Vol. 1, p. 118.

²⁸ *Ibid* , Vol. 1, p. 186.

²⁹ Sir William Muir, *The Caliphate, Its Rise, Decline and Fall* (London 1898), pp. 367-68.

³⁰ Dr. Tarachand, *The Hindu Muslim Problem*, pp. 18, 19

³¹ Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *The History of Medieval India*, p. 91.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 111

³³ C V. Vaidya, *Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. III, p. 361.

³⁴ *Ibid* , Vol. III, p. 362.

³⁵ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 89-90.

³⁶ *Fatwa-Fahandari*, translated by Prof. M. Habib and Dr. Afsar Begam in the *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. III, Nos. 1 & 2, July-October, 1957, p. 55.

³⁷ Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad, *Tabqat-i-Akbari* (Text edited by B. De), Vol. I, p. 82.

³⁸ Zia-ul-Din Barni, *Tarikh-i-Shahi* (Text).

³⁹ See *Medieval India Quarterly*, *op. cit* , p. 5.

⁴⁰ Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama* (Translated by Beveridge), Vol. II, (Calcutta, 1912), p. 421

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 680

⁴² Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 61.

⁴³ Vide Tupper, C.L., *Punjab Customary Laws*; also Burn, R., *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. XVI, Part 1, pp. 92 et. sq.

⁴⁴ Dr. Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 99-100

⁴⁵ See Janaraja, *Rajatarangini* (translated by J. C. Dutt), p. 86, also Srivara, *Zain Rajatarangini* (translated by J. C. Dutt), p. 194.

⁴⁶ *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVI, 1907, p. 8.

⁴⁷ Shervani, H K., *The Bahmanis of the Deccan* (1953 edition), p. 144, et. sq.

⁴⁸ Ranade, M.G., *The Rise of Maratha Power*, p. 31, also Briggs, John, *History of the Rise of Mohammadan Power in India*, Vol. III, (Calcutta 1910), pp. 495-6.

⁴⁹ Sarkar, Jadunath, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. II, p. 163, footnote.

- 50 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Roger's Translation), Vol. II, p. 181.
- 51 *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi*, quoted by Sardesai, G.S., *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 118.
- 52 Dr. Tarachand, *Society and State in the Mughal Period*, p. 58.
- 53 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- 54 *Mahabharata*, Persian Translation (Lucknow Edition), Abul Fazl's preface, p. 15.
- 55 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- 56 British Museum 1883, pp. 239-50.
- 57 *Ibid.* 1883, pp. 257-71.
- 58 India Office MS., 1269.
- 59 Dr. Tarachand, Patel Memorial Lectures, pp. 60-1.
- 60 Bernier F., *Travels*, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-160.
- 61 Dr. Tarachand, *Society and State in the Mughal Period*, p. 108.
- 62 *Ibid.*, p. 109.
- 63 Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 129-30.
- 64 *Wood Papers*: Wood to Elgin, 3 March, 1862
- 65 *Ibid.*, Wood to Elgin, 10 May, 1862.
- 66 *Ibid.*, Wood to Elgin, 19 May, 1862.
- 67 *Lytton Papers*: Lytton to Salisbury, 31 May, 1885.
- 68 *Dufferin Papers*: Reay to Dufferin, 31 May, 1885.
- 69 *Ibid.*, Sir Rivers Thompson to Dufferin, 14 January, 1886.
- 70 *Ibid.*, Sir W. H. Gregory to Dufferin, February 21, 1886.
- 71 *Ibid.*, Sir W. H. Gregory to Dufferin, 27 March, 1887.
- 72 *Ibid.*, Sir W. H. Gregory to Dufferin, 16 May, 1888.
- 73 *Ibid.*, Sir Auckland Colvin to Dufferin, 24 May, 1888.
- 74 Quoted by Moon, P., *Strangers in India*, p. 99.
- 75 Hamilton to Curzon, 2 September, 1897.
- 76 *Cross Papers*: Dufferin to Cross, 26 March, 1888.
- 77 *Ibid.*, Cross to Dufferin, 14 January, 1887.
- 78 Lansdowne, Speech in the Imperial Legislative Council, March 16, 1893.
- 79 *Akhiri Mazamin*, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
- 80 *Majmua Lecturehai*, Sir Syed Ahmad, *op. cit.*, pp. 117, 121.
- 81 *Eminent Mussalmans*, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- 82 Letter dated 3 December, 1887, Tyabji Husain B, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
- 83 Letter dated 13 January, 1888, *Ibid.*, p. 191.
- 84 Quoted by the *Statesman*, 9 September, 1893.
- 85 *The Amrit Bazar Patrika*, 10 September, 1895.
- 86 Presidential Address – 1890, *The Indian National Congress* (Natesan, 1917), p. 72.
- 87 *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 25.
- 88 *The Awakening of India*, by Ramsay MacDonald.
- 89 *Harijan*, 8-9-1946.
- 90 Pyarelal, *Mahatma Gandhi – The Last Phase*, Vol. II, p. 707.
- 91 *Ibid.*, p. 708.

Impact of Islam on Indian Culture in Mediaeval Age

Atul Chandra Roy

According to one school of historians, Islam itself became Indianized instead of Islamizing Indian culture. According to another, Islamic culture made a great and far-reaching impact on Indian culture. Some maintain a balance between the two divergent views by holding that it was not a one-way traffic, but both the cultures influenced each other and thereby gave birth to a common Indo-Muslim culture. This view approximates to the truth. One French writer had observed thus, "To understand the Mussalman one must understand Islam; To understand Islam one must understand the Bedouin of Arabia and to understand the Bedouin one must know the Arabian desert." This observation holds true so far as the Islamized countries like Transoxiana, Afghanistan, Persia, Syria and Mesopotamia are concerned. But the case was otherwise so far as India in that age was concerned.

Although theoretically Islam knows no geographical barriers, yet, in spite of denunciation by the orthodox, Islam in India adopted the principle of "give and take". The Muslims came to India as a new element which the older inhabitants could not absorb. However, although the two societies maintained many separate and distinctive features, they came closer to each other and developed a kind of culture commonly called Indo-Muslim culture.

According to Havell, a great admirer of Hinduism, Islam influenced the Hindu social life in two ways. There was a rise of rigidities in the Hindu society. Islam also gave the depressed and downtrodden masses the prospect of improving their social status and economic lot. Havell says that the Muslim success in India cannot be explained away by external factors alone. It became possible owing to the political disintegration and moral degeneration of India since the death of Harsha. Havell has emphatically observed that it was not the philosophy of Islam but the democratic nature of the Islamic society that attracted the attention of the Indian people.¹

The Arabs were the first among the Muslims to come to India and they had settled down firmly in South India by the end of the tenth century. Henceforth Muslim influence began to grow rapidly. They were heartily welcomed as traders and were allowed by the local princes of Malabar to acquire lands and to practise their religion freely. Islam is essentially a missionary religion and the Arabs experienced no difficulty in preaching their gospel and winning converts from the local people. They created a great stir among the Hindu populace as much by their peculiar beliefs and worship as by the zeal with which they professed and advocated them.²

Islam found a congenial atmosphere in South India. Religious conflicts had been going on in South India as Neo-Hinduism had been struggling with Buddhism and Jainism for ascendancy. The religious atmosphere bewildered the common people and it was at such a juncture

that Islam appeared on the scene with a simple formula of faith, well-defined dogmas and rites. The result was a large number of voluntary conversions of unsophisticated people to Islam followed by the conversion of the last of the Cherman Perumal kings of Malabar to the new religion in the first quarter of the ninth century. According to some, it was with a view to propitiating the Arab traders so that they might enrich the kingdom of Malabar by their prosperous trade and commerce that the Perumal king embraced Islam. Whatever might have been the motive of the Malabar king, it cannot be gainsaid that the Muslims came to acquire great influence and importance in the Malabar region under the patronage of the local princes. The number of Muslim settlers in the dominion of the Zamorin of Calicut continued to increase by leaps and bounds and in his eagerness to train his men as expert mariners and sailors, the Zamorin "gave orders that in every family of fishermen in his dominion one or more of the male members should be brought up as Muhammadans".³ Marco Polo, Ibn Batuta and Abdur Razzak noticed a large number of Muslim settlers along the western coast with their mosques and flourishing centres of trade. Each settlement of the Muslims in the Eastern and Western coasts grew into a centre of religious propaganda. It is really surprising that within the course of a few centuries, before the advent of the Turks, large areas in the Eastern and Western regions turned into centres of Islamic civilization and culture without the least resistance from the sons of the soil. The rise of the Bahmani kingdom in the south offers a glaring instance of the impact of Islam on South Indian politics and culture. This impact is much more glaring when we take into account the rise of Bijapur and Golkonda as two other great Muslim kingdoms in the later days.

Northern India came into direct contact with Islam from the time of Muhammad bin Ghori. From the thirteenth century onwards, Hindu imperialism based on loose confederation of autonomous principalities gradually gave way to Turkish suzerainty and paramountcy. Hinduism came face to face with a dynamic religion which threw a challenge to the philosophic basis of Hinduism, attacked its social structure and denied its pantheistic doctrines. Speaking of the moral effect of Muslim conquest, Cunningham writes, "The influence of a new people who equalled or surpassed Kshatriyas in valour, who despised the sanctity of Brahmins and who authoritatively proclaimed the unity of God and His abhorrence of images began gradually to operate on the minds of the multitudes of India. . . . New superstition emulated old credulity, *Pīns* and *Shahīds*, saints and martyrs, equalled Krishna and Bhairav in the number of their miracles and the Muhammadans almost forgot the unity of God in the multitude of intercessors whose aid they implored."⁴ In the words of Cunningham again, "The first result of the conflict [between Hinduism and Islam] was the institution, about the end of the

fourteenth century, of a comprehensive sect by Ramananda of Banaras. He seized upon the idea of man's equality before God. He instituted no nice distinctive observances, he admitted all classes of people as his disciples."⁵

It would be wrong to hold, as the European writers have done, that the monotheistic and anticaste movement among the Hindus in the middle ages originated as a result of the impact of Islam. There is ample and convincing evidence to show that all the higher thinkers and religious reformers among the Hindus from the earliest times had proclaimed the unity of God, declared the equality of all devotees and placed the true faith above all religious rituals and ceremonies.⁶ In this direction the works of the *Adiyars* (the Śaiva saints) and the *Alvārs* (the Vaishnava saints) of South India during the period between the eighth and the twelfth centuries may be mentioned. It was during this period that the Śaiva and Vaishnava saints of South India endeavoured to wean the people from their allegiance to Buddhism and Jainism to Śiva and Vishnu worship. The devotees of Śiva and Vishnu developed the Bhakti cult. The preacher of the Bhakti cult put emphasis on the personal God, a unique, supreme and merciful God, "surrender to whom and living in whose grace is the one way of attaining the life divine". According to some, the growth of the Bhakti movement in south and north India was due to the direct impact of Islam. Dr Tara Chand makes a distinction between the Bhakti movement in the ancient age in northern India and in the early medieval epoch in southern India. According to him south India first came into direct contact with Islam in the early medieval days and it was the presence of the Islamic missionaries that led to the growth of a Hindu reformation movement in that region. Dr Tara Chand observes: "It is necessary to repeat that most of the elements in the southern school of devotion and philosophy, taken singly, were derived from ancient system; but the elements in their totality and in their peculiar emphasis betray a singular approximation to Islamic faith and, therefore, make the argument for Islamic influence probable."⁷ As a matter of fact, medieval religion was escapist in its devotionism and eclectic in its combination of Hindu and Muslim ideas. Of course, it is to be admitted at the same time that it was not necessary for the orthodox Hindu reformist to go to Islam for monotheism or for believing in the equality of all before God as all such doctrines could be found in the Upanishads. "But," writes Panikkar, "it could not be denied that the emphasis that the medieval teachers attached to them had its inspiration from the teaching of Islam."⁸ In the same strain, J.N. Sarkar writes: "What really happened after the Muslim conquest was that these dissenting or reforming movements among the Hindus received a great impetus from the presence of the Muhammedans in their immediate neighbourhood. The example of Islamic Society acted as a solvent on Hindu prejudice."⁹

Brahminical orthodoxy, since the days of Sankaracharya, created some reactions among the suppressed and unorthodox lower classes within the fold of Hinduism. The Buddhist Jats of Sind sided with the Arab invaders against Brahminical orthodoxy and embraced Islam. Similarly in Bengal, after Bakhtiyar Khalji's invasion, a large number of socially depressed and unorthodox lower classes accepted Islām in large numbers partly lured by the prospect of bettering their social and economic status and partly attracted by the pious life and magnetic personality of the Islamic saints. As Dr Qanungo writes, "It was during this time that the saints of Islam who excelled the Hindu priesthood and monks in active piety, energy and foresight, began proselytizing on a wide scale not so much by force as by the fervour of their faith and their exemplary character. They lived and preached among the low-class Hindus then as ever in the grip of superstition and social repression. About a century after the military and political conquest of Bengal, there began the process of the moral and spiritual conquest of the land, through the efforts of the Muslim religious fraternities that now arose in every corner."¹⁰ It cannot be gainsaid that the Islamic saints in Bengal created a great impact upon the lower classes of Hindus and Buddhists. According to the old Bengali poem *Śūnya Purāṇa*, the untouchables in Bengal rejoiced over the plight of the Brahmins. What happened in Sindh and Bengal was equally true so far as Maharashtra and upper India are concerned.

At the same time, it cannot be denied that Islam had some indirect impact upon the Brahminical society which grew to be rigid in caste matters. To protect society, Brahmin preachers and reformers made the caste rules more rigid in the beginning. But in the later period, the same influence did much to modify the rigidity of the caste system and to change the relative position and privileges of the older castes of Hinduism.¹¹ Hinduism, faced with the ominous prospect of its adherents gradually absorbed into the fold of Islam, tried to arrest the process by making certain concessions to reclaim people to Hinduism.¹² Purificatory penances were introduced to take back into the fold of Hinduism those who had been declared outcaste due to their contact with the Muslims. So in the beginning Islam led to the growth of orthodoxy and rigidity in the Hindu caste system but gradually it helped the relaxation of those rigidities. "It (Islam) effected a change in classes and in their relative position, but did not uproot the institution (caste system)."¹³

It is to be admitted at the same time that Islam and Hinduism provided a common platform in the field of religion. Many sects arose out of the conflict of Islam and Hinduism which tried to harmonize the two and to provide a common meeting ground to the devout men of both creeds in which their differences of rituals, dogmas and external marks of faith were ignored. According to Havell the advent of Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya and Dadu was the result of such development. These reformers

made converts from Hindus and Muslims freely and rejected the rigidities of the Brahmins and the *mullas* alike. The Kabir-Panth (sect of Kabir) provided a connecting link between Hindu and Muslim mysticism. Kabir was against narrow communalism and the externals of the creeds. A Muslim by birth, Kabir was fundamentally monotheistic. He was first a Sufi and then an ardent disciple of Ramananda. Kabir's teaching touched the thinking souls of Hindus and Muslims, although it brought upon him at the same time the wrath of the orthodox *pandits* and *mullas*.

Islam, of course, had no direct impact on the rise of Sikhism. Guru Nanak's first convert was a Muslim. Like Kabir, Nanak also decried idol-worship, caste prejudices and polytheism. This attitude brought him near to Islam. He was influenced by Sufism, and the *Adi Granth* proves that the basis of his creed was essentially Indian. His mission was the unification of Hinduism and Islam. He took the Prophet of Islam as his model and his teaching is an eloquent testimony to this fact.¹⁴ Dr Tara Chand says that Nanak was more indebted to Islam than to Hinduism. But we know that his Hindu and Muslim disciples had a great controversy over the issue of the disposal of his body and after his death the Hindus erected a shrine and the Muslims a tomb.

The cultural influence of the six centuries of Muslim rule was undoubtedly widespread. The influence was direct and vivid in literature, art and architecture, in customs and manners and in the general fashions of the age.

Nowhere did the Hindus and Muslims come so close to each other and nowhere did they identify themselves with each other's culture so intimately as in Bengal. This resulted in the growth of a new culture popularly called Bengali culture which was different in many aspects from the general pattern of Indo-Muslim culture of the other parts of the country. Under the patronage of the two illustrious Muslim dynasties, viz., the Ilyas Shahi and the Husain Shahi, Bengali language and literature took a distinctive shape and style. Sanskrit epics were translated into Bengali and the Muslims enriched the literature by composing many ballads and mystic songs.

The impact of Islam on the growth of Hindi literature has been enormous. The Sultanate period marked the beginning of Hindi literature. "There is almost a family likeness between the Hindi style of Amir Khusru, of Kabir and of Bharatendu Harish Chandra."¹⁵ In the Lodi period, many Afghan saints composed verses in Hindi. The age of Akbar has been rightly called the golden age of Hindi literature. Along with the emperor, his great nobles, Hindu and Muslim, patronized Hindi literally. Khan Khanan Abdur Rahman experimented with a mixed style, half Persian and half Hindi, that led to the growth of Urdu. Doubtless, Hindi language reacted warmly to Islamic influence. Amir Khusru's contribution to Hindi

was immense. It was he who replaced Prakrit tradition of Chand Bardai by Hindi. After Amir Khusru, Mulla Daud, Kabir, Ras Khan, among others, made significant contributions to Hindi literature and language.

It was in the field of historical literature that the Muslims left a great mark. Before the coming of the Muslims, the Hindus had lacked scientific history. Al Beruni lamented the lack of historical sense of the Hindus. Muslim historiography had developed in the Muslim countries long before the Turks conquered India. The historical literature of the Muslims in all countries has been vast, varied and well furnished with facts. "The Persian chronicles which were written under every Muslim dynasty not only served as materials of study in themselves but furnished an example which Hindu writers and Hindu rulers were not slow to imitate. Thus a new and very useful element was introduced into Indian literature."¹⁶

In the domain of the fine arts the Muslims made significant contributions. The Muslims had something to teach and something to learn in art and architecture, and from this attitude developed a distinct Indo-Muslim technique. They employed Hindu builders and craftsmen for erecting the buildings for the new faith with their materials. "The task was facilitated by the fact that certain features were common to both forms of architecture, whether Hindu or Muslim, in spite of fundamental differences between the two."¹⁷ This was the beginning of the contact between the Hindu and Muslim styles. The Indo-Muslim architecture, which the kingdoms of Bengal, Jaunpur, Mandu, and Ahmedabad developed, was a harmonizing of Hindu and Muslim traditions. Under the impact of Islam new forms, features and decorative ideals came into vogue, thus enriching Indian architecture as a whole. Among the characteristic features which Islam introduced, mention may be made of the minaret, the pendentive and the squinch arches and the half-domed portal. A few of these are, of course, not unfamiliar with the Hindus.¹⁸ According to Dr Tara Chand, "The craftsmanship, ornamental richness and general design remained largely Hindu; the arcuated form, plain domes, smooth-faced walls and spacious interiors were Muslim superimpositions."¹⁹ The Indo-Islamic style began with the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate and continued with more perfections in the Mughal age. The city of Fatehpur Sikri has endured as an example of this mingling of Hindu and Muslim conceptions.

Another notable impact of Islam was felt on painting. The Mughals developed a new style and technique which gained popularity in the country. Mujeeb writes: "Muslims had probably no knowledge of previous Indian styles and there were no masterpieces available from the study of which the Indian Muslim artist could get stimulus and inspiration. Indian Muslim or, to be more precise, Mughal painting was a synthesis of the arts of illumination, figure drawing and calligraphy."²⁰ Perhaps Babur introduced the models of the Timurid school in India. Under Humayun

the same style continued. Akbar gave a new impetus to the development of Indian painting. Hindu painters were, no doubt, employed, but they had to paint pictures according to the choice of their new masters. Under Jahangir the Indian school of painting gave up the tradition of imitation and portrait painting acquired popularity. "The regime of Shah Jahan saw the culmination of the art, the rules of perspective and foreshortening, of modelling and shading were introduced, the finest brushes and the most costly colours were used."²¹ Muslim painters were received most cordially by the Rajput courts of Bharatpur, Ambar, Alwar and others. It was in these courts that they founded the school of the Later Rajput Painting. The Rajput paintings bear clear evidence of Mughal influence. However, "under the influence of Islam, Indian painting lost its spirituality and idealism and gained in its approach to life and reality."²²

Besides art and architecture, Muslim manners and customs made an inroad into Hindu society to a great extent. Hunting, hawking and many games became Muhammadanized in method and terminology. The Muslim art of warfare was eagerly imitated by the Hindu princes. Muslim impact was considerably felt on the system of administration, court ceremonials and dress and lives of the Hindu ruling classes. The austere food of the Hindus was replaced among the higher classes by rich and spiced preparations in imitation of the Muslims. Rare fruits and refinements of the culinary art to suit jaded palates found their way into Indian houses and gained popularity among the upper classes of Hindus and Muslims alike.

The Hindu aristocrats, as a rule, imitated the Muslim nobles in their dresses. There was very little to distinguish a Hindu noble from his Muslim counterpart so far as dress was concerned. The only difference was that the Rajput nobles were in the habit of using ear-rings which the Muslim nobles did not. Guru Nanak lamented that the Hindus had adopted Muslim dress. Some people tried to evolve a common dress for all Indians. Nanak took a lead in this direction and he is reported to have himself used a number of combinations of Hindu and Muslim dresses. During the Mughal period, even the Hindu princes of distant Kutch and Nawanagar had imitated Mughal dress. "Everyone of the Rajput princes . . . except Maharana Pratap is portrayed in his court dress and that is in itself sufficient evidence of the general acceptance of Moghul habits and manners by the higher nobility."²³ Tod has referred to Muslim influence on the dress of the Rajput princes.

Among physical sports, the Muslims introduced polo, or *chaughan* as it was called, as a most aristocratic outdoor game and it became very popular among the Hindu princes. Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak died of an accident while playing polo in Lahore. Akbar invented fiery balls (illuminated balls) — a device which made the playing of the game in dark nights possible.²⁴ The Rajputs acquired much skill in playing polo. The game was very popular in Gujarat, as Barbosa writes.

- 1 Havell: *Aryan Rule in India*
- 2 Tara Chand: *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 33
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 36.
- 4 Cunningham: *History of the Sikhs*, pp. 30-31.
- 5 *Ibid.*
- 6 J. N. Sarkar: *India through the Ages*, p. 49.
- 7 Tara Chand: *op. cit.*, p. 107.
- 8 Panikkar: *A Survey of Indian History*, p. 147
- 9 J. N. Sarkar: *op. cit.*, p. 49.
- 10 *Vide History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. II, p. 69.
- 11 Ashraf: *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, vide JASB, Vol. I, 1935, p. 194.
- 12 T. Dasgupta: *Aspects of Bengali Society*, p. 170.
- 13 Ashraf: *op. cit.*, p. 195.
- 14 Tara Chand: *op. cit.*, p. 169.
- 15 Qanungo: *Islam and its Impact on India*, p. 47.
- 16 J. N. Sarkar. *India through the Ages*, pp. 50-51.
- 17 *Vide The Delhi Sultanate* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan), p. 662.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 664
- 19 Tara Chand: *op. cit.*, p. 243.
- 20 Mujeeb: *The Indian Muslims*, p. 344.
- 21 Tara Chand: *op. cit.*, p. 271.
- 22 Qanungo: *op. cit.*, p. 76.
- 23 Panikkar: *op. cit.*, p. 169.
- 24 *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* Vol. II, p. 315.

Contribution of Muslim Saints to Indian Culture

Husna Begam

The text-books of Indian history do not take sufficient cognizance of the saints of the mediaeval period. As a matter of fact their story is more important for understanding the evolution of Indian culture than the story of the battles for political supremacy.

These saints generated a new climate. This climate was most helpful for a cultural fusion and synthesis. As a result of their efforts in multifarious forms a new Hindustani culture developed. It was neither a Turko-Persian and Arabic culture nor a Dravidian, Vedic and Buddhist culture, but a harmonious blend of them all.

The study of Indian culture shows that this culture has emerged with greater vigour at every turn of history. It has all along had an enormous capacity for assimilation, continuation and proliferation.

In the mediaeval period, fusion and integration were not due to external factors alone. There had been a basic change in the hearts and minds of the people. New goals and ideals were set and new aspirations emerged. These saints were inspired by the idea of the unity of God. Their intense love for God turned out to be an overflowing love for the whole of humanity. They recognized no difference between man and man. The fusion was natural and easy, and the trends that fused together had a spiritual orientation that invoked great reverence to those who were spiritually exalted. The fusion of the cultures in the eighth century was beneficial to both. The new outlook started in the south even before the advent of Turks and Pathans on the north-western scene. It reawakened Brahminism which, though it had triumphed over Buddhism, had lapsed into ritualism, symbolism, and casteism. There emerged a new trend to reorient the people to the earlier philosophy of the Upanishads and the Vedanta. But the intellectual approach of the Upanishads was mellowed with ecstatic love in the Bhakti movement.

From the very early period of Islamic history two trends could be seen. On the one hand there were kings and generals extending the frontiers of their kingdoms; on the other there were Sufis and saints who despised material gains, and stressed the catholic spirit of Islam for the spiritual elevation of mankind.

These saints found a congenial home in India. Away from the citadels of power and wealth they lived austere among the people. They made no distinctions on account of religion, caste, or creed. In their view all were the creation of God. As a consequence one who loves God must love His creation.

They did not preclude any section of society from the possibility of spiritual attainment. Their message, therefore, was not confined to the ruling elite and the high-born. In fact, in their zeal to approach people they shunned the company of the high and occasionally turned their backs upon them. They had no liaison with the ruling authority of the Sultanate. Even kings felt humble before the spiritually elevated saints. History

bears witness to the fact that king after king sought their approbation and at least tried to seek their audience. But they were bluntly refused. Baba Farid (A.D. 1101) advised Sayyidi Maula thus: "Pay particular attention to my one advice. Do not make friends with kings and nobles. Consider their visit to your home as fatal (for your spirit). Every Darwesh who makes friends with the kings and nobles will end badly."¹

Alauddin Khilji planned to visit Sheikh Nizamuddin Aulia incognito. The Sheikh came to know of his intention and conveyed the message to the Sultan: "There are two doors in my house. If the Sultan comes by one door, I will quit by the other."²

A saint traverses the path leading to oneness, believing in oneness, seeking oneness, knowing oneness and realizing oneness. He comes to realize:

I am not body,
I am not the senses,
I am not the mind,
I am not this,
I am not that.

But still there is something common to them all. The reality that dawns upon him is that:

It is in this body,
It is in everybody,
It is everywhere,
It is Omnipresent. It is all.

It is self. (It is He = Absolute Oneness = Islam).

Faith in the unity of God was not to them an intellectual proposition alone. It was infused with universal love. Love alone could lead to the realization of oneness. Nizamuddin Aulia is quoted as saying,³ "The main purpose and objective of man's creation is the love of the Supreme Being."⁴

Along with the love of God goes the love for His entire creation. Nizamuddin Aulia explained it thus:

"Oh Muslims! I swear by God that He holds dear those who love Him for the sake of human beings, and also those who love human beings for the sake of God."⁵

Their love had no boundaries. It was limitless. It took everyone under its magnificent umbrella.

The universality of love of that age is well expressed in the inscription Abu Fazal wrote for a temple in Kashmir. It runs thus:

"O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and
in every language I hear spoken people praise Thee.

"Polytheism and Islam flee after Thee.

"Each religion says, Thou art one without equal . . .

"He who from insincere motives destroys this temple, should
first destroy his own place of worship."⁶

Thus we find that on both the intellectual and the emotional levels the saints' outlook extended like an ocean.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the saints was that they were not passive seekers of truth. They actively sought to purge the community of all evils out of the fathomless love that surged in their hearts. Renunciation of the world has never been an ideal of these saints. They remained in touch with life, kindled in it a new zest and contributed to the socio-cultural and moral development of the community.

It is true that quite a number of them renounced the world and annihilated their selves (*Fana-Fi-Allah*) "Sheikh Mohammad Yahya Mannairi kept standing in the jungle for years. Sheikh Ahmed Khattu fasted for forty days continuously, each fast broken by one date. Sheikh Mohammad Ghous Gwaliori spent twelve years in meditation on the mountains of Chinar." But renunciation was not the general tendency of these saints

Sheikh Nizamuddin Aulia explains it thus:

"Renunciation does not imply giving up garments or food. Renunciation requires both. One should take food and wear a dress. However, it is but essential that one should spend whatever one earns. One should not keep his heart (in worldly things) and should remain detached throughout."

Hazrat Khwaja Gesu Daraz in the Deccan insisted upon his disciples that they remain in service: "If noble souls gave up their missions, undesirable people would slip in, to the grief of common people. The greatest worship is to do justice with everyone and never be tempted by wealth."⁷

"It is incumbent on everyone," says Sheikh Sharfuddin, "to serve the needy by the pen, tongue, wealth and position. Prayers, fasting and voluntary worship are good as far as they go, but they are not as useful as making others happy."⁸

In the same manner the values of honest labour were praised. Shah Latif of Sind proclaims thus:

"Not sloth but honest and persistent labour
Will win the coveted prize
The mountains yield no diamonds to lovers of lassitude
Neither the stars know any rest nor rivers any tranquillity,
How will you amass spiritual wealth if you sleep all night?"

Out of the eight principles that Sheikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardy laid down with Quranic sanction for functioning of *Khānqah*, two were that the people of *Khānqah* should learn to value time and completely shake off indolence and lethargy. The whole life and energy should be submitted to do good to others.⁹

Khwaja Gesu Daraz (of the Deccan) used to advise:

"Look, the tree stands erect in the scorching heat but it
provides shade to others.

Wood burns itself to provide comfort to others.

It is thus natural a man should undertake pain, in order to provide pleasure to others.”

The outlook of the Muslim saints as well as of the Bhakti saints aimed at purifying the soul. It ridiculed formal worship. It raised the banner of intrinsic equality between man and man. It set high moral standards for society. Bodily pleasures were deprecated, and the joys of the soul — truth, justice, self-sacrifice, and submission to the Will of God — were extolled.

It was during this period that modern regional languages developed. Love and devotion expressed themselves in poetry and music. They were instruments in bringing about union with God.

The common people flocked around the saints. The aggrieved sought solace, the guilty admitted guilt, the bereaved found peace, and the frustrated a ray of hope.

The saints in turn identified themselves with the people. They picked up the folk language of the area, and used it as an instrument for preaching faith and love of God and high moral ideals. A large number of the saints were poets of a high order, who turned each of the folk languages into an independent standard language with its own treasure of literature. By blending words of different stocks, expressions of different cultures, and by mixing poetic styles of Persian and Apabhramsha Prakrit, they created fine poetry.

Sindhi: Shah Latif Bhitai (A.D. 1690) was a Sufi poet of Sind. He is ranked by authorities of that language as one of the greatest poets of the world.¹⁰ His *Risalo* is a sacred work and a unique treasure in Sindhi language.

He was an ardent devotee of Sufi philosophy. He explains it thus citing Rumi, a Persian poet:

The whole diversity is His seeker and He

The fountain source of Beauty — thus says Rumi.

In his love of God he would make no difference between man and man:

When truth is one, and the Beloved (God) the same,

Why should man fight over the means?

He expressed this theme of devotion and love in a multitude of colours and variegated musical tunes.

Shah sings of his eternal love in Sur Yaman Kalyan, in Sur Sorath, in Sur Asa, in Sur Maazuri, in Sur Sarang, in Sur Kapaiti, in Sur Rag, in Sur Daha and many others.

He loved the beauty of Sind, its fields and dales, its mountains and rivers. His *Risalo* contains references to Lakhpat, Girnar, Jaisalmer, Thar, Ganjar, Hano, etc. He visited almost all important places in Sind and every time he had a new spiritual experience. About Ganja Hills, he says:

Those who get acquainted with Ganja Hills
Become saints, forsaking all books and scriptures.

He was a true lover of nature. The sight of the Helays Hill and the Kinjhir Lake on the way inspired him to sing:

The water runs below, the blossoms above, and lovely forests
stand on the sides;
The fragrance of Tamachī saturates the air;
With the blowing of the north breeze, the Kinjhir becomes
a cradle.

Many other saints translated Persian and other classical stories into Sindhi *Hatim Taeyee*, *Laila Majnu*, and *Gul Bakavh* have added to its literary stock.

Punjabi: Sheikh Farīduddin Shakar Ganj, popularly known as Baba Farid, is regarded as the first poet of Punjabi language. There were other Sufi poets before him — Masood Sadbin Salman was one of them. His name has been mentioned by Amir Khusru, Oofi and others as the first poet of Punjab. But his *Diwan* is not available today. Other names were of Khatib Ali¹¹ (A.D. 1093-1148) and Abdul Rehman (A.D. 1018). But with Baba Farid a new star shone on the horizon of Punjab. He granted an independent status to Punjabi by his *dohas*. These *dohas* are highly revered and are preserved in *Granth Saheb*. They portray ecstatic love for God. He implores people not to be contented with outer appearances but to see within.¹²

If anybody hits you, do not repay him back in the same coin.
Since you are to go to Heaven, better touch his feet. (Doha 7).
Oh, Farīda, why do you wander in the thick of the jungle?
You are searching for Him outside of yourself, while He is
hidden within you. (Doha 18).

How is it possible to sow kīkar but start expecting a crop
of kishmish?

Weave wool but aspire for silken cloth? (Doha 23)

There is a long array of poets who have greatly contributed to building up Punjabi language like Syed Shah Waris (A.D. 1375-1395), Qutban (A.D. 1503), Sultan Baba (A.D. 1631-1691), Ali Hyder (A.D. 1690-1785), Bhuley Shah (A.D. 1680-1752), Shah Sharīf (A.D. 1724), and many others.

All these saints were highly catholic in their attitude. They had intense yearning for God. In the words of Sultan Baba:

I am not a Hindu, nor a Muslim,
I am not a mulla nor a kazi
My heart does not fear death nor does it long for paradise.
Oh God, give me Your vision,
Everything else is false.

Hindi and Urdu: Both these languages have developed out of Khari Boli. Amir Khusru¹³ (A.D. 1255-1325), a disciple of Nizamuddin

Aulia, is regarded as the first poet of Khari Boli. Prior to him whatever works survive they are in Arsha Apabhramsha Prakrit or Soorseni Apabhramsha.

In Khari Boli, it is said, Amir Khusru has written one lakh stanzas consisting of *paheliyan* (riddles), *do sukhna*, *mukarnia*, *savnias*, etc. They were so simple and flawless that they soon entered the everyday language of the people. Hindi and Urdu developed in the direction that he indicated. He had an intense feeling of love for everything that was Indian. His *Hindiwi* is very congenial to Indian life. People still sit together in the village meeting-place and test each other's wit through Khusru's riddles. His songs on the rainy season are still sung by young girls while swinging in the rainy season. His *dholak* songs are still heard on festive occasions like marriages.

Amir Khusru was deeply devoted to Nizamuddin Aulia, who was his spiritual master. When he passed away, Khusru recited the verse:

The beloved lies on the coach
with her black tresses scattered over her face.
Oh, Khusru, return to your home
Night has fallen over the whole country.

It is said that Khusru combined in his personality the variegated colours of Indian culture. He was poet, mystic, artist, humorist, musician, soldier, historian, naturalist, linguist and above all a humanist.

"In that age, Amir Khusru coloured Hindi literature with many hues. In his period principles of literature were not well defined. Poetry was harnessed for religion and politics. It was not an ordinary thing to create a literature for popular recreation."¹⁴

From the thirteenth century onward not only Khusru but a large number of Sufi saints contributed to the development of Hindi language.

Mulla Dawood (A.D. 1295) produced *Prem Katha Chandayani*. Qutban in 1501 produced *Mirgavati*. Manjan brought out *Madhu Malti* in 1545. Malik Mohammad Jaisi wrote *Padmavat*. Sheikh Rahim was known for his *Prem Rus*. Many other works of Noor Mohammad, Qasim Shah, Usman and Jan are also noteworthy. A new climate developed wherein devotional songs were sung. *Nirgun Bhakti* and *Sagun Bhakti* dominated the religious thinking of the day. Thus Hindi got a start and later it flourished at the hands of these Sufis and saints.

Urdu has never been a court language. It was regarded as a language of the *bazar* and the *lashkar*. Urdu and Hindi both developed out of the interaction between the indigenous tongues and Persian, Turkish and Arabic words.

In the Deccan, Khwaja Gesu Daraz's *Maaraj-ul-Ashiqueen* (A.D. 1422) is supposed to be the first work of Urdu. It is a philosophic treatise. *Maaraj-ul-Ashiqueen* has a surprisingly smooth flow and it determined the future development of Urdu and Hindi both in the south and in the north.

Besides Khwaja Gesu Daraz, a very prominent writer of this common language was Shah Miranji Shah (1496). He wrote both poetry and prose. His *Sub Ras* is well known. Shah Berhanuddin Janam, Shah Amiruddin Aala were others who developed this language in the south

Bengali : Growing out of the Magadhi Apabhramsha, modern Bengali assumed the status of a standard language in the fourteenth century. During this period the entire country was waking to new religious heights. The keynote of this movement was the apprehension of the unity of God, and the belief that He can be achieved through intense love. God views everyone equally, whether he is Brahmin or Chandal. Shri Chaitanya initiated the Krishna Bhakti movement. The Sufi movement in Bengal flourished through Jalaluddin Tabrezi. Shri Chaitanya had many Muslim followers who were Vaishnoi and had abundant poetic work to their credit ¹⁵ The close interaction of Sufism and Chaitanyaism gave rise to Baul songs. ¹⁶ (A D. 1625-1675). They were a creation of Hindu-Muslim unity. This was a movement against all externalism whether of Hindus or of Muslims. It aimed to break all external restraints.

“You wander aimlessly:

Mandir, Mandir, Masjid, Masjid!

Oh, my teacher,

What a headache it is

The foolish, while weeping, look at me!”

Among the Muslim saints whose contribution to the development of modern Bengali is recognized without question is Daulat Kazi. According to Shanti Ranjan Bhattacharya, he was the author who introduced novel-writing in Bengali. His book *Sati Meenavati* had a historic significance. Then there was Alaul, creator of a large number of Vaishnavite songs. His *Padmavati* is well reputed. Besides, he translated a large number of Persian books into Bengali, like Nizami's *Haft-Pikar*, or *Sikandarnama*, etc. His *Vaishnava Padawalis* are very popular in Bengal. Another was Syed Sultan. Besides Vaishnavite songs, he has written books on Islamic religion like *Gyan Pradeep*, *Hazrat Mohammed Charit*, and *Nabi Bangash*. In *Nabi Bangash* he counted all Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, Shri Krishna as Nabis, and showed great respect towards them. Mohammed Khan wrote *Maut-ul-Hussain* (1645) and Hayat Mahmood wrote *Ambia Ban*. Sayed Murtaza was a poet of the first rank in Vaishnavite songs His *Pad Pad Kal Pa Tro* is well known. Sabir Khan wrote *Vidya Sundar*. Ali Raja is known for his Books *Gyan Sagar*, *Saraj Koloop*, *Dhyan Mala*. He has depicted the love of Radha and Krishna, Ravan and Mandodari, and Yousuf and Zulaikha. His conclusion is that one rises from the love for a person to love for the entire creation and the Creator. A volume of Akbar Shah has been discovered. It is in praise of Lord Krishna. Inadatullah translated *Chai Darwesh*.

A reference to the Pathan rulers of Bengal like Sultan Nazir Shah

(A.D. 1282-1325) and Sultan Hussain Shah, and their religious tolerance, is necessary. They declared Bengali to be the official language of the regime. They got the *Mahabharata* and the *Bhagavat Purana* translated into Bengali. This is regarded as the first translation during these early days.¹⁷ The great poet Vidyapati had dedicated his poems to Sultan Nasiruddin. The Sultans were patrons of the Bengali language and tried to enrich it in many ways. According to S.R. Bhattacharya,¹⁸ Shah Husain patronized "Tarja Geet". It is supposed to be the earliest form of Bengali poetry.

Gujarati: Up to the fourteenth century, Gujarati Apabhramsha was spoken in Gujarat. Since Gujarat is situated on the western border of India, there was a direct interaction with people of Arabia and Persia. Many Gujarati saints and Sufis became famous. Among them names of Sheikh Ganjul Ilm (1391), Syed Berhamuddin (1411) and Sheikh Wajibuddin Gujrati are well known. One can see in Gujarati works like *Ramal Chand* and *Kath-Da-Prabandh* the absorption of Persian, Arabic and Turkish words.

Kashmiri: Kashmir and Persia had a long history of contacts even before Kashmir's political amalgamation in the Delhi Sultanate. The impact of Persia was direct. The Sufis loved the Kashmiri language and filled it with the romantic Sufi philosophy. Mahmood Ghani, Khwaja Habibullah Nowshgarwi and Nooruddin were the reputed Sufis of their times. In a Kashmiri *Rubae*, Sheikh Nooruddin says:

Don't yield before His bows.

Don't turn your head if you are injured by the thrust of His sword.

Accept willingly all the calamities that He has sent to you.

Only then would you be honoured in this world and after.

Mahmood Ghani translated many classic Persian works like Yousuf and Zulekha, Laila and Majnoo, Shireen and Farhad. Saifuddin translated *Gulraz*.

Music: Music has been another field to which the saints contributed generously. They came to realize that, like poetry, music also elevates emotion to the ecstatic state necessary for union with God.

Both the *Chishtiya* and the *Qadria* fraternities sanctioned *Sama* musical rhythms that enhanced the effect of poetry. They enabled the devotee to be plunged in a state of trance called *Haab*. The effectiveness of *Sama* can be gauged by the fact that many a Sufi embraced death while listening to certain poetic lines which intensely affected their hearts. It is said that Khwaja Bakhtiyar Kaki surrendered his life while hearing the following poetic line:

Kushtagane Khanjare Taslim ra

Har zaman a ghaib jane digar ast.

(To those who have been killed by the dagger of submission,
there comes new life every moment from the unseen world.)

Akhlan-ul-Akhyar, an authoritative work of Sheikh Abdul Haq Mohaddin, shows the keen interest of the saints in *Sama* music as a path to the spiritual realms. One of the many incidents that *Akhlan-ul-Akhyar* quotes is that of a young man who was attending an audition at the house of a Sufi, and heard the words:

Jan badeh, Jan badeh, Jan badeh,
Faida gulftan bisyar chust.

(Surrender life, surrender life, surrender life.

It is of no avail to talk and talk.)

All of a sudden the young man burst out crying, "Surrendered, surrendered, surrendered", and his life ended.

Such incidents were not few. Sometimes in order to maintain the emotional pitch, a single poetic verse had to be repeated for hours together.

In the beginning, Persian poetry was resorted to for such gatherings. Persian had been a highly developed language with the treasure of scores of Sufi poets like Attar, Rumi, Jami, Sadi, etc.

Amir Khusru, in his devotion to his preceptor, wrote four volumes of Persian poetry. Each word of his poetry is permeated with divine ecstasy. To match it with appropriate music, he needed to be an expert musician, which he was, being well versed in both Persian and Indian music.

Hakim Mohammed Ikram Imman Khan, a reputed musician of Oudh, in his book *Madunul Mausiqui* writes:

"Amir Khusru had such a mastery of Persian music and the *ragas* of Hindi that he was supposed to be a *naik* of that age. In place of the *Pakhawaj* he invented the *Dholak*, and in place of the *Been* he invented *Sitar*. He used to teach music to boys endowed with good voice. *Dhuroo*, *Rahwa*, *Matha*, *Chind*, *Persand*, *Dhurpad* were commonly used. He introduced six new modes: *Qool*, *Qalbana*, *Naqsh*, *Gul*, *Tarana* and *Khiyal*."

He was a master in the Persian musical system called *Naqsh*. Persian poetry was sung to twelve tunes. Each had two shades, resulting in twenty-four *ragas*. Each *raga* was to be sung at a particular hour of the twenty-four hours of night and day. It goes to the credit of Amir Khusru that he invented novel *ragas* by combining Persian music with the Indian. Many of these *ragas* have gone out of use, but still many are a delight to musicians like Yeman, Zilf, Sarparda, and Gazgiri, etc. He also invented many musical forms like *Sāwani*, *Farodast*, *Pashto*, *Qawah*, etc.

After the thirteenth century, music was accepted by these saints as a sacred treasure. It was developed by reputed and dedicated musicians.¹⁹

In this climate it was easy for kings and nobles to patronize music and enrich it with new forms and a new content. The name of Sultan Hussain Sharqi, a ruler of Jaunpur, was second only to Amir Khusru's in this field. It became a fashion among the nobility and kings to equip their sons with instruction in music as a necessary part of education.²⁰ There were Sufis and saints everywhere who were expert in music and worked for its advancement,

like Sheikh Malli Khan Gujrati, Sheikh Alauddin, and Sheikh Jamal Sahib.²¹ Sheikh Nizamuddin Aulia was himself a great critic of music.

Syed Nizamuddin Madunaik was expert in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. He wrote two books on music: *Nād Chandrikā* and *Madh naik Singhan*. Mukhdoon Bahauddin Bunnais was another Sufi who devoted his life to get an access to the Divine through music. He invented two musical instruments, *Saz Khiyal* and *Khat Ras*. He wrote a number of *Zikria* in praise of God which were sung in those days in the Lalit, Bilawal, Todi and Kalyani *ragas*.

An overwhelming number of musical *gharanas* (schools) of repute owe their allegiance to the early saints. These schools might have been fostered by rulers of States. Yet they drew their inspiration from saints, particularly of the Chishtiya order, like Tamras Khan's Gharana of Delhi, Ustad Faiyaz Khan's Gharana of Agra, Huddu Hussain Khan's Gharana of Gwalior, the Fateh Ali and Ali Bakhsh Gharana of Patiala, Alla Diya's Gharana in Kolhapur, the Mushtaq Hussain and Ishtiyag Hussain Gharana of Rampur. In earlier times it was ecstatic and religious devotion to music that institutionalized a particular form of music and rendered it into a school.

Thus we find that the Muslim saints of the mediaeval period gave a new dimension to Indian culture. They brought about a synthesis wherein the indigenous culture of the land blended with the Persian and Arabic thought and art to produce a variegated harmony.

¹ Benami, *Tarikh Firoz Shahi*.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Islam* by Mohammad Sarfaraz Husain.

⁴ Mir Khurd, *Siyar-ul-Aulia*.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Glimpses of Medieval History*, Yousuf Husain

⁷ *Mairaj-ul-Ashiqueen*.

⁸ Letter to Malik Khizr by Sheikh Sharfuddin Yahya Mannairi.

⁹ *Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture*, by Khaliq Nizami.

¹⁰ Kalyan B. Advani, Sahitya Academy.

¹¹ *Three Indian Languages*, by Dr. K.S. Badi.

¹² *Farid-ka-Doha* (Hindi), Dihati Pustak Bhandar.

¹³ *Aaba Hayat*, by Azad.

¹⁴ Ram Kumar Verma, *Hindi ka Alochanatmak Itihas*.

¹⁵ *Islami Bengala*, by Shri Sur Kumar Sen.

¹⁶ *Muslim Bangla Literature*, by Inamul Haq.

¹⁷ Refer Sabauddin in *Nazar Zakir*.

¹⁸ *Brief History of Bengla Literature*, "Nazar Zakir."

¹⁹ *Muslim Saqawat Hindustan main*, by A.M. Salik

²⁰ *Ghubar-a-Khater*, by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

²¹ *Ibid.*

Universal Message of Sikhism

Gurmukh Singh Musafir

The Gurus of the Sikh faith, from Guru Nanak onwards, taught the principles of harmony and universal brotherhood in their divine hymns. Guru Nanak, along with Kabir, while affirming the conception of a Creator whose very names were drawn from Hindu and Muslim traditions, also taught a morality which rose above sectarian principles. Of all the saints of mediaeval India Guru Nanak possessed what may be termed a comprehensive moral vision. The evil in society, which had seeped into it at every pore, was pointed out by him with an anguish which shows how his soul wrestled with the vast and almost intractable problem. As he came out of his three-day trance after his communion with the Creator, the first words he uttered were: "There is no Hindu and no Mussalman", meaning that sectarian distinctions are false and unacceptable in the eyes of God. Keenly aware of the falsehood of the creeds as these were preached and practised, and the complete absence of any moral urge in the prevalent religious practices, he exposed the evil which gripped the social structure from end to end, whether it was in the relationship of sect with sect, or in the dealings between the followers of the two great traditions.

Again, Guru Nanak found that while the ruling classes among the Muslims were arrogant and tyrannical, the Hindus were far gone in demoralization, partly through political slavery and partly through spiritual ignorance, in abjuring true religion and practising only the shell of empty ritual and superstition. He castigated those who held power, down from the rulers on their thrones through the high dignitaries of State to the magistrates, called Qazis, and the minor minions of authority, who were all suckers of the people's blood and had just no notion of public decency or fairness. In his severe condemnation of an unjust and evil society, the Hindu was exposed no less than the Muslim. In a great pronouncement he said: "Those who prey on humanity are so hypocritically precise in performing *namaz*; and those wielding the butcher's knife of tyranny are the most formal in wearing the sacred thread." In his mighty lament over the sufferings of the Indian people during Babar's invasions and pillage, Hindu as well as Muslim shared in his divine compassion. Calling upon the Muslims no less than the Hindus to practise humanity and virtue, while remaining within their respective creeds, he showed the pattern on which reconciliation could be brought about. He did not want people to abjure their former faith and accept a new creed. This pattern was the redefining of the essence of religion as the search after the Eternal Reality, the practice of humanity and justice, irrespective of the form which one's creed might take. Here was a vision of religion which unites rather than divides, and instils the feeling of brotherliness.

To reinforce this teaching, Guru Nanak founded an institution, the Sikh faith, which should embody his principles and give them a

universal, collective form as a creed and a society. For this he envisioned a succession of noble teachers. In his own lifetime he nominated his most devoted follower to succeed him, and named him Angad, 'flesh of his flesh'. Both in the breadth of his vision and the founding of an institution to embody it, Guru Nanak did what no one else had done in those centuries in our country. Sects there were many, but each one of these was a marginal and peripheral sect within one of the pre-existing traditions. Guru Nanak definitely and positively was not founding a new sect, but a new institution effectively to combat the existing institutionalized evils. It was a new faith too, but with a difference. It left behind it a powerful impact, and became both in the moral and in the political sense, a liberating force. This claim may be disputed by some but the Sikh faith has the rare quality of doctrinally preaching complete tolerance, and assigning to the moral life the central place in the practice of religion, without which it is just a mockery, a husk. Again, Guru Nanak envisioned the universe as being permeated by the moral urge, which would ultimately triumph against evil. In the human soul too, this moral urge impels man to idealism in conduct and to transcending and transmuting suffering. A creed with such ennobling teaching, resulting from Guru Nanak's vision, brought freedom and helped to soften strife in the Punjab. This happened when it had the opportunity to express itself for about a century till the snuffing out of the independence of the Punjab in 1849. Then began the era of British diplomacy which, playing the subtle imperialist game, revived all the evils of religious fanaticism, with consequences which we all know too well.

I shall now attempt to give a few pronouncements of Guru Nanak and his spiritual successors, and of three saints whose teachings were approved for inclusion in the scripture of the Sikh faith — Kabir, Namdev and Farid. They contain clear adjurations to the people — Hindus, Muslims and others — to discover the essence, the spiritual and moral core behind the existing creeds. Since these pronouncements came from godly men whose utterances were spiritually and emotionally charged, they exercised a spell over the mass mind in the way of all religions. Here, and not in scholastically propounded theory, we find a true substitute for traditional religions with their anti-humanist accretions.

1. Says Guru Nanak, defining true Islam:

Let love be thy mosque; sincere devotion thy prayer-mat;

Let modesty be thy circumcision, purity of conduct thy

Ramazan fast; thus mayst thou be a true Muslim.

Let good actions be thy Kaaba; truthfulness thy preceptor,

and good deeds thy Kalima and Namaz

Let thy rosary be submission to the will of God.

Thus wilt thou be honoured on the Day of Reckoning.

(*Majh*: Pages 140-41, *Adi Granth*)¹

2. Five are the prayers; five their fixed hours and their names:
The first of prayers is truthfulness; the next, honest earning,
and goodwill for all mankind the third.
The fourth is honesty of purpose, and the fifth devotion to God.
With pure actions thy Kalima, mayst thou deserve the
name of Mussalman.
Sayeth Nanak: All those false within shall be adjudged as
such. (Majh: Page 14)
3. Nanak, to grab what belongs to another is for the Muslim
like pig's flesh, and for the Hindu like the flesh of the cow.
A religious preacher is justified in setting up as such, only
if he touches not such carrion.
Not insincere talk leads to Paradise; true salvation comes
from purity of life:
Adding tasteful spices to forbidden meat renders it not
approved;
A false life brings on nothing but evil retribution. (Majh: Page 141)
4. Strife is evil; vain disputation leads to spiritual death;
Without true devotion man's life is a shame, in the grip of
falsehood;
He who recognizes the two Paths² as one will alone attain
to truth;
The blasphemer against this truth shall burn in hell-fire.
All God's creation is pure and holy;
Enter then this truth with thy soul;
He alone shall be approved at the Divine Portal who sheds
off his mind's arrogance. (Majh: Page 142)
5. Hard is it to deserve the name of Mussalman:
Only one who is truly such may be so named.
First must he love the teachings of holy men, and purify
his heart by shedding off impurities as does metal at the
touch of the grindstone;
Being such should he put faith in the teaching of his preceptor,
and live as though dead to worldly attractions;
Submitting his will to God's will, must he obey Him,
surrendering his own ego.
Such a Muslim will be a blessing to all mankind:
Such a one alone deserves the name of Muslim (Majh: Page 141)
6. True wisdom lies in the purity of mind;
A true Muslim is he who sheds off his impurities;
A truly learned man is he who meditates on what he learns;

Such a one alone is stamped with Divine approval.

(*Dhanasari*: Page 662)

7. One who through devotion tries to know God, will alone be with Him after death:

Without devotion, to claim to be Hindu or Muslim is false;

All shall be judged impartially at the Divine Portal.

None shall be saved except through his own good deeds.

He alone will find entry at the Portal whose life has been pure and true.

(*Ramkali*: Page 952)

¹ Unless otherwise specified, the page references are to the Sikh Scripture, *Adi Granth*, in its standard printed form

² Hindu and Muslim faiths.

The Linguistic and Cultural Heritage of India

Suniti Kumar Chatterji

The sub-continent of India now includes the four independent and sovereign States of India proper, Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan. But geographically, historically, economically and culturally as well as racially, these countries present one unit, in spite of their political separation. About a fifth of the human race is to be found within this area. In the formation of the Indian people, diverse racial elements have supplied the component elements, and anthropologists have suggested that in the make-up of the Indian people there were at least more than half a dozen different types of humanity. When we consider their physical characteristics, the question of long-headed or middle-headed or short-headed, or flat-nosed or straight-nosed, or lanky-haired or kinky-haired and of white or brown, black or yellow, is very largely obscured by a widespread racial miscegenation and by the prevalence of languages which have been accepted by people of more than one racial origin.

Racial miscegenation, which began some 4,000 years ago and embraced speakers of diverse languages, has given rise to a more or less uniform type of man in India, to which type the title of "The Indian Man" can very well be given. This "Indian Man" came into existence, as the late F W. Thomas of Oxford has said, at the end of the Vedic period, that is, some 3,000 years ago. The "Indian Man" of the present day, as he is found all over India and Pakistan, speaks languages belonging to four linguistic families: the Indo-European in its Aryan branch, the Sino-Tibetan, the Dravidian and the Austric in its Austro-Asiatic branch.

Underlying Unity: Three thousand years and more of intermixture of diverse races with their diverse languages and cultural types have been responsible for the present variety in outward appearance as well as in language among the Indian people. But underlying this variety, a kind of basic unity has also developed. It is because of this that we can speak of a common Indian type of man, and a common pan-Indian attitude to the world, a common pan-Indian philosophy of life, and a more or less common Indian Way of Life also is noticeable. Even in the sphere of language, all the four speech families enumerated above, which are current at the present day in India, show a certain agreement with each other — their convergence into a common Indian type of speech possessing some important points of agreement among themselves.

India, from the very nature of things, has always been a polyglot country. The first human inhabitants of India were a race of Negroids who would appear to have come from Africa along the coastline of Arabia and Iran into India. Except in some pockets within India itself, and in the Andaman Islands, this Negroid element has virtually died out in India. Nothing remains of their language, and certain primitive tribes of South India who are Negroid racially have abandoned their own language and speak debased forms of the various Dravidian languages. Their original language would appear to survive in the Andamans, but this has

not been thoroughly studied as yet. We have to leave out of consideration the Negroid speeches in talking about the situation for language in the Indian scene.

The Austriacs: Possibly the oldest organized people in India who still live and flourish were the Austriacs and they are represented by the Kol or Munda peoples who at one time appeared to have spread all over India, but are now confined to a belt in Central India from Rajasthan and Gujarat to Bengal and Orissa. There is also a small group of the same Austric people — Mon-Khmer — who are represented by the Khasis of Assam, and would appear to be a later wave from Indo-China, where their kinsmen, like the Paloung and the Wa of Burma, the Mons of Burma and Siam, the Khmers of Cambodia and the Chams of Cochin-China, and a few others are modern representatives. The Kol or Munda people are believed to have merged very largely with the masses and lower classes of people in India all over the country, and particularly in the riverine valleys of North India and in Central India. They are a people of medium or short height, very dark in complexion, long-headed and with a slightly flat nose. The exact place of origin of these people is not known, one view being that they are from the Eastern Mediterranean area, being a very old off-shoot of the Mediterranean race. This Austric people appears to have spread from India and Farther India (Burma, Siam and Indo-China) through Malaya into the Islands of Indonesia and of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia right up to the extreme east of the Pacific. The Austriacs of India have their language preserved only among the Santals and other allied tribes, who are concentrated in Bihar and Chota Nagpur (Jhad-Khand) and Orissa. It appears that in ancient times the Aryan speakers used to call them Nishadas, and probably the names Savara and Pulinda were also used with regard to these Austric people. Subsequently, during the middle of the first millennium A D., they were known in Central India as Bhillas and Kollas — and these words are found in modern Indo-Aryan languages as Bhil and Kol (Bhilla probably meant 'the people of the spear', and Kolla meant just 'men') Today, not even fully two per cent of the people of the Indian sub-continent (India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Nepal taken together) speak these Austric languages. There is evidence that they were speaking their languages in ancient times all over Northern India and over a considerable part of other areas of India as well. But in most of the plain lands they have given up their own speech and adopted the Aryan language and in some cases also the Dravidian. We can see from a close study of Sanskrit vocabulary as it developed on the soil of India that a good many words from the Austric language — the language of the ancient Nishadas and Savaras and Bhillas and Kollas — were adopted into Sanskrit. There was no study of these languages before the Christian missionaries from the middle

of the last century took it up, and before them a few anthropologists had started to make scientific observations on them.

At the present moment the most important Austric languages are the following:

(1) Santali, which is current among $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 million people, not only in Bihar (where the District of Santal Parganas forms their homeland), but also in Orissa, West and North Bengal and even distant Assam, where they have gone and settled as tea-plantation labourers. Santali happens to be an Adivasi or aboriginal language spoken by the largest number of people.

(2) Mundari, spoken in Ranchi and other areas in Bihar, current among over 8 lakh people who are known as Mundas.

(3) Ho, current among over 6 lakhs, in Singhbhum District and other connected areas.

Backward Classes: There are other similar tribes like the Asura, the Bhumijas, the Korwas, the Bir-hors, etc., who are very closely related with the Santals and the Mundas. We have also to mention two other tribes, the Juangs or Gadabas, and the Soras or Savaras in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh, and then we have also to note the Korkus in Berar and Eastern Khandesh, who number over two lakhs. All these tribes are in a backward condition, and they live by primitive agriculture and by hunting, and also by working as farm labourers. They have a good social organization and culture of their own, and they have also an organized religion. They are on the whole a very simple and cheerful people, and have a passionate fondness for their tribal dances to the accompaniment of a deep-toned drum. They have a very rich heritage of folk-poetry, which is beautiful in its depiction of their own life; and Santali particularly has a rich mass of folk-tales, some of which are very beautiful, dealing with their *Bongas* or gods and with the relations between gods and men, and the bulk of these have been published in the original Santali in Roman characters with English translation by some Scandinavian missionaries who have done very great work among the Santals in collecting and preserving their popular literature. The people who speak these languages have generally to be bilingual — they are speakers of some contiguous Aryan language like the Bengali or the Bihari dialects or Oriya or Assamese, and sometimes Telugu, as in the case of the Savaras. The Khasi language of Assam which is current among 4 lakh people is fairly advanced — it belongs to a slightly different group from the Kol or Munda group. Welsh missionaries have employed the Roman script to write the Khasi language, although at one time it was written in the Bengali script. The Khasis themselves are now advanced in education, and are trying to improve their language and are collecting their tribal traditions. Khasi is recognized as a language up to the B.A. stage in the universities. In considering the linguistic scene in India, the

importance of these Austric languages is not very great, numerically or culturally, for the whole of India. But they have their own importance as expressions of the life and the culture of the people who speak them. The Khasis and the allied Jaintias (Syntengs), together with the Tibeto-Burman Garos, now form the Meghalaya State.

Sino-Tibetan Languages : We have now to speak about the Indian languages belonging to the other speech-family which is confined largely to a number of backward tribes, as much as the Austric speech family is: viz., the Sino-Tibetan speech family. The original Sino-Tibetan language is believed to have crystallized itself somewhere near the head-waters of the Yang-tze-Kiang river in pre-historical times — probably 4,000 years before Christ. This primitive Sino-Tibetan is believed to have spread east, west and south, and ultimately it became transformed into the great Chinese speech of ancient China by 2000 B.C., and then into the other allied speeches of the same family, like the Dai or Thai and Mranma or Burmese and allied speeches in the South and in the south-west, and Bod or the Tibetan group of speeches in the west. These four languages — that of China, of Siam, of Burma and of Tibet (Han, Dai, Mranma and Bod respectively) — became the cultivated languages of this family. The position of Chinese here is unique. Chinese became one of the greatest languages of the world, with a literature going back to some centuries before 1000 B.C. and giving expression to some of the finest things in human thought and aesthetic perception as well as criticism of life. Thai or Siamese, Burmese and Tibetan became great languages at a comparatively later period — Tibetan in the seventh century after Christ, Burmese in the eleventh century and Siamese in the thirteenth, and they all became languages of literature and culture under Indian inspiration, through the help of both Buddhism and Brahmanism. They also came to be written in various forms of the Indian script. Apart from these four advanced languages, the Sino-Tibetan speech family is represented by quite a host of less advanced speeches. It is just likely that even before the coming of the Aryans in India, and probably coevally with the advent of the Austrics, the Sino-Tibetan tribes found their way into India through the north-eastern gates of India — along the course of the Brahmaputra river, from Eastern Tibet and from Northern Burma. They spread all over Burma and North Bengal and Bihar, and they found for themselves homes throughout the entire length of the southern tracts of the Himalayas right up to the border of Kashmir. It is believed also that some of them had penetrated into the plains of India as far down as Central India (Bastar, where some local Gond tribes live, and these according to expert anthropological opinion show some Sino-Tibetan or Mongoloid characteristics), and as far west as Mohen-jo-Daro and Western Rajputana desert. These Sino-Tibetan-speaking Mongols included peoples of

different anthropological characteristics. But, on the whole, they are a people possessing yellow skins, oblique eyes, not very straight noses, prominent cheek-bones and very little hair on the face, and they were known in ancient India among the Aryans as the Kiratas. Already in the Vedas the Kiratas are mentioned as hill-dwelling people. There has been unquestionably a Kirata element, though not very strong, in the population of at least North India; and this element is particularly strong in Assam where we have hill tribes of pure Kirata origin, and also in considerable parts of Bengal and Bihar. At the present day, not even one per cent of the population of India and the other States jointly are speakers of the Kirata or Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan languages. In most of the places they are picking up contiguous Aryan languages like Nepali or Gorkhali in Nepal, and Bengali and Assamese in Bengal and Assam. Many of the fighting peoples of Nepal, like the Mangars, the Gurungs, the Rais, etc., were or are still speakers of Tibeto-Burman dialects belonging to the Sino-Tibetan family. But the Aryan Nepali, as the official language of Nepal, is spreading very rapidly among these people. In Nepal, however, an important group, numbering probably 3 lakhs, has made its language, Newari, quite an advanced and cultivated one. The Newari-speaking people built up the civilization of Nepal — a local form of pan-Indian Hindu civilization — in the Nepal valley, in the east, embracing the towns of Kathmandu or Kantipur, Kirtipur, Patan and Bhatgaon. Newari literature is fairly extensive, and at the present day the Newars are reviving their literature and their poets and authors are very active in bringing out new books in verse and prose in the Newari language, which can boast of a literary journal also. Among other Tibeto-Burmans there are the Nagas who (not more than 4 lakhs) are split into several tribes with mutually unintelligible dialects, and they have formed themselves into a recognized State, Nagaland, with English as their official language. They are now mostly Christians. So with the Mizos, who have now their Mizoram State. We have also to consider the case of Meithei or Manipuri, which is current among about 7 lakh people in the State of Manipur. The Manipuris had at one time their own alphabet derived from their common Indian alphabet; but now they use the Bengali-Assamese script, and they have quite a noteworthy literary life in their language. One Manipuri poet has recently written a huge poem of some 34,000 lines on the romantic story of the hero Khamba and his love for the Princess Thoibi, and that story forms a sort of national epic and romantic legend of Manipur. The Manipuri people also have dramas which they stage in their regular theatres at Imphal, the chief town of Manipur, and Manipuri is recognized as a language up to the B.A. Examination in the Universities of Calcutta and Gauhati.

All other Sino-Tibetan languages in India are still in a backward state,

and most of them owe their literary life to Christian missionary endeavour. The missionaries have in most cases given them translations of the Christian scriptures, and have helped to collect their national legends. But the knowledge of Assamese and Hindustani is becoming essential for these Sino-Tibetan peoples in Assam. And although they are keeping up their languages, it is inevitable that they will ultimately all become bilingual, and lose their language.

The Dravidian Peoples : Their Role in the History of Hindu Civilization : We come next to the Dravidian speech family.

These languages are current among more than 100 million people, and in undivided India they formed 21 per cent of the total population. The original Dravidian speech, which possibly existed as a single language some time about 1500 B.C. or earlier, would appear to have come from Western Asia and the Eastern Mediterranean area. We do not know the early history of Dravidian language in India before the first few centuries of the Christian era. It would appear that this language was brought by an ancient Dravidian-speaking people, representing diverse races already brought together by a common language and culture, long before the Aryans came into the country. They are supposed to have been spread over the entire length and breadth of India, but were particularly strong in North-Western and Western India and in the Deccan and South India, whereas in other parts they had to live side by side with the Austrics, and possibly also with the Sino-Tibetans. The Dravidian speakers are also believed to have been the people who built up the great civilization of Harappa. Mohen-jo-Daro and other sites in Northern and Western India. They were a city-dwelling people, and the urban civilization of India was very largely of their building, whereas the rural life and civilization of India was based primarily on the life of the Austrics. The Dravidians are believed to have developed great ideas with regard to the conception of the deity and of philosophy, and it was they who primarily helped to build up the civilization of India after the Aryans came, and a synthesis began to take place. A common North-Indian Hindu civilization was gradually developed, in its three forms, Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina, and this civilization with its mentality and its outlook became pan-Indian in both its character and effectiveness. Both the language of the Aryans, namely, Sanskrit, and, at the later stage, the cultivated Dravidian languages of the South became vehicles of this civilization.

The Advanced Dravidian Languages : There are now four great advanced Dravidian languages, namely: Telugu or Andhra-Bhasha, which is spoken by about 38 million people, the largest linguistic group in divided India after Hindi; Kannada, spoken by 17.4 millions of people in Mysore; Tamil by 30.5 millions in Tamil Nadu State plus about 3 millions in Sri Lanka, and also in Malaya and other Indian

settlements overseas; and finally Malayalam spoken by some 17 millions in Kerala State. These have had a literary development for centuries, and Tamil possesses the oldest literature of all these Dravidian languages. In addition there are other Dravidian languages which are not yet advanced languages of literature. Nevertheless, they have their importance. We have to mention the Gondi, which is now split up into various dialects in Central India as the Gondi block has been disrupted by the inroads of Aryan languages like Chattisgarhi, Halbi, Bundeli (Hindi) and Marathi. The Gonds number about 2 millions, but their numerical strength is not effective as they are no longer a compact people. Then there are the less advanced dialects in Eastern India like Oraon in Bihar ($2\frac{1}{2}$ millions) and the various dialects of Kandh (8 lakhs), in Orissa, besides minor languages like Malto, Parji, Ollari and a few others. In South India we have Tulu (about 6 lakhs), the speakers of which use Kannada; also the Coorg language Kodagu (50,000), the speakers of which also use Kannada. Then there is the interesting Toda language spoken round about Ootacamund and confined to only 600 people. There are a few more like Kota and Kolami.

Tamil Literature: The four cultured Dravidian languages — Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam — are among the great languages of India. Tamil has a very hoary tradition of literature, and its oldest works may go back to the first few centuries after Christ, although a higher antiquity is claimed for them. Old Tamil literature has got some distinctive characteristics, and it preserves very pleasing pictures of the life and culture of ancient Tamils of about 2000 years ago. But with all its native, old Tamil background the ideas which are dominant even in Old Tamil are those of Hindu India — of Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. The atmosphere is the same as that of Sanskrit *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. Apart from the romantic songs of idylls and heroic poems relating to the life of the ancient Tamils which form such a distinctive element in Tamil literature, Old Tamil literature has a very remarkable series of devotional poems of the highest spiritual and mystic importance — the poems of the Saivite saints and devotees, the Nayanmars, and of the Vaishnavite devotees, the Azhvans. The bulk of these Saiva and Vaishnava poems was collected in two big collections in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Some of the greatest writings produced by India in the domain of spiritual literature are enshrined in these Tamil poems by the Nayanmars and Azhvans. The subsequent history of Tamil literature is only just a little less great. Its background, however, is that of Hindu philosophy. In modern times there has been a revival of Tamil literature and Tamil Nadu can rightly boast of a great poet in Subrahmanya Bharati.

The literatures in Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam are in the same Pan-Indian Hindu spirit. While in the Old Tamil, Sanskrit words are used

comparatively sparingly, in later Tamil the number of Sanskrit words is on the increase along with the general acceptance of the Indian philosophical ideas by the Tamil-speaking people and their further development in the Tamil land. The other three Dravidian languages took to absorbing Sanskrit words with the greatest enthusiasm, and the present-day Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada are highly Sanskritized languages. Yet they retain enough of their original Dravidian character in grammar and inflections.

The Advent of the Aryans: The tale of Aryan languages is much longer than that of the Dravidian. But we need not go into details. The original Indo-European language, the mother of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic and other Germanic, Old Irish and other Celtic, Old Slav and connected Baltic languages, the Tokharian of North Central Asia, etc., is supposed to have become characterized among an ancient semi-nomadic population, old Primitive Indo-Europeans, living in the dry steppe lands to the south of the Ural Mountains, possibly 4,000 years before Christ. Tribes of this primitive Indo-European stock spread out from their homeland to the west and to the south, in Europe and Asia; and one group, the Aryans, came by way of the Caucasian mountains and Northern Mesopotamia into Eastern Asia Minor and Mesopotamia between 2500 to 1500 B.C., and then they spread further East into Iran and finally they came into India. The advent of the Aryans in India took place probably not earlier than 1500 B.C., according to a sober estimate which appears to be quite reasonable. They did not find a no-man's land — there were Dravidian as well as Austric speakers, and also Sino-Tibetans (and, possibly, one or two other groups of people speaking other languages now lost), who were already inhabiting the country. The Aryans were a race of splendid, even heroic, barbarians who were partly nomadic and partly agricultural; and they had certain great qualities among which was their power of organization and their adaptability. They were in possession of a very fine intellectual instrument in their language. In India, they established themselves first in the Punjab and then in the Ganges valley and they became a true *Herrenvolk* or ruling people. It would appear that in material culture involving the building of cities and developing urban life, the Aryans were deficient when compared with the earlier peoples in India. In any case, the Aryans established themselves in the North Indian plains, and the fact that in North India at that time there were different families of speech among the different groups of people already established there gave to the Aryan language its great opportunity for spreading itself. The peoples of North India speaking Dravidian, Austric, and Sino-Tibetan dialects gradually accepted the Aryan speech; and in this way, with an Aryan aristocracy at the top, the whole of North India from the Punjab to Eastern Bihar appears to have become substantially Aryanized

in speech by 600 B.C. By this period, the great Hindu culture of North India became synthesized and gradually established. In the cultural synthesis, elements from the *Nigama* or Vedic religion and the *Agama* or the non-Vedic religious traditions were combined, to give the Hindu background and basis. The Aryan language we find in its oldest form in the *Rig Veda*. As it spread, there was the natural development of the language from generation to generation. But the fact that peoples of other speeches also took up the Aryan language made its development a little specialized. The non-Aryan speakers, in adopting the Aryan language, introduced into it their own habits of speech — their pronunciation and phonetic habits and their way of thinking, leading to a change in syntax and grammatical categories, and, above all, their vocabulary. In this way, the Aryan language in its development on the soil of India received a considerable amount of modification from the influence exerted by the speeches of the Dravidian, Sino-Tibetan and Austric families. It would be quite proper to say that in the evolution of Sanskrit (and other Aryan languages at a subsequent epoch) on the soil of India after the Aryans had settled down in the country — one might say from the end of the Vedic period, or even earlier — the non-Aryan people had taken a hand, and they were also responsible for its various kinds of modification. Sanskrit, and its later development the Prakrits, thus took over many of the characteristics — phonetic, syntactical, grammatical as well as lexical — of the Dravidian and other non-Aryan languages. By about 600 B.C., while on the one hand the old Aryan language entered into its second phase of development, the middle Indo-Aryan or the Prakrit phase, the Brahmin teachers in North-Western India and elsewhere set up a kind of younger form of the Vedic speech which they called *Laukika* or 'current' speech as their language of study and literature. In the fifth century B.C. a great grammarian arose in what is now the North-Western Frontier Province in Pakistan, in the village of Salatura near Attock of the Indus, viz., Panini, who wrote his *Ashtadhyayi*, grammar of Sanskrit, which is one of the greatest achievements of the human intellect. Panini laid down the law for Sanskrit grammar, and since his time the Sanskrit language in its grammatical structure has not shown much change. Writers of Sanskrit everywhere tried to conform to the dictates of the *Ashtadhyayi*. In this way, India received in Sanskrit one of the finest of the great literary instruments which were built up by man. The Sanskrit language became the great vehicle of Indian civilization. Because of the fact that when it was developing in India, non-Aryan languages had also significant contributions to make, it did not appear to be so very foreign to the speakers of the Dravidian and Austric and Sino-Tibetan languages. There was no opposition to Sanskrit, although in the South, particularly among the Tamil-speakers, Tamil was given the same place of honour as Sanskrit by a number

of Tamil writers. The India-wide prevalence of Sanskrit was recognized even in the South, and a Saiva-Siddhantha philosopher like Sivajnanamunivar declared that to understand the meaning of Tamil properly a knowledge of Sanskrit was necessary. Sanskrit thus claimed the homage of all the sections of the Indian people, whether they spoke languages of Aryan origin or of Dravidian or of Austric or Sino-Tibetan origin, wherever these latter peoples came within the orbit of the pan-Indian Hindu civilization.

Prakrit Literature: The period from about 600 B.C. to about A.D. 1000 is roughly the period of Middle Indo-Aryan or the Prakrits, which may be described as those tongues in which Sanskrit was modified by the masses of people in North India. There was a considerable amount of literary activity in the Prakrits, and one of the Prakrits, Pali, became the sacred language of the Theravada Buddhists, i.e., the Buddhists of the Hinayana or Southern School of the present day. The Jains wrote at first in Ardha-Magadhi speech, which was based on the speech of Mahavira, the last Jaina Tirthankara or Teacher and Leader. But the mass of Prakrit literature can be looked upon as being within the umbrage of Sanskrit. Prakrit later developed into Apabhramsa during the last five centuries of the first 1000 years after Christ. From the various Apabhramsas, as they were current in different parts of North India, round about A.D. 1000 developed the modern Aryan languages of India, the new Indo-Aryan speeches.

Groups of Modern Indo-Aryan "Bhashas": These modern Aryan languages or New Indo-Aryan speeches, or technically Bhashas as they are called, fall into several groups, which it is important to consider in connexion with their scientific study. But we need not take note of these groups and their inter-relationship. These Bhashas are the following (figures only approximate):

- (1) Hindki or Lahndi, or Western Punjabi, which is current among 8 millions (?) in Pakistan.
- (2) Sindhi (including Kacchi) — 1.4 millions in India, plus 7 millions in Pakistan.
- (3) Marathi — 33.2 millions.
- (4) Konkani (along the Arabian Sea Coast, in Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka or Mysore and Kerala State) 2 millions (?)
- (5) Oriya — 14.8 millions.
- (6) Bengali (in India and Bangladesh) — over 100 millions.
- (7) Assamese — 6.7 millions (?)
- (8) Maithili — 15 millions (?)
- (9) Magahi — 8 millions (?)
- (10) Bhojpuri — 26 millions (?)
- (11) Halbi (in Bastar State) — 2 lakhs (?)
- (12) Kosali or Eastern Hindi in its three dialects of Awadhi, Bagheli, and Chattisgarhi — 25 millions (?)

- (13) Hindi proper or Western Hindi in two groups:
- (a) 'Vernacular Hindustani' with the dialects of Bangaru and Jatu and the Khari-Boli of Delhi (on this Khari-Boli are based the present-day Hindi and Urdu as languages of literature); besides
 - (b) three other dialects of Braj-Bhasha, Kanauji and Bundeli.
- All these would come up to not more than 50 million (?), for Hindi proper, plus 23.3 millions who gave their language as Urdu. (According to the 1961 census, 133.4 millions gave their language as "Hindi", but this number is misleading as millions of speakers of other languages were recorded under "Hindi".)
- (14) Panjabi or Eastern Panjabi — 10.9 millions.
 - (15) Dogri, in Jammu State, and in parts of Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh — 3 millions (?)
 - (16) Rajasthani — 16 millions (?)
 - (17) Gujarati — 20 millions(?)
 - (18) The Bhili and connected dialects like Saurashtri of South India and the Gujri of Panjab and Kashmir — 2 millions (?)
 - (19) Eastern Pahari or Gorkhali or Nepali — 8 millions (?)
 - (20) Central Pahari — Garhwali and Kumaoni — 3 millions (?)
 - (21) Western Pahari Dialects — 1 million (?)

In addition we have to consider two other languages which are related to the Aryan speeches of North India:

- (22) the Sinhalese of Sri Lanka and the Maldiv Islands, and
- (23) the Gipsy dialects of Western Asia and Europe.

The Source : These Aryan languages are all intimately connected with each other, and they go back to the Vedic speech as their ultimate source. In addition, there is Kashmiri, current among about 1.8 millions, which belongs to the Dardic group of speeches which is believed by some to be slightly removed from Sanskrit. But opinion is divided in this matter. In any case, Kashmiri and some languages of the extreme North-Western Frontier of India, which are known as the Dardic languages, form one group by themselves. Kashmiri, however, has been profoundly influenced by Sanskrit, and it is in this way at least within the circle of the Aryan languages of North India, and it has been given a place in the Indian Constitution as one of the 15 major Indian languages.

The Great Literary and Cultural Heritage of India: Among the Aryan languages of India at the present day, some are more advanced than the others. But a comparison is not necessary for our purpose. The histories of the different languages and their literatures will indicate the scope of these languages. The languages of modern India during the last thousand years (the case of Old Tamil and Old Kannada literatures

need not be considered, as they are more or less like classical literatures in these languages belonging to an earlier stage — their position in relation to the modern cultivated Dravidian languages is like that of the Prakrits *vis-a-vis* their later forms of modern Indo-Aryan languages) have given to India and the world a number of writers who are in the forefront of the world's poets and thought-leaders. One may mention writers like Chandidas and Vidyapati respectively of early Bengali and Maithili; Suradasa of early Braj-Bhasha; Tulasidasa whose great work the *Rama Charita Manasa* was composed in early Awadhi of the sixteenth century; Kabir, the great mystic, saint and poet of Northern India who is one of the greatest mystics of the world, who wrote in Bhojpuri as well as in a mixed dialect in the fifteenth century; Mira Bai, the saintly poetess of Rajasthan; Guru Nanak, who wrote in a mixed Panjabi and Braj-Bhasha; Shah Latif, the Sufi mystic poet of Sind in the eighteenth century; Kamban, the author of the Tamil *Ramayana* and the later devotional poets of Tamil Nadu, the great circle of poets in the sixteenth century Vijayanagara, who wrote in Telugu and in Kannada; and the poets of Karnataka, of Gujarat and of Orissa, besides a religious devotee and saint of Maharashtra like Tukarama. In the modern period also these languages are carrying on their uniform development, and at least one international figure in poetry and literature in general has been contributed by India in the personality of Rabindranath Tagore, who wrote in Bengali and later also in English. The people of India in the different areas have every right to feel proud of their languages.

So long there has not been in India any sense of exclusiveness or intolerance in the domain of language and literature. A work or a series of poems composed in a particular language, if it had great merit, if it could move men and women, was quickly adopted into the other languages, or its ideas were transmitted to the remotest parts of the country. There has always been a perfect accord and co-operation without the least feeling of rivalry or exclusiveness in this matter, throughout the centuries.

The Question of a Single Official Language for India: But the question of languages has suddenly taken a controversial turn in independent India, and this is a matter which is to be wholly deplored. The reasons for this should be sought in a dispassionate manner. It was particularly after the acceptance by the ruling party on the basis of a one-vote majority, of Hindi as the pan-Indian official language to replace English that a new attitude is gradually becoming evident in the domain of language in the Indian Union. This Hindi or Khariboli Hindi, is a language of fairly recent literary employment — there being very little literature in it prior to 1850. Peoples speaking Aryan languages like Hindi, Panjabi, Western Pahari, Central Pahari, Rajasthani, Kosali, Bhojpuri, Magahi, and Maithili have during the last three

generations accepted Khariboli Hindi as their language of education and public life, although there are some protests against this. This Khariboli Hindi, it is feared by those who have not adopted it, will dominate the Indian scene and give special advantages to the Hindi-using group. When unsympathetic Europeans used to trot out the argument that India could not be a single nation because it did not possess a single language in common, the sensibilities of the Indian patriots were hurt at this suggestion. They did not seriously consider the situation that India has always been a polyglot country, and there should be no stigma in not having one single language as the language of the entire people. Nor was it seriously considered to what extent one regional language could be accepted by the entire people of India. In pre-Muslim times, Sanskrit supplied the need of a pan-Indian language and during the seven centuries that Muslims were the dominant people of India, Persian took up the important place both as an inter-State as well as international language. Then English took the field, and although it was dominant as the language of administration as well as of higher education, which brought India into direct contact with the great intellectual and even spiritual thought-currents of the world, Sanskrit also continued to have a good deal of its old prestige, and was still the common language for a large section of the Indian people, both among the followers of Brahmanism and Jainism. At first it was thought that it would be quite easy to replace English by Hindi; and Hindi was accorded a sort of tacit acceptance by most Indian nationalists who were within the atmosphere of the Indian National Congress, because Hindi presented, *vis-a-vis* Urdu, which was claimed by the Muslim League as an expression of Indian Muslim culture and Indian Muslim aspirations particularly, a truly Indian language using an Indian script (which was adopted by Sanskrit for all-India purposes in the nineteenth century) and which preferably would go to Sanskrit for its words of higher culture. The Hindi-speaking or Hindi-using people of North India naturally were the staunchest supporters of Hindi for all India. But on second thoughts, particularly after the publication of some far-reaching recommendations made by the Official Language Commission appointed by the Government of India which submitted its report in August 1956, but which was given out to the public only in August 1957, the people in many parts of the country began to feel the need to revise their views in this matter. The supreme necessity of English for free India in her own interests, in order to ensure her fullest mental unfoldment, for the development of not only her science and technology but also her humanistic studies and for the integration with the modern civilized world, has gradually been brought home to the people. An all-exclusive and zealous support for the mother-tongue or State language (other than Hindi) within the State itself is also becoming very prominent among non-Hindi speakers, who are only seeking to emulate the speakers of Hindi

in this matter. What the ultimate language pattern for India will be is not known. But the general consensus of opinion is that one has to cry halt to the plans for immediate Hindi-ization, and it is getting to be admitted gradually that the languages of the different States — the so-called “regional languages” (Hindi is as much a “regional language” as the other State languages) — are to be described as “National Languages” and their unhampered development in their own States in all the domains of administration and education is to be accepted as the basic principle of an all-India language policy. Hindi may be in the offing for a while. But meanwhile English will have to continue.

The linguistic and literary history of India, particularly during the last thousand years, is very much in consonance with the general development of the culture of India. In what India has achieved in this line we have to acknowledge gratefully the inspiration from the modern outlook which the Indian languages have received from Europe through English. It is to be hoped that the present differences of opinion, which have sometimes taken an undesirable turn of late, will pass when better sense will dawn among the people, and that all the languages of India will be able to develop, each in its own line and in perfect harmony with others, while retaining Sanskrit and English as the two great vehicles of cultural advance for the sub-continent — Sanskrit to enable us to appreciate the bases of our Indian culture and what India really stands for, and at the same time to supply to the modern Indian languages the necessary scientific and other terms, and English to ensure that India maintains contact with the rest of the civilized world and to bring to all and sundry, either directly or through translations in the modern Indian languages, the great ideas of modern life and modern civilization. Sanskrit will act as the ballast and English as the sail, and both are necessary for steady and continued progress with poise and equilibrium.

The Image of Man in Indian Literature

Vidya Niwas Misra

Civilization as a Western concept is essentially the culture of cities (Lewis Mumford: "Civilization is the art of living in cities ") The Greeks had an incorrigible interest in themselves as humans. Their wish was always to understand themselves. Thus the extraordinary "significance of their concept of the *polis* — the city state — which embraces all individual citizens and in reference to which the status of each individual was determined."

On the other hand, harmony of mind, action and speech between not only man and man, but Man and Universe is the central point in early Vedic thought. It is not that *ṛta* emanates from *satya* but both emanate from *tapas*, the primordial active energy. It is not an outward movement from plurality into the unity of a nation or into a single term of fixed borderlines. It is simultaneously an expansion from an intensive nucleus into vague unlimited forms of growth of indeterminate periphery — an inversion into the inner mould of existence. Urbanity was not the sole measure of civilization in India, but harmony was. Simultaneous coexistence of many worlds denies uniqueness or absolute value to any one of them, every appearance being just a facet of a crystal, none of them alone being able to give either a whole or a real picture. So we find an inherent inter-relatedness rather than a necessary cause-and-effect relationship between Man and the Universe.

As against the Greek *dike* there is the notion of *saumanasya*, oneness in thought, in the Vedas:

“Enter here in good order, speak in good order, think in good order,

As the gods before, in good order, gathered their gifts.

Let your discourse keep time, your judgments resolve,

As a soul, the thinker at one with his thought.”

RV. X. 191 (*Saumanasya Sūkta*)

Unlike Greek gods and their supplements, Vedic gods are the breaths, mind-born and mind-yoked. To them, one sacrifices symbolically or metaphysically (not directly).

प्राणा वै देवा मनोजाता मनोयुज तेपु परोक्ष जुहोति — T.S VI. 145.

However, there is one common plane where Plato meets the Vedic seer — there is no real distinction between sacred and profane operations. The needs of the body and the soul are satisfied together. But this should not be stretched too far. To the Greek his gods were his superiors and his relation to his gods was legal. Religious observances were therefore like a civic duty. Zeus was the preceptor of moral laws (Themister), the purifier, the guardian of both social and political order, whereas Vedic gods are themselves coparceners in the sacrifice, they stand on an equal footing with the sacrificer. देवो भूत्वा देव यजेत — “One should offer to a god after having become oneself the god.” They were the first sacrificers and their sacrificial act was a re-enactment of the primordial sacrifice of All Gods (*Viśvedevāh*). Gods are as much dependent on man as man on his

gods, whom he invokes through a creative process of word, *vāk*, so that *vāk*, the creative urge *par excellence*, holds them together, men and gods. Sacrifice is a rejuvenation, a rebirth, a recreation as aptly described in the words अत्मान रेतोभूतं सिञ्चति — “The sacrificer casts himself in the form of seed into the household fire.” It is within man that the deity is hidden (गुहा निहितम्). It has to be invoked by divine speech, a twofold process of self-emptying out (अतिरेचन) स जातो अत्यरिच्यत — and reidentifying with the invoked God, in other words re-emerging as God. Vedic gods are not anthropomorphic, they are measured by the latent power of prayer, they are not fixed, they change with the new. For example Usas has been described as नवं नवं जायमाना पुराणी युवति. They have both benign and terrifying aspects, as has man. But man invokes light as much as darkness, the manifest as much as the unmanifest, the Gauri as well as the Kali. The Hymn to Night and the Aranyānī Hymn clearly bring out Vedic man’s inner struggle against something which does not reveal itself and poses a challenge. Aranyānī, the presiding deity of the woodland, is invoked by the Vedic seer as the soothing spirit of the dark: “*Aranyānī, Aranyānī*, always shifting back and back. Why do you turn away from the village? It could not be fear. Sweet with the scent of the dark, served without tilling the ground, Mother of all worldly things. Now I have sung you, *Aranyānī*” (RV. X. 146).

The Hymn to Night invokes the radiant aspect of the dark: “Undying, filling up empty places, filling up heights and depths containing the dark with your radiance.” (RV. X. 127). The Vedic seer resolves this struggle in the famous Hymn of Creation where he transcends the possibilities of both being and non-being in the beginning and even challenges the Highest Universal Being to come out and say, “I know.”

Death was not there, could immortality be?

No night, no day, no line between night and day.

One thing only breathed in the absence of air.

It breathed of Itself, there was nothing but it to breathe.

The Hymn of Creation describes beautifully the involution of the Great Creator and Knower into the redoubting man, thus shifting from one centre to the other without breaking the circle. “Who can say for sure that he knows how it came about? And, even knowing, can put it in words? This darkness over creation, behind creation, was there, and surely the gods appeared after. But who had appeared before? Surely He knows this secret for He has contrived it. He controls it from Heaven — He the first thrust of creation, who parted being and absence of being. Or may be He does not know what He’s done or how.” (RV. X. 129).

For what matters is not really a rationalization of being and non-being, but an awareness of freedom from both — which fills in the void created by their simultaneous exit. Sāntipa, a Siddha poet of the early medieval era, echoes the same absolute awareness:

Tell me to whom I should explain and precisely in what manner when the real is neither true nor false like the moon given back from water.

Kambalambara Pāda, another Siddha poet, employs an apt figure to describe this filling process:

The gold and wholly filling zero

Fills my boat of Karuṇa.

There is no room on board for even
the silver flood of form.

Here it must be remembered that the one basic characteristic of Indian thought is that Man does not stand at the top of his Universe, nor is the rest of existence subservient to him. There is not one apex or one centre; It is a multi-centred and multi-apex universe. It is interesting how this idea expressed itself in many areas. It is often assumed that the development of perspective was a technical advance, but it is now seen that this could have only been developed in an atmosphere where man sets himself against God. "In perspective the centre of space passes directly through Man" (Arnheim: *Art and Visual Perfection*).

The Indian thought assumes an inherent correspondence of macrocosm and microcosm "Yonder world is in the likeness of this world This world in the likeness of that." (*Āitareya B VIII. 2*).

It is a multi-centred concept. This is further developed into the Tantric idea of "यत्पिण्डे तद् ब्रह्माडे यद् ब्रह्माडे तत्पिण्डे". Thus, unlike man in the West, man in Indian literature is simultaneously operating on two planes, the one that is situate in time and space and the other that transcends time through its projection in its progeny and transcends space through its identity with not only the nature around but all the Beings — सर्वभूतेषु येनैक अयमव्ययमीक्षते, because that one Becoming, which never exhausts itself and is simultaneously operating on all the Beings, is the proper perspective, or rather independence from perspective, for Man trying to be the Universal Man. So time, particularly the divisible Time, is a quasi-real dimension of Man in Indian literature and is merely a model appearance of the creative process According to Abhinavagupta, the great exponent of Indian aesthetics, being is neither merely an atemporal visualization of itself nor an absolute separation from time and space, but is the realization of itself as a separate entity on one plane and the potentiality of being involved in time and space on the other.¹ The Indian view does not reject history,² it transcends it, and differs from the primitive cyclic notion of time inasmuch as it is not confined to a mere process of periodic abolition of creation and of going back to the atemporal instant of the beginning. And it differs from the Western preoccupation with the notion that life and reality are history and history alone is human In short, whereas in Indian thought human existence is at the same time atemporal or timeless and temporal or placed in time,

in Western thought man is historically situated in time or, in other words, the historical aspect of human existence is charged with significance for man, because human life is under the shadow of time.

This aspect of Indian thought becomes very relevant particularly in the modern predicament confronted with the depersonated aspect of technology. Modern man has received the impression of losing his footing, of finding himself without support and has known a panic terror and "believed himself to be sinking, making shipwreck in the void".³ If a solution of this predicament is to be found, it is not in reassertion of freedom from the physical or the natural forces.⁴ This is likely to lead to further chaos and confusion, for neither can the pace of science be stopped nor can the human mind be restrained from searching new horizons. Denial of this hard reality will take us nowhere. A solution is to be found in a system of thought which can adjust itself to both intellectual and emotional needs, to growth of science and to furtherance of universal humanism, to Infinite Time and to Segmented Time, and finally on the metaphysical plane to the macrocosms and to the microcosms. Such a system of thought could only emanate from the Indian matrix. The Western thinker might find it hard to reconcile the fact that Christ is the Son of God and at the same time a historical figure. He is the very personification of the fulfilment of a great historical purpose and he is the very cessation of history.⁵ For an Indian thinker this would be a very simple matter. Christ as Saviour is an atemporal reality and Christ as an individual is a historical event more relevant to the recorder of facts than to mankind in general. Rama and Krishna are a living reality, a reality which is ever-evolving, a reality which is happening within man (and not within a chosen people) and within Universe simultaneously. Yet they are completely unreal as historical events, they are mere shadows and are no great concern of the people. The corresponding word for history, *itihāsa*, means "so it has been" and not "so it was" for the "so it was" aspect is neither relevant nor real. At the most it can be a reconstructed point in a continuum but the "so it has been" is relevant and real. This attitude towards history makes the Indian society a tradition-bound but free society, free from inhibition of race (race declared as indeterminable and, therefore, irrelevant in a human context⁶), creed, and nationality — life emptying itself out for the fulfilment of the void of life around, a life pulsating with all-breath rather than one's own.

This transition, in four gradual stages of life from a distinct home to no home, is neither incongruous nor in contradiction with each other. In fact the feeling for home, for the cosy and the warm hearth, for the Fire-God, the embodiment of all that is manifest, concrete, intimate, and human, is the starting point of an ultimate culmination in a great reverence for the nebulous universe, for the immeasurable infinite, for the great substratum of the seed of creation — the cosmic waters — for the unseen

vāk, for the *vinḍu*, the embodiment of abstraction, for universalization and comprehension of the unknown. The lotus and swan motif in Indian art, fire and water in Hindu ritual, Nara and Nārāyaṇa in Indian mythology and light and sound in Indian *sādhana* are representations of this interweaving of seemingly two extreme ends. There is no incongruity, because it is not Nara, man, alone who is dependent on Nārāyaṇa but Nārāyaṇa himself has to descend as man, in order to fulfil his obligation to man in his service (अवतरेउ अपने भगत हितनिजतन्त्र नित रघुकुलमनी) — Tulsidas. If light has to establish its significance, its target has to be one who is groping in the dark for light:

Light belted darkness down
and put out
the visible world
Alone inside
I groped in the light
and it struck me then
O Lord
I was Thy target,
Thy quarry

(Allama, Tr. A.K. Ramanujan)

The mediaeval Bhakti movement starting from the south and permeating the entire northern India in a course of two centuries more than deified the human body (साधनधामरिबुध दुर्लभ तनु), a body coveted by the gods because through it alone can a human relationship be established between men and the Universal Being, so that the entire concept of body as a product of original sin is wiped out by a total involvement of man to the limit of offering his vilest and darkest corner of the mind to Him so that he cannot refuse this offer and:

When space herself goes naked
Where is the apparel to cover the cosmic shame?
When the salt of the earth
Thy own, my lord, take the taints of the world,
Where is corruption's adequate image?

(Allama, Tr. A.K. Ramanujan)

This was certainly a big leap from the image of Purushottama, the *dhīrodātta* hero, the hero whom even the gods feared (कस्य विभ्यति देवाश्च जानरोषस्य सयुगे) but is not basically opposed to that, because even the earlier image of the epic hero was of one whom even the gods feared not because of his physical valour but because of his overpowering compassion. The highest virtue according to Yudhishtira, the *Mahābhārata* hero, is *anṛśansya* (compassion for all foe and friend alike). The Bhakti value is a leap forward in the sense that it impregnates the lowliest of the lowly with the seed of the greatness of the great, it transcends hierarchies of caste, class, creed, age, and personal achievements other than realization of this sublime truth that

final emancipation of oneself has no meaning at all if you cannot of your own accord choose to dispel the darkness enveloping the entire beings around you. The ideal of the saint is beautifully summed up in these lines:

“To us all towns are one, all men our kin; life’s good comes not from others’ gift, nor ill; man’s pains and pain’s relief are from within; Death is not a new thing. Nor do our bosoms thrill when joyous life seems like a luscious draught. When grieved, we patiently suffer. We deem this much praised life of ours a fragile raft borne down the waters of some mountain stream that o’er huge boulders roaring seeks the plain.”
(*Purananuru*)

This search for the plain becomes the cherishable ideal of the mediaeval literature, which of course was to a great extent inspired by the Dravidian sources.

This search for the plains is not a negative ideal; it is a search for joy in day-to-day life. No part of the day is dull, no activity is despicable, no pain unbearable and no moment unenjoyable, because everything becomes surcharged with a deeper significance — living for all life. The so-called secular poetry or folk poetry of the earlier centuries is re-canalized to depict the different aspects of divine love. On the same stage are enacted two dramas, the characters change, but not the parts, there is the *nara-līlā*, the voluntary sporting of the Universal Being in Man on one plane and there is the *Nārāyaṇa-bhāva*, the becoming of Man into the Universal Being on the other. The Greek concept of man was that of a being subservient to Nature, man standing in a relationship of partnership with Nature, but nevertheless seeking glorification in a defiance of this relationship. That was Greek humanism. The pre-Renaissance concept of man is that of a caretaker for God and thus imposes a grave responsibility on man, who seeks strength in bearing this burden and inflicts on himself the misery of the ignorant sinning human race. The Renaissance made man the promised master of the world. But throughout this development in the concept of humanism, man remained the fixed centre and that is why to a Westerner the mediaeval Bhakti movement appears to be a non-humanistic movement, because it seeks emptying out of man and filling of the vacancy by an over-powering and yet very soothing light, as shown in the character of Bharata by Tulasidas:

“Day by day his body grew thinner and his vigour and strength declined, but his face lost none of its beauty. Ever renewed was his resolute vow of devotion to Rāma, the tree of his righteous life sent forth fresh shoots and his soul knew no dark despair. As water falls low when the autumn sky is bright and the reeds are glad and the lotuses blossom forth, so in the clear sky of Bharata’s heart shone forth the stars of continence and self-control, restraint, austerity, and composure. His confidence was like the Pole Star, the period of Rāma’s absence the full moon, the remembrance of the Lord the brilliant Milky Way.

His love for Rāma was like the moon, unmoved and spotless ever shining clear and bright amid a galaxy of stars.” (*Mānasa*, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa)

Indian or rather Bhakti humanism surcharged with the Universal Being operates simultaneously on two levels, as rightly observed by R. Zaehner (*Hinduism*, page 191):

“*Moksa* or freedom is both individual and universal, it is the fruit of the *dharma* of every man, through the sacrifice of that very *dharma* in the *dharma* of the community and through the community in the *dharma* of the whole created world and this leads to perfect liberation and freedom of the spirit (as well as of body) in which Man pours himself unstintingly into the one ocean of Truth which is at once both the one and the all.”

In other words this concept is non-human only so far as it is not confined to an individual or to a particular defined group of individuals and so far as it refuses to succumb to the utter hopelessness of being bound to historical obligations and without rejecting both the individual or the collective group transcends them both. This is something which is yearned for by modern man. Karl Jaspers in his *Man in the Modern Age* sets forth this yearning:

“But what is requisite is that a man, in conjunction with other men, should merge himself in the world as a historically concrete entity so that amid the universal homelessness he may win for himself a new home. His remoteness from the world sets him free to immerse his being. This remoteness is not achievable by an intellectual abstraction but only through a simultaneous getting into touch with all reality.”

The following few lines from Basavanna, a mediaeval saint-poet from Karnataka, would bring out the anguish and the undaunted optimism of Man as depicted in Indian literature:

Like a harlot's son
I scan the face of every man
For signs of fatherhood,
Father, show Thyself.

How much relevance this anguish and this optimism have in the modern predicament of Man is something worth being looked into more deeply.

¹ V.N. Misra: “Time in Modern Hindi Poetry” (*Proceedings of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists*)

² *Ibid*

³ Jose Ortega y Gasset: *History as a System*, pp 182-183

⁴ *Ibid*, p 160

⁵ For detailed discussion see ‘Earliest Christianity’ in *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East*

⁶ Mahabharata Ajagara Paiva — जातिरत्र महासर्प दुष्परोक्ष्येति मे मति ।

Indian Sculpture

C. Sivaramamurti

In sculpture, it is the depth that creates the dimensional quality. It is a realization of this in India that has provided a range of terms to make clear the relative quality of the dimensional effect. Sculpture in the round is styled *chitra* and was given the highest place in art in India. Carving in relief also produces dimensional effect, but low relief is almost like a drawn picture. It is only high relief that gives depth and it is this which is *ardhachitra* as it is known and has a place next to *chitra*. Painting, as its name *chitrābhāsa* reveals, is only a semblance of the figure in the round, since it creates only an ocular delusion suggesting depth through chiaroscuro or the effect of light and shade.

The beginnings of sculpture in India go back to nearly five thousand years ago when the Harappan artist tried his hand at various media and succeeded in creating masterpieces which suggest a long and continuous early tradition..Even casting in metal by *cire perdue* or the lost wax method was achieved to perfection. The famous dancer from Mohenjo-daro in metal, suggesting her moment of respite and graceful stance at ease after vigorous movements, is better known probably than many of the smaller and extremely lively figures of animals which are second to none among the best sculptural representations in any medium at any time of Indian history. The small buffalo and the terrier in metal, the terracotta monkey and the crocodile in ivory, are marvellous examples of their kind.

With the dawn of history, there are distinctive early sculptures, particularly of the time of Aśoka in the third century B.C., that are characterized by great vigour and strength, in spite of the stylization where it exists, and are highly polished. Most of such sculptures are magnificent animals crowning pillars, of which the lion group from Sārnāth and the bull from Rāmpūrva are conspicuous. Carving in the living rock was at that time an innovation, and it is a wonderful achievement of the sculptor who could represent the Dhaulī elephant as almost emerging alive from the rock. It provides an excellent example of a loving study of the animal, vividly presented and treated in the utmost natural fashion. The Didārgaṅj Yakshī, the finest human representation of this period, arrests attention. The row of geese with the necks bent and elongated, and the bull reaching out for bits of lotus stalk speak of close observation and an effort on the part of the sculptor to imbibe the spirit of nature around him and to immortalize certain movements and moments. The rugged moustached face of a plebeian, which is a contrast to the dissipated visage of an elaborately turbaned snobbish patrician from Sārnāth, together suggest the highest technical skill of the Mauryan craftsman.

The Śuṅgas who succeeded the Mauryas in Magadha in the second century B.C. have left a magnificent monument, of which unfortunately the ravages of time have spared only a portion of the rail around a Buddhist *stūpa* at Bhārhit, in which a rich series of carvings reveals a great

and glorious glimpse of contemporary civilization. All that remained of the rail and the single *torana* of a complex of four, was rescued by Cunningham and saved for posterity. These, along with several other fragments collected in the last few decades, constitute a sculptural wealth of unparalleled importance. The folk deities of the day like Kupīra Yaksha, Sudarśanā Yakshī, Supavāsā Yaksha, Ajakālīka Yaksha, Chūlakokā Devatā, Nāga Dadhikarna, have a naive representation here. Sirimā Devatā, like the Yakshas and Yakshīs mentioned by name, is a typical figure of the goddess of prosperity at the simplest stage of iconographic form. Bhārḥūt is no exception to the rule that Buddhist monuments visually represent a continuous story of the great Master's life (Plate 1). Historical incidents like Ajātaśatru visiting the Buddha and Jetavana presented by Anāthapiṇḍada to the great Master are all lively scenes of immense historical interest.

The narration of the *Jātaka* is equally telling. The synoptic method adopted by the sculptor to narrate a sequence, as in the case of *Latukika Jātaka* labelled as *Laṭuvā Jātaka* — the story of a quail that wreaked vengeance on a rogue elephant — is very telling. The titles of the *Jātakas* are mentioned in legends carved in early characters in each panel. Some of the oldest fables and legends, like that of the fox and the crow, are re-narrated with a slight variation here, as in the story centring on the wise cock that could not be lured by the cajoling of the sly cat, *Kukkutabīḍāla Jātaka*. The *Jātakas* are narrated particularly in a spirit of religious discourse, to lift up the mental attitude of the pious pilgrims perambulating the *stūpa* and help them to take in a sculptural admonition. The labels themselves provide the earliest textual versions of the collections of *Jātakas* in Pālī and prove the authentic early date of the Buddhist text. The variant readings here and there also show that the text itself was slowly developing a complexity.

In contemporary Orissa, there are early caves at Udayagiri and Khandagiri which offer the best examples of the east Indian school of the Cheṭas. The story of Udayana, popular in Brahminical and Buddhist lore, has a Jaina version depicted in these caves. There are other long narrations of Jaina fables which should rank with the best Buddhist narrations from Bhārḥūt and Sāñchī. The semi-circular row of elephants against the façade of one of the caves cannot but recall the Lomas Ṛishi cave at Barābar Hills.

It is at Sāñchī, however, that there is almost intact an ancient *stūpa* with the best *toranas* still surviving. The decoration of the *torana* showing the flower gatherer under a tree, *torāṇa sālabañjikā*, is one of the many interesting series of motifs that abound on this monument. The *torana* at Sāñchī is an exquisite example of early Śātavāhana art (Pl. 2). It is interesting to know from an inscription here that a guild of ivory carvers fashioned the delicately carved eastern gateway in the time of Śātakarnī,



Picture 2

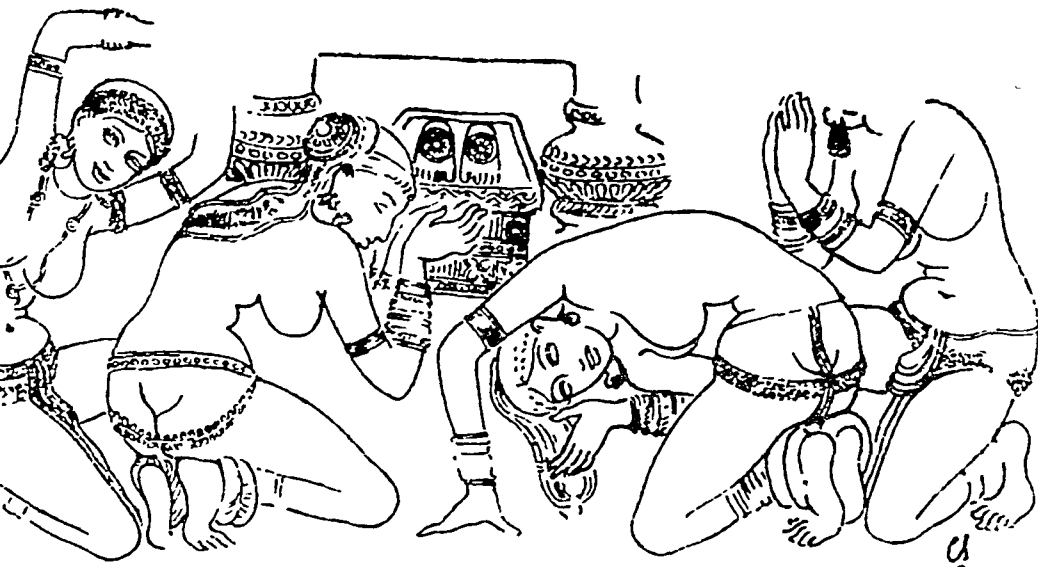
which indicates how facile was the hand of the Sātavāhana craftsman in different media, enabling him to express himself with equal facility in soft-textured ivory and hard stone. The story of Buddha and the *Jātakas* narrated at Sāñchī are not only interesting but clearly indicate that the sculptor here has advanced far beyond what was noted at Bhārḥūt in the mode of delineating figures

In western India, the lords of the Deccan, the Sātavāhanas, excavated a number of caves in the second century B.C. The caves abound in excellent carvings illustrating the earliest phase of Sātavāhana art, earlier even than Sāñchī. In this style there is Sūrya in a chariot drawn by four steeds, accompanied by his queens, dispelling darkness, which is personified as a huge monster under the wheels. Indra similarly rides his celestial elephant and moves through the celestial garden. The turbaned gods of light and thunder wear large flower garlands around their necks, and on their foreheads, rest huge turbans, the emblem of a sovereign. The king of the celestials, moving in the garden of paradise, Chaitravana, is typical of those far-off days, when even trees were decked with wreaths of garlands and umbrellas, as part of the ritual of the adoration of the celestial trees, *vrksha chaityas*. They provide examples of early iconography which, in the second century B.C., was characterized by simplicity.

The finest in the style of architecture can be seen in the carving from the Kārlā cave, also of the Sātavāhanas. The Sātavāhanas not only ruled western India, but also the eastern part of the Deccan and, at Amarāvati, their eastern capital, they created a great *stūpa* with a magnificent rail around it that was lovingly built by the great Buddhist teacher, Nāgārjuna, a friend of successive later Sātavāhana kings. This rail, considered the high watermark of Sātavāhana art, has panels (Line Illustration 1) and medallions that excel all that we know anywhere in any of the Sātavāhana monuments and is full of excellent panels and medallions illustrating the Buddhist legend (Pl. 3). The story of Udayana and Sāmāvatī, the visit of Ajātaśatru, Buddha's visit to the palace of Yaśodharā, the subjugation of Nalagiri, *Māndhātū Jātaka* and other narrative sculptures have no peer in early Indian art.

Incidents from the life of Udayana, a contemporary of Buddha, like that of Ajātaśatru consulting Jīvaka, the great physician, about visiting Buddha, narrate history in a telling fashion. The contours of the figures, the pose and the poise, the ornamentations of turban, garment and jewellery, simple but effective, the expression, the grouping of figures, dynamic in action but sometimes with a strange repose, are all distinctive of the great art of the Deccan in the middle of the second century A.D.

The northern contemporaries of the later Sātavāhanas were the Kushāṇas, who had a vast empire in the eastern part of which, in Mathurā, there was a pleasant school, with stress on indigenous style and tradition, in contrast to another school in Gandhāra in the western



III. 1

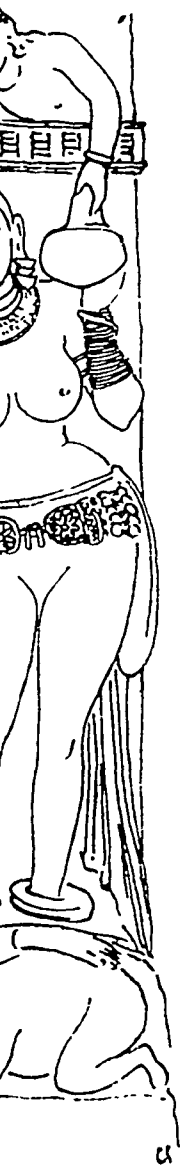


Plate 3



Line Ill. 3



5



Plate 4



Plate 6

respectively ruled vast empires in the north and in the Deccan. An unparalleled efflorescence of culture has earned for this period the epithet of the Golden Age. The imposing caves at Ellorā, Ajantā and Elephanta illustrate in their entrancing sculpture and carved panels a rare combination of grace and power and are among the best examples of Vākātaka art (Line Ill. 4). The monumental panels at Elephanta, e.g., Ardhanārīśvara, Gaṅgādhara, Kalyāṇasundara (Pl. 7), Andhakāntaka, and Natarāja have rarely been excelled in any period of art anywhere in the country. A Vākātaka sculpture of rare significance from Parel is that of Śiva as an embodiment of the seven musical notes, *Saptasvarāmaya*.

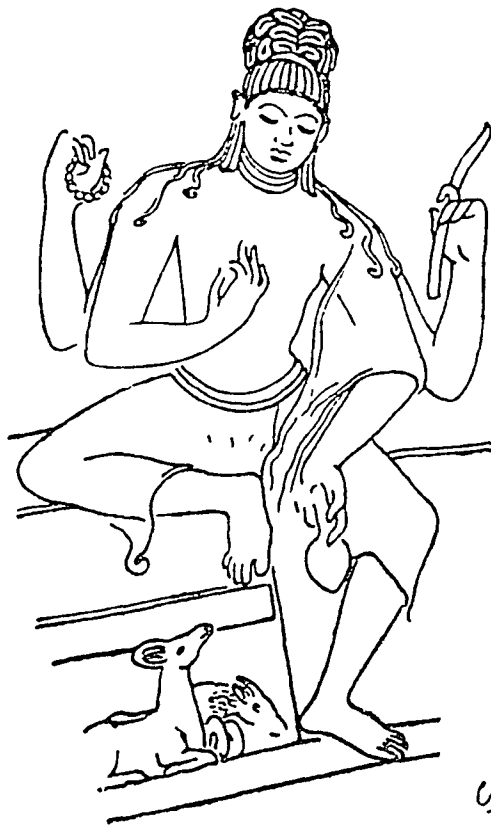
The same features also apply to Gupta sculpture in the north. The Daśāvātāra temple of Viṣṇu at Deogaṛh has given to the world three superb monumental panels illustrating Śeṣhaśāyī Viṣṇu (Pl. 8), Naranārāyaṇa (Line Ill. 5) and Gajendramoksha. The Ekamukhalinga from Khoh is so beautiful that it is difficult to believe that a sculptor could excel the charm of this face of Śiva. The serene figure of Buddha turning the wheel of law at Sārnāth, with a most beautiful halo, delicately decorated with carving, is almost rivalled in the two exquisite standing haloed Buddhas of contemporary date from Mathurā. Apart from these great masterpieces typical of Gupta art, the earliest at Udayagiri near Bhilsā, like the colossal Varāha and the earliest prototypes of Gaṇeśa, Durgā, Viṣṇu with the *śīvatsa* mark on the chest, and flanked by personified weapons, *Āyudhapurushas*, and Śeṣhaśāyī, are striking examples of their kind.

Even the feudatories of the Guptas did not lag behind in their spontaneous expression of artistic concepts; and the Maitrakas of Valabhī, who ruled in the areas of Gujarat and Southern Rājasthān, were responsible for a local school of sculpture full of grace, of which there are some never-to-be-forgotten examples like Gaṇeśa, Mother and Child, the Mātṛikās, and Śiva with his bull, from Sāmālājī (Pl. 9).

The Early Western Chālukyas who ruled from Bādāmī continued the traditions of their predecessors, the Vākātakas. Their earliest carvings in the sixth century exhibit a rare strength and monumentality. The flying celestials from Aihole are a pleasing theme from the ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* representing the best traditions of carving (Pl. 10). The sixth century cave from Bādāmī has imposing sculptures revealing the taste of Maṅgaḷeśa, the uncle of Pulakeśin, who caused this to be excavated from the rock, and made over the entire merit accruing from this stupendous work of art and faith to his beloved elder brother in heaven. Excavated on the scarp of a large and imposing boulder, the cave is indeed a monument that arrests attention. Viṣṇu seated on the snake, the imposing Trivikrama and the majestic Narasiṃha, like the delicate bracket figures in this large Vaiṣṇava cave as it is known, and Harihara and the multi-armed Naṭarāja from Cave No. 1, are excellent examples of the early phase of Chālukyan art.



Line Ill. 4



Line Ill. 5



Plate 7



Plate 8



Plate 9



Plate 10



Plate 11

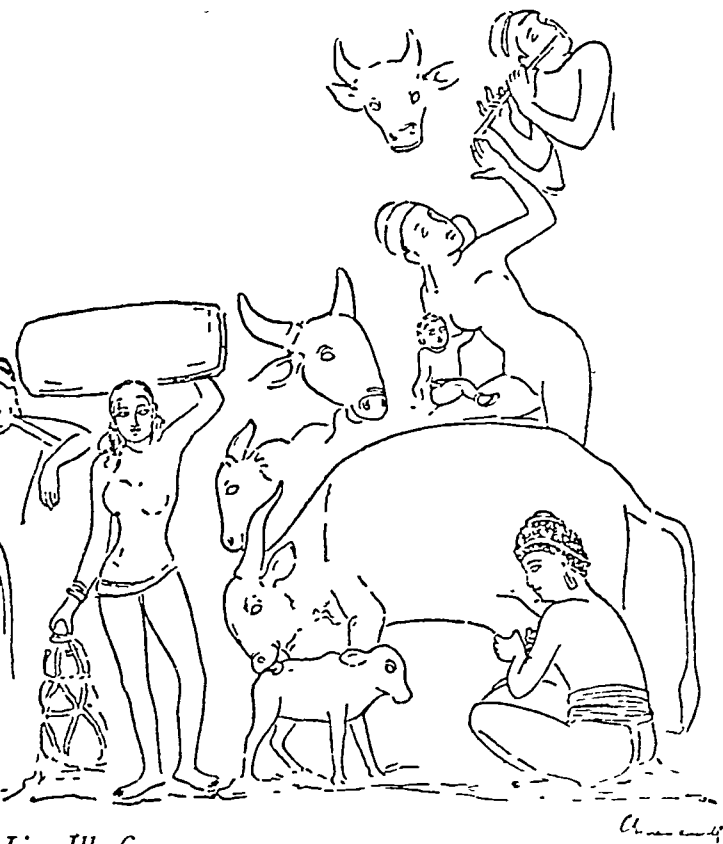
Among the structural temples of the Chāḷukyas, the Virūpāksha and Mallikārjuna temples at Paṭṭadakal, like another group in Alampūr, are outstanding. Herein are found the most remarkable eighth century forms of Śiva. It is refreshing to note that this temple owes its origin to a sculptor from the southern country, brought from Kāñchī by the great connoisseur of art, Vikramāditya, whose queen Trailokyamahādevī, like Raṅgapatākā, another Pallava princess, who helped her husband Rājasimha in his artistic creations at Kāñchī, was keen on beautifying her realm with monuments worthy of her taste and devotion. The architect of the Virūpāksha temple was the great sculptor Chattara Revadi Ovajja who 'made the southern country', i.e. who built temples in the southern country. He belonged to the guild of Sarvasiddhiāchāryas. The *sūtradhārī* Guṇḍa is mentioned in an inscription from the eastern gateway of the courtyard of the Virūpāksha temple as the one who constructed it for Lokamahādevī, the queen of Vikramāditya II, to commemorate his conquest of Kāñchī.

From their capital at Kāñchī, the Pallavas, who ruled the southern territory and were responsible for the earliest caves in South India and the sculptures decorating them, have produced wonderful examples of workmanship, like the gigantic composition of Arjuna's penance at Mahābalipuram, which converts a whole boulder into a monumental carved panel; or the lifting of Govardhana by Kṛishṇa, a unique composition executed with refined taste. The art-minded king Mahendravarman, who assumed the title *Vichitrachitta* 'the curious-minded', justified his *biruda* by starting a craze for artistic creation of such rock-cut caves and free-standing monuments at the beginning of the seventh century. He was also known by the title *Chitrakārāpuḥ*, 'a tiger among artists'. It is no wonder that the patronage of a prince who was himself a sculptor, poet, dramatist, musician, engineer and warrior had a great effect on an appreciative audience that could understand and reward generations of sculptors. The literary work *Udayasundarikathā* mentions patronage offered by the Pallava prince to a distinguished sculptor who repaired a broken image in the shore temple. The greatest masterpiece of the time of Mahendravarman was undoubtedly the Gaṅgādhara panel from one of the earliest caves at Tiruchirāpalli. The favourite theme of the Pallavas, however, was Somāskanda (Pl. 11), so often repeated in their monuments. The most powerful representation of Mahishamardini fighting the buffalo demon is undoubtedly at Mahābalipuram; and it has inspired an almost similar execution at Ellorā in the eighth century. The attack of Madhu and Kaiṭabha, which has its simplest representation at Bhītargāon in the famous terracotta panel, is elaborated a little more at Mahābalipuram. But the scene is tense and effective. The group of simple cowherds and milkmaids amidst cattle and the lively milking scene in the Govardhandhāri Kṛishṇa group (Line III. 6), the large concourse of celestials, humans and demigods

like Nāgas, Siddhas and others approaching Arjuna in severe penance to obtain Śiva's Pāśupata weapon, illustrate the artistic fecundity of the Pallava sculptor. The quaint animal groups, like the monkeys and the elephants, suggest his tender study of life and nature. His capacity as a portraitist is demonstrated effectively in the great panels illustrating Simhavishṇu and his queens, Mahendravarman and his consorts, and Narasiṃha himself, all at Mahābalipuram. The structural temple of Kailāsanātha at Kāñchīpuram, belonging to the time of Rājasiṃha, has a treasure of iconographic sculpture in addition to sonorous titles (*virudas*) of the ruler in fine calligraphy. The later Vaikunthanātha temple has a series of sculptures with appropriate legends for each individual panel narrating Pallava history.

The Pallavas were succeeded by the Cholas who were responsible during the early phase of their rule for building small but beautiful shrines that dotted the banks of the river Kaverī on both sides. The Anbil plates of Sundarachōḷa narrate how Āditya, the son of Vijayālaya, created temples all along the river bank, like banners to proclaim his victories that won him an enlarged empire. Gajāntaka from Kodumbāḷūr, like Kālāntaka and Naṭarāja himself or even Gaṅgādhara, are fine examples of this early work. Sembian-mā-devī, the great queen of the Chōḷa monarch Gandarāditya, has for ever been enshrined in the hearts of lovers of art as a royal patron who kept innumerable artists busy by her munificence and sympathy and raised several monuments during her long and dedicated life. At the peak of their power, the Chōḷas erected two gigantic temples, the father at Tañjāvūr and the son at Gaṅgaikondachōḷapuram, both decorated with monumental sculptures. Rājendra, one of the greatest conquerors that India has known, built a new capital at Gaṅgaikondachōḷapuram, excavated a large tank, a liquid pillar of victory as it were, beside the temple of Śiva that he created as a thanksgiving to commemorate his great victories in India and abroad; and filling the several miles long tank with the water from the Gangetic area that he subdued and obtained by his demand of a strange tribute of water from the holy stream, assumed the title 'the Ghola who brought home the Ganges'. With his mighty navy, never before or after excelled, he brought low the pride of the Śailendra monarch, whose sway in South East Asia was, till Rājendra met him in battle, unassailed. Among the several panels decorating this magnificent temple, he had himself portrayed in one, as a humble devotee of Śiva, in the guise of Chaṇḍeśa, receiving the blessing of the Lord Chandeśānugrahamūrti, the best known and the most artistically executed of all the sculptural panels here (Pl. 12).

Contemporaries of the Pallavas farther south were the Pāṇḍyas who had created several interesting cave temples at Tirumalaipuram, Tirupparamkunram and other places. It is, however, the rock-cut temple at Kalugumalai, richly decorated with arresting sculptures and almost appearing as a miniature Kailāsa from Ellorā in subtler and more delicate



Line Ill. 6



Plate 12

form, that is considered the daintiest dream of the Pāṇḍyan sculptor, with a perfection of sculptural skill in its decoration that has rarely been excelled (Pl. 13) The rock-cut temple at Tirumalaipuram has the simplest form of iconography. A panel at Tirupparamkunram showing the dancing Śiva and celestial spectators, including Devī, her hand resting on her maid, with the Nandi bull very close to her also engrossed in appreciation of his master's skill in a great art, is a most charming work of sculpture.

The early Cheras, who were contemporaries of the Pāṇḍyas to the west, have also built similar cave temples and structural temples. The Viḷiṅjam cave with its interesting façade has rock-cut figure carvings of great iconographic and aesthetic import. The many-armed Tripurāntaka to the right of the entrance of the cave illustrates the finished grace of early Chera sculpture, while the still unfinished panel to the left, showing the dancing Śiva, watched by his consort, is nevertheless suggestively beautiful.

After the conquest of Vengī by Puḷakeśin, his younger brother Kubjavishnuvardhana was established in this new capital, whence started the new branch of the Chālukyas known as the Eastern, which created some of the most lovely temples at Bezwāḍa, Drakshārāma, Biccavol and other places. The earlier monolithic *dvārapālas* of the Eastern Chālukya school, now in the Madras Museum, arrest attention (Line Ill. 7). One of these bears an inscription which gives the name of Guṇḍaya, the court sculptor of the Lord of Vengī, who fashioned it. The wig-like arrangement of hair, the disposition of the arms, the massive and powerful limbs composing the contours of these giants, the long *yajñopavīta* of flowers in one case and a chain of tinkling bells in another, compel attention. The musical figures from a now ruined *mandapa* in Jāmidoddi at Bezwāḍa are also as attractive.

The early Western Chālukyas were displaced by the Rāshtrakūtas in the eighth century and as great warriors and rulers of a vast empire, they have left the most unforgettable monument of Kailāsa at Ellorā, which is probably the greatest wonder in the architectural history of India. This was fashioned by Kṛishṇa, and is a tribute to the artistic imagination and ambition of the greatest of the Rāshtrakūta monarchs (Line Ill. 8). This great monument, as a later Rāshtrakūta copper-plate grant describes it, aroused the admiration of even the celestials, who paused awhile on their heavenly course, to gaze at the beauty of so splendid a monument.

The late Western Chālukyas who succeeded the Rāshtrakūtas in the Deccan and ruled from Kalyānī developed a highly decorative style where the brackets against the pillars are a continuation of an earlier tradition. These later Chālukyas elaborated the plan of the temple as well as the decoration, and went into minute details of chisel work, providing floral canopy and background of cloud, with innumerable intricately carved figures composing the decoration of every inch of the structure, the large plinths, ceiling of the *mandapa*, elaborate pillars and the outer

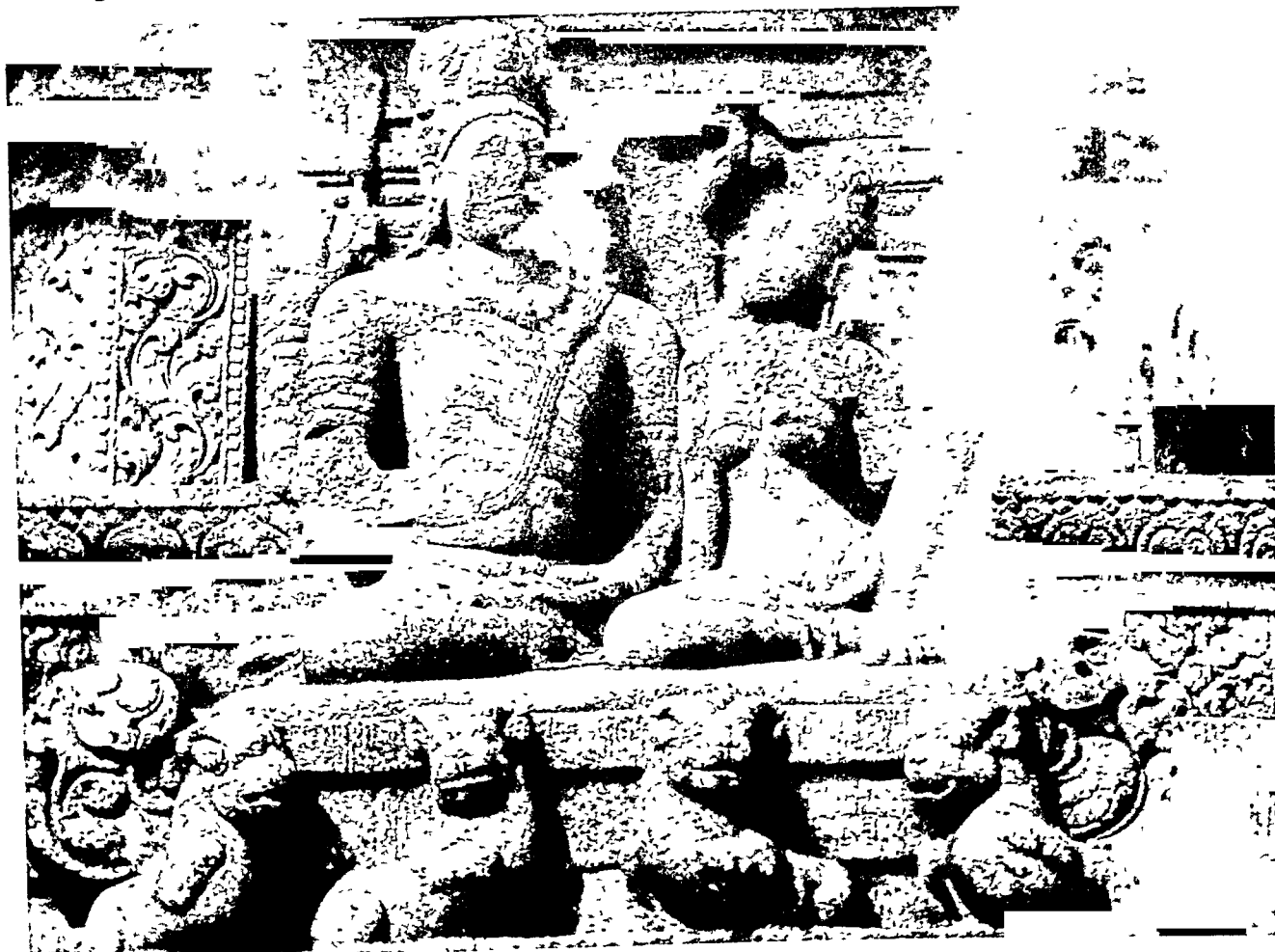


Line Ill. 7



Line Ill. 8

Plate 13



walls of the temples lending themselves freely for this decorative work.

The Hoysaḷas of Dorasamudra, like their contemporaries, the Kākatīyas of Wāraṅgal in Andhra Pradesh, continued the tradition of the Western Chāḷukyas, whose subordinates they originally were. Their sculpture in the territory of Mysore is almost drowned in decorative detail: the canopy of foliage, heavily decked crowns and jewels, long tassels and tails for attributes, weapons and so forth. The highly decorative carving from Halebīd (Pl. 14), Belūr, Somnāthpūr and other places illustrate the best of Hoysaḷa workmanship. The bracket figures from Pālampet, Hanamkoṇḍa (Line Ill. 9) and other places, and the long *toraṇa* lintel from Wāraṅgal (Pl. 15) are typical of the more elongate Kākatīya work which is less florid than Hoysaḷa.

With a distinctive style of their own, the Eastern Gaṅgas who ruled in Orissa created charming little temples which gradually developed and finally assumed gigantic proportions. The Paraśurāmeśvara with a group of musicians that are almost reminiscent of the Gupta style at the entrance of the *jagamohana*, the Mukteśvara temple with delicate sculpture on its perforated screens and a whole series of Nāginīs in the most attractive attitudes, as well as the charming Rājārāṇi temple at Bhubaneśvara, so different from the rest but yet so close to them, the *śikhara* of its *deul* being closer to many others from the Chandella area, owing to its decoration with a whole series of miniature *śikharas* composing the *uruṣṅga* pattern, represent the earliest phase, while the titanic figure carving decorating the Liṅgarāja and at Koṇārak typify the later (Pl. 16). The Mukteśvara temple is a sculptor's dream realized, with its dainty carvings, the charming *deul* and *jagamohana*, the arched *toraṇa* gateway, the courtyard and the water-laden tank reflecting the entire monument. The series of monumental figures of musicians at Koṇārak are also remarkable. The intricate carving and the multiplicity of design and pattern in the decoration (Line Ill. 10) of the Sun Temple proclaim the creative skill of the sculptor of Koṇārak (Pl. 17). In the erstwhile state of Mayūrbhaṅj in Orissa there developed a very pleasing local style which is not only distinctive but far surpassing in its charm anything achieved anywhere else in Orissa.

The Gurjara-Pratīhāras, who succeeded the Vardhanas, with a large empire and ample resources continued their tradition. Their monuments have provided the best examples of early mediaeval work in North India. The Vardhana phase of art is illustrated in the dainty feminine bust, the braid decorated with pearls that vie with the curls arranged on the forehead, and the diaphanous drapery with lovely lace work. An excellent Gurjara-Pratīhāra piece is the *Vṛkshakā* from Gyāraspur in the Gwalior Museum (Pl. 18), a never to be forgotten feminine bust, that illustrates the charm of a celestial nymph (Pl. 19), pointedly drawing attention to every little contour.



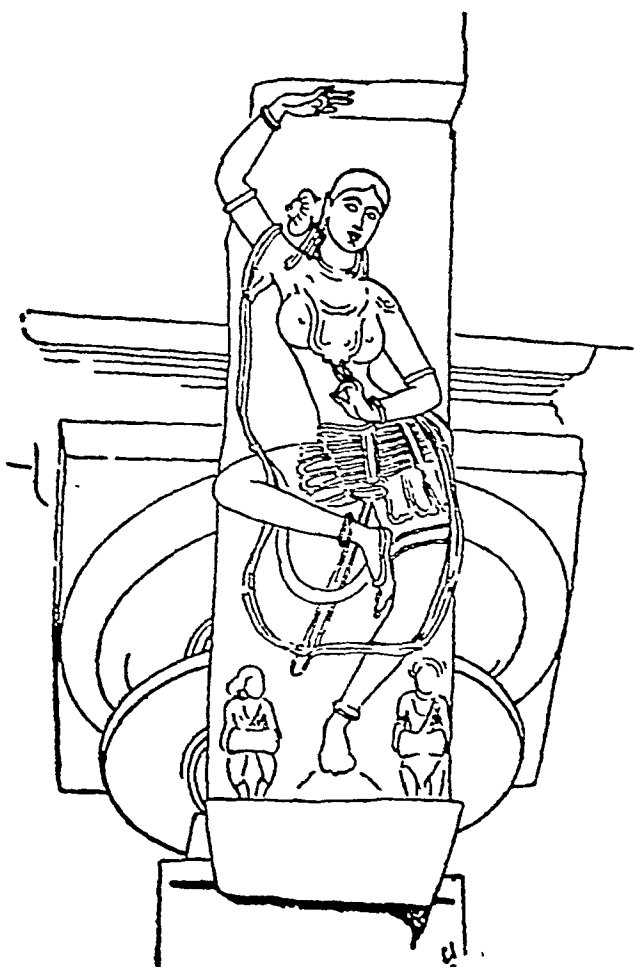
Plate 14



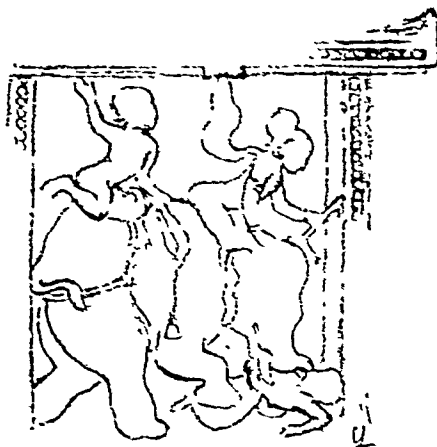
Plate 16

Plate 15





Line Ill. 9



Some of the most beautiful sculptures of the Pratihāras have been found at Kanauj. Among these the Virāṭpurusha in his *Viśvarūpa* form is outstanding. Around this figure innumerable groups of celestials are arranged to compose the multiform aspect of Viṣṇu, answering the vivid verbal picture in the *Bhagavad Gītā* and the *Purushasūkta* of the *R̥gveda*. Similarly the marriage of Śiva from Rājasthān is an excellent example that vies with the composition of the same theme from Kanauj.

Paramāra Bhoja is known not only for his poetry, engineering skill and philosophic thought, but also for his aesthetic taste. The Paramāras who ruled from Mālwa created amazing temples like the Udayeśvara at Udaipur and executed sculptural decoration of which the dancing Śiva on the façade of the shrine is magnificent. Another famous example is the inscribed Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, consecrated by the art-loving and scholarly Bhoja in his university at Dhārā, his capital, as an inscription on the pedestal of the sculpture records (Pl. 20).

Innumerable monuments were raised by the Chandrātreyas, or the Chandellas as they were known, who had their important seats at Mahobā and Khajurāho, whence they ruled a large kingdom. These temples have offered for study a wealth of iconographic detail and an astounding variety of motifs like the *mithunas*, *surasundarīs* (Pl. 21, 22, 23) and long friezes illustrating contemporary life of the period in general. An inscription on the pedestal of a Chandella sculpture from Mahobā mentions a painter by the name of Chintanaka who was equally at home in sculpting. Even a young bride of the house could describe herself as a carver of the beautiful Tārā image, though, out of modesty, she could not give her name, but only announced herself as the daughter-in-law of the famous painter Satana.

From their capital at Tripurī ruled the Chediś, also known as the Haihayas, who claim descent from Kārtavīrya Arjuna. Their kingdom lay to the east of the territory of the Chandellas whose neighbours they were. Their distinctive style is, however, very close to that of the Chandellas and the Paramāras, as all these owed their inspiration to the earlier, Pratihāra tradition. The *torana* from Rewā, with exquisite carvings of Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa and Varāha and a particularly interesting scene of the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, is one of the most impressive examples of Haihaya work. The sixty-four *yoginīs* at Bherāghāt, most of them inscribed, also provide examples illustrating this phase of art.

The Pālas who ruled over Bengal and Bihar dedicated themselves not only to the religion of the Buddha but, with their appreciation of art and architecture, made possible the use of art for the glory of their faith. There were zealous monarchs like Dharmapāla, who gave an impetus not only to Buddhism but also to art. Several sculptures and bronzes date from the reign of Dharmapāla. The policy of the Pālas to encourage the Buddhist mission sent by the Śailendra emperors



Plate 18



Plate 19



Plate 20



Plate 21



Plate 22



Plate 23

from south-east Asia accounts for the perceptible mutual influences in the Javanese and the Pāla art of the period. The Avalokiteśvara from Nālandā (Pl. 24), the Narteśvara from Śankarbandhā in Bangladesh, (Line Ill. 11), the only known example in metal of a dancing form of Śiva of this school, which was brought by Rājendra Choḷa as a war trophy to his own territory in the south, Hrīṣīkeśa from Sāgardīghī, Vishnu with his consorts from Raṅgpur, Sūrya from Kāśīpur, to mention only a few, offer typical examples.

In Kashmir, the earlier Karkoṭa dynasty, and the later Utpala, of which the most famous rulers are Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya and Avantivarman respectively, were responsible for beautiful monuments, which unfortunately survive today only in fragments, like the Mārtaṇḍ, the monumental temple of the Sun-god belonging to the time of Lalitāditya, the Avantasvāmi temple of Vishṇu and the Avantiśvara temple of Śiva, both dating from the time of Avantivarman. These exhibit the distinctive style of Kashmir, with some Gandhāra influence still persisting in the mediaeval period. The portrait of Avantivarman and his queens, deities like Kāma with his consorts Rati and Prīti, or the three-faced Śiva and the Mātṛikās, are all interesting examples. A great favourite in Kashmir is the Vaikuṇṭha form of Vishnu with four faces, Narasimha, Varāha and Kapila in addition to the normal face, with the personified weapons Gadādevī and Chakrapurusha on either side, and Pṛthvī arising out of the earth below.

The tradition of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras was continued in Rājasthān and Gujarat by the Chauḷukyas. The temple at Modhera with its exquisite carvings is a fine example of the eleventh century work in this region. Slightly later examples are the handsomely carved gateways of which the one at Dabhoi is a typical example. But the best known and the most appreciated monuments of the Chauḷukyas are those at Mount Abu where the intricate and delicate carving both on the outside of the shrine, on the pillars, brackets and ceilings of the *maṇḍapa* inside, amaze and please spectators. The story of Neminātha, the long frieze of dancers and musicians, the groups of Vidyādhara, the *āsvatharas*, *gajatharas* and the decorative detail, all in marble, are a tribute to the great connoisseur minister of the thirteenth century, Tejahpāla.

The Pāla tradition spread to Nepal and gave rise to early examples like Kālīyākṛiṣṇa from the old palace at Kaṭhmandu and the Viśvarūpa from the Chaṅgu Nārāyaṇa temple of Vishnu, which are the most elaborate and the most pleasing examples illustrating these themes. Gaṅgādhara in Nepal art has a special charm on account of the dancing *gaṅgāvataṛaṇa karaṇa* illustrating the descent of Gaṅgā on the locks of Śiva, a mode of depiction not known anywhere in India.

After the imperial Choḷas, the greatest Hindu empire was that of Vijayanagara, the art of the early phase of which is represented by



Plate 24



Line Ill. 11



Line Ill. 12

exquisite sculptural decoration of the Rāmaswāmi temple at Tādpatri on the river bank (Line III 12). At the height of the glory of this empire, when Krishnadeva Rāya flourished as the greatest emperor in the Deccan, magnificent temples were created, for instance the Kṛishna temple and the Vitthala temple at Hampi; several towers styled *rāyalagopuras* are attributed to this great monarch, along with exquisitely carved and decorated pillared halls with prancing horses, *yālīs* and lions with fabulous riders, at Velūr, Kāñchīpuram and Śrīraṅgam. Like the flicker of the flame before it is extinguished, there was a spurt in the seventeenth century, when the great Nāyak ruler Tirumala of Madurai created monumental carvings to decorate his *gopuras*, the *pudumaṇḍapa* and other pillared halls in the Mīnākshī temple. The charming figure of Rati riding a parrot and the marriage of Pārvatī, the portrait of the king and his queens and the very interesting caricatures of gypsies, hunters and highway robbers depicted as decoration on the pillars are illustrative of this period. With the end of the Nāyak rule in the south, sculptural work became stereotyped and so convention-ridden that no aesthetic quality can be attributed to carving thereafter.

Introduction to Indian Painting

Rai Anand Krishna

Painting was popular in ancient India. There are profuse literary references to it. The themes and techniques were comprehensively discussed and the aesthetics well explained. The paintings were done mainly on textiles, on palm leaf, on wood and, above all, on walls. Paper was unknown before the thirteenth century.

The earliest known examples of painting appear in Caves 9 and 10 at Ajanta and belong to the second and first centuries B.C. At one time the caves were profusely illustrated, but it appears that they were overpainted with new panels later in the wake of the Mahāyāna movement (circa A.D. fifth century).

The style of these paintings already shows considerable advance in form and formalization. Yet the earliest scene — a *rājā* or a *yaksha* visiting a *stūpa* (Cave 10) — preserves a primitive quality that is also visible in the original Andhra style of sculpture which is contemporaneous with these painted panels. The human group lacks individual treatment to the extent that the same facial types and expressions are repeated. Yet in decoration and in the slow and dignified movements, sculptural qualities are maintained. The panels in Cave 9 show the influence of the same school. These panels introduce a wider horizon in the *Chhaddanta Jātaka* scene or the *Shyāma Jātaka*.

The practice of painting in western India seems to have remained dormant in the early centuries of the Christian era. We encounter it once again about the middle of the fifth century, when new caves were excavated in Ajanta (and elsewhere) and earlier work was painted over. In the meantime the Āndhrās and the western Kshatrapas were replaced in the Deccan by the Vākātakas. It is through this dynasty that the national Gupta style of art was diffused in that region. The Mahāyāna style at Ajanta derived inspiration from the Gupta style, as is evident from its similarity to the northern Indian Gupta sculpture.

As cave after cave was hewn from living rock, the artist met the challenge of painting vast surfaces on the walls. The wealth of themes offered by the life of the Buddha, the *Jātakas* and other Buddhist stories, and the Mahāyāna iconography gave him endless opportunities to paint. In addition, the artists' own traditional knowledge, particularly in the treatment of mythological birds and animals or vegetable and geometric designs, was given free play on the ceilings and the side spaces.

There is hardly any special sequence in the scenes, or in their spacing; yet there is a sense of harmony. Some important panels from the mature Gupta-Vākātika group deserve special mention. This was the period (A.D. 450), when the style was ripe enough to produce classically harmonious images in painted scenes. Soon afterwards the style appears in an over-ripe stage only to degenerate in the succeeding centuries. The standing figure of *Padmapāṇi Bodhisattva* (Cave 1) on the side of the Buddha chapel shows the graceful curve and the youthful figure.

In spite of heavy jewellery the figure exudes the ascetic feeling and its half closed eyes seem to cast a look from the Bodhisattva's paradise at the mortals below. The artist has triumphed in depicting the traditional *Karuṇā drishti* of the Saviour.

An unidentified scene (Cave 2), possibly the same episode divided into two registers, shows a youthful king threatening a damsel with his sword.¹ The unfortunate victim is pleading innocence and, prostrating herself at the tyrant's feet, is begging for her life. The other inmates of the harem are panic-stricken. Rarely have such subtle human sentiments been so well expressed elsewhere in Indian art. In the lower register, we find an old man expressing his grief to a crowned and enthroned personage.

Nor is the animal world less eloquently painted, for the *Jātaka* stories include birds and animals along with humans. The birds and animals are, in fact, attributed human character. These offered the painter unlimited scope to express his deep love for nature. The animals (or birds) appear with a subdued naturalism and their habitats lead the painter to depict the rich and green tropical forests.

The Gupta-Vākāṭaka style seems to have developed in scenes like the "Dying Princess" (Cave 17), the *Mahājanaka Jātaka* (Cave 1), and the *Vidura Paṇḍita Jātaka* (Cave 2). One cannot fail to notice that the human postures are more accentuated, the hand postures more complex, eyes petrified, ends of hair stiff, the modelling coarse, the body frames heavy and the artists' attitude towards nature generally casual. These are enough hints for the gradual formalization of the style which was to engulf the tradition in the succeeding centuries. Similarly we find cross-currents of the Chālukyan style of paintings in the latest panels from Ajanta² which must have considerably changed the painter's outlook. The latest groups of painting from Ajanta show degeneration of the classical style to introduce even the "farther-eyed" human figures.³

Wall paintings continue as the sole source of our information in the succeeding centuries. In addition to Gupta-Vākāṭaka there are examples of Chālukyan painting at Bādāmi (sixth century), and lamentably tiny fragments of the Pallava murals at the Kailāsanātha Swāmī temple (at Kāñchī), and at the Nārttāmalāi temple. South Indian wall paintings are also exemplified in the wall paintings in the *pradakshinapatha* of the great Brihadiśvara temple at Tanjore (circa A.D. 1020). The Draviḍa style maintained its regional character in the scenes, yet the Chola version is much more vibrant than its thickly set Pallava predecessor. In the Chola style the movements are brisk, though the treatment shows angularities of form.

On the other hand, the wall paintings in the Deccan, as known from the successive layers of the Ellora murals, show a steep decline in quality. These panels were repeatedly overpainted and because they

have flaked, revealing the different layers, the art historian finds clues for studying the gradual progress in the style. The history of paintings at Ellora shows a range of six to eight centuries of evolution (or degeneration), starting from about the eighth or ninth century.

An extension of the classical style continues for three centuries, in Eastern Indian manuscript-illustrations (Fig. 1), beginning from their first appearance in the late tenth century. These manuscripts, invariably Mahāyāna Buddhist texts, were interspersed with rectangular panels, showing assorted scenes from Buddhist mythology. Paper being unknown during this period, the carrier was palm leaf, in which the length was considerable, up to 90 cm., but the breadth was hardly 8 cm.

Opulent Gujarati traders in western India, who were mostly Śvetāmbara Jains by faith, sponsored production of illustrated copies of their sacred texts. The earliest examples of this series are found in the twelfth century, but the tradition might go farther back. This group of manuscript-illustrations gained immense popularity in that community and the style reigned until the sixteenth century, when a revival took place.

These illustrated panels can be linked with the later group of the Ellora wall paintings; however, we find that the expressions at this stage are completely stereotyped. The style is marked by its angularities: pointed nose and chin, the sharp farther eye extending out of the facial contour, the excessively flexed body with bulging chest, and a petrified look. When we look at the formalization of the style we can imagine the effort which the new revival must have involved in breaking the shackles of such traditions in the sixteenth century. The earlier paintings in this group are mainly restricted to iconographic panels showing the Śvetāmbara Jain divinities.

In the realm of manuscript painting, a significant change was ushered in by the introduction of paper (about the thirteenth century). The revolution is felt in the Śvetāmbara Jain scenes, when we sense a new vitality in the divine figures, although the old traditions were still firm and the expressions were on the level of folk art. The *Kalpasūtra* manuscript in the *Dev Shah no Pado Jain Bhandar* at Ahmedabad is a fine example of this class. The margins of this manuscript have a profusion of danseuses and an inexhaustible variety of floral or vegetal designs. These show freshness in expression (Fig. 2).

The style seems to have outgrown the geographical limits of western India and spread, particularly after the fourteenth century, to centres of art and culture outside Gujarat.

This new vitality is also evident in the large-sized cloth paintings. Here again the main figures continued to be static, but the backgrounds with human and animal figures were painted with a new sensitivity.

The fifteenth century in northern India is significant for many reasons,

including the introduction of non-Jain themes in the western Indian painting. This style seems to have gained universal popularity and, therefore, its application was no longer limited to Śvetāmbara Jain themes. The *Vasanta Vilāsa* illustrated panels show a freedom in style and successful rendering of carnal joy. Its settings are forerunners of some of the Rajasthani paintings of the seventeenth century.

Another factor was influencing the *Apabhramśa* style (already mentioned above): this was first indicated by the illustrations for the *Kālakāchāya Kathā* manuscripts strictly in traditional idiom. The episodes demanded introduction of the *Sāhis*, the north-westerners, and the painters used a human type drawn from contemporary Persian or Central Asian painting.⁴ It is interesting that such forms were exclusively reserved for the *Sāhis*, while the Indians, deities or humans, were invariably shown in the illustrations according to tradition.

Parallel to the *Apabhramśa* style of painting, which was invariably a middle-class art, flourished court styles of Muslim Sultans. Here the Timurid and Indian styles merged in various degrees (Fig. 3).

Hindu and Muslim saints, and kings and warriors like Kumbhā, Zainul-Abdīn, Hussain Shāh Sharki and Mān Tomar gave a new impetus to art and culture.

Although this new idiom of painting goes by the name of Rajasthani School of painting the style was prevalent, in its sub-styles, all over north India. That is, it represented a national movement in our culture. This new style is not only a negation of the *Apabhramśa* style; it also represents a new mode of expression parallel to the rise of the Vrajabhāshā poetry or the newly evolved Dhruvapada music. *Kṛishṇalīlā* led the popular imagination and the artist combined the traditions of the *Bālagopāla Stuti* and of the *Vasanta Vilāsa* to show Kṛishṇa's childlike aspect and to depict him as a lover. These paintings and a variety of amorous Sanskrit or early Vrajabhāshā texts offered unlimited scope to the painter, which helped to stretch his imagination. Compendia like the *Mahābhārata* were illustrated (A.D. 1517). Naturally, these scenes led the style to much wider vistas and offered opportunities for the introduction of newer themes. The best and most developed instance of the high Rajasthani style of that period is represented in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* paintings. These are based on the love poems of the popular Sanskrit poet, Bilhana, and depict nuances of the amorous mood, *Śṛīngāra-rasa*. However, the painter derives full advantage from the abstracted situations depicted in the verses and completes the scenes with the help of his own imagination.

The advent of the Mughal style marked a new era in Indian painting. After two generations of Mughal rule in India, the new style was promulgated by Akbar, who possessed the rare gift of understanding the real nature of things. He carefully selected the traditional Indian



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

masters from important centres of Indian Sultanate art. The Akbari painting mainly includes manuscript paintings, portraits and, in its later stages, copies of European painting, which were liked by the Mughal court.

Akbar chose a variety of themes to be illustrated: Persian poetry, history, and Indian mythology and fables (in their Persian form). While the illustrators of the Persian texts Indianized the traditional Timurid forms, in Indian text illustrations the "*Kāshmirī*" (Himalayan) style was revived and was dominant. However, it is in the creativity and experimentation of forms that the early Akbari artists excelled. Their grand ideas are well expressed in the turbulent style of the *Hamzā-Nāma* cloth paintings.

Portraits are important. Traditional portraits were known in Indian art prior to Mughal period but they were marked by a subdued naturalism and decorativism. The faces were impersonal. Similarly, portraiture in its restricted sense was practised in the Timurid (Persian) style also. These two traditions, under the heavy influence of the European portraits, which, as already noted, were available to the Mughal court in good number, excited the imagination of the Akbari artists and their royal patron.

On the solid foundation of Akbari painting rose the high edifice of the Mughal school, whose successive generations of patrons and practitioners were content to remodel the traditions according to their personal predilections. Jahangir as Salim (crown prince to Akbar) continued the use of the later Akbari style; at the same time he introduced an extension of the Shirazī style. Again an era of fusion started in the Mughal painting. However, an independent Jahangiri style of painting established itself soon. The paintings from this epoch are remarkable for their refinement, which is reflected not only in the fine treatment, the fluent line drawing, and the soft colour tones, but also in the delicate feelings which they subtly express. -

Following the ideals of the illustrated manuscripts of the Persian *ateliers*, Jahangiri painters provided beautiful *hāshiyās* (mounts) for their paintings. In the case of the *shabīh* (portrait), the associates of the personage or scenes related to his life were depicted (Fig. 4). In illustrating popular stories, even subordinate episodes were introduced. In addition, a host of practically unrelated panels showing the luxurious garden life of the Mughals appeared in the margins.⁵ The latter reflect varied pastimes, like singing, dancing, book reading, metaphysical discussions, love making, drinking and so on. Even the crafts contemporary to the painter are introduced on the *hāshiyās*.

As more and more emphasis was laid on refined treatments, or on the outer forms, the Shahjahani paintings gradually assumed a more formal approach to art. These are generally too formal in their expressions: the grandees surround the king, in strict court protocol like dummies with folded hands. Naturally the scenes focus on the highest point, that is the

Emperor. Following the old tradition, a number of idealized studies of youthful girls were produced; they appear as designs rather than human figures.

Finally there was the Aurangzeb period which was only a continuation and crystallization of the Shahjahani style, suggesting complete lack of the court's interest in this field.

Post-Aurangzeb painting in Delhi represents a gradual slackening of the rigid control of the court traditions during the following generations and the introduction of the popular themes. Traditional Indian themes including folk stories and parallel episodes found an honoured place in the eighteenth century Mughal painting.

Absence of a strong central authority, resulting in sporadic political upheavals and finally the big blow which came in the form of Nādir Shāh's invasion of Delhi, led to the decadence of the Mughal style. The Mughal emperors of this period had hardly any lofty ideas left toward creative painting so that the style declined in the matter of creativity as well as quality. A steep deterioration occurred in the middle of the eighteenth century. However, possibly under the influence of the Rajasthani painting traditions, painters in the Mughal court introduced use of thick foliage with decorative leaves. The occasional introduction of mango trees overladen with fruits or similar motifs suggests Indian feeling of the spring in later Mughal painting. The rough and uncontrolled use of this technique in the later Mughal painting mars the pictorial values of the scenes. In technical details, Mughal paintings after *circa* 1750 show a rapid decline in quality. A number of Persian stories were introduced but the main emphasis remained on the girls (even the fairies were girls, after all!). Yet nothing could stop the rapid fall of the later Mughal painting. The final blow came in the form of the *firangī* art style which gradually changed the outlook. Their ivory painting based on stippled modelling caught the imagination of the painters and patrons in Delhi and this technique almost dislodged the traditional Mughal style. This last group of paintings produced at the Mughal court hardly deserve any attention.⁶

We have noticed above that the Mughal painting originated due to fusion of the Rajasthani and the Timurid traditions, and that the Rajasthani painting was in its own turn an expression of the cultural revival of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Another revival of the Rajasthani style took place in the seventeenth century, resulting from the Rajputs' contact with the Mughal court. Thus the history of the Rajasthani sub-schools mirrors mainly the fusion of the two cultures at varying levels. Let us consider this development now. The seventeenth century ushered in the emergence of local styles in Rajasthan and in Malwa. If we classify the styles, three major groups are seen flourishing side by side, each representing its own tradition of conventionalized treatments. The



Bhairavi Rāgini. Rajasthani School. circa 1630 A.D.

first and major group is illustrated by the Mewar, Bundi and Malwa paintings; the second by the paintings of western and south-western Rajasthan (mainly in Jodhpur and its vicinity), while the third style, mostly known from the recent discoveries, flourished in the Amber region. The Marwar style is intimately related to the Gujarat illustrations while the other two groups show a relationship with the *Chaurapañchāśikā* tradition (discussed above). Nevertheless one must not ignore the fact that from the seventeenth century onwards, each of the above-named centres was striving to evolve its own art forms or, in other words, its own conventionalized treatment, to be followed by successive generations of its artists. Such individual modes of treatment can be seen in the sub-styles at Mewar, Bundi, Amber, Jodhpur and so on.

It would be interesting to consider the themes of the Rajasthani painting in the early seventeenth century. As noticed above, the Rajasthani painting reflected the cultural revival of the pre-Mughal Sultanate period. Along with the traditional themes appeared Sanskrit texts like the *Chaurapañchāśikā*, *Gīta Govinda*, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *Rāgamālā* and others. It is possible that texts dealing with love like the *Rasamañjarī* and the *Amaru Śataka* (whose later illustrations are available) similarly spurred the imagination of the artist-painter, but no examples of such illustrations are known from the sixteenth century. The period coincided with the rise in Vallabhite Vaishnavism and its spread over the Rajput royal houses of Rajasthan proved a potent stimulus for the reintroduction of the *Kṛishnalīlā* paintings. Similarly, by end of the sixteenth century, Hindi Vrajabhāshā poetry and its popularity among the elite provided a new source of inspiration to painter and patron.

The question arises as to how far the Mughal painting itself influenced the Rajasthani artists, and their style. From the intimate association of their patrons with the Mughal court, the Rajasthani style overtly derived strength from the Mughal traditions. Yet, looking deep into the nature of the treatment, there is little doubt that it never lost sight of its intrinsic qualities; for example, in the selection of themes, and their decorative and conventionalized treatment, the painters continued to follow established norms.

Mewar presents a connected history in the style of painting. From the very beginning (there are firmly dated *Rāgamālā* paintings of A.D. 1605)⁷ it reflects individuality in the treatment of the background. This is how the style was founded and the conventions established.

A major transformation of the Mewar school of painting took place under Rana Jagat Singh's patronage when his chief artist Sahabdin (probably a descendant of Nisardin, and in any case an ardent follower of the latter's style) produced one series of paintings after the other (Fig. 5). His *magnum opus* stands as the illustrated copy of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, whose painted panels at the time of its production must have run into thousands.

There are not many original compositions of the later seventeenth century. One great example is available in the form of the *Gīta Govinda* illustrations, noted for their subtle expressions of pangs of love or the lyrical images of Kṛishna and the *gopīs*. The last decades of that century witnessed fulfilment of the school when traditionalism and sophistication reached a logical point to meet one another. The paintings show restrained but graceful movements and meaningful use of colour.⁸

The Mewar style took a new turn with the advent of the eighteenth century. Series after series of paintings, running into several hundred illustrations each, were produced. We find that most of the paintings from that stage show casual and dry treatment and it is only on rare occasions that a spark of talent is discovered. Thus the stage was set for the rise of a new style on the foundations of the old traditions.

The Amar Singh II period produced heavily shaded paintings in Mewar but this was simply a passing phase. However, this technique left a permanent mark on the still later paintings in which, as in the later Mughal painting, the shading was applied indiscriminately and crudely. But in the twenties of the eighteenth century a new wave swept Mewari painting. The style shows freshness in the treatment of landscape but is weak on human figures, who are no match for the vigorous men and women appearing in the Mewari painting of the seventeenth century. The anthology (the *Satsai*) of Bihari Lal, the popular poet in Vrajabhāshā, and similar themes were new sources of inspiration to the Mewari painters.

At this stage we begin to find many individual portraits and scenes from the life of the Mahārāṇās of Mewar. The harem scenes continued to be popular and a variety of harem life was reflected in the amorous scenes; yet they were not restricted to traditional settings of lovers on a terrace. Besides, various festivals, sports and cultural pursuits of the harem were also depicted in these paintings. Like the Mughal painting, these Mewari illustrations idealized the female form. The Mahārāṇās were the only figures with authenticity in an otherwise unreal and romantic environment. The painters show sensitivity in their treatment of the hills and lakes of the Mewar landscape. The wild life of the area is also introduced, and there is graphic delineation of the beasts and the traditional (sometimes quite ingenious and sadistic) methods of killing. The theme of the elephant fight has endowed these paintings with power and exciting movement.

Nearest in expression to the Mewar school was Malwa painting. Possibly it remained active at the popular level and was hardly accepted as a court art. Yet it covered a fairly wide region, stretching from western Bundelkhand to eastern Rajasthan. Some themes were very popular in the Malwa style, for example: the *Rasikapriyā*, the *Amarū Śataka*, the *Rāgamālā*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and *Rāma Līlā* (Fig. 6). In considering Malwa painting, special notice should be taken of its singular distortion of natural

and human forms, its typical colour contrast, and its keen sense of composition. In the Rāmāyaṇa illustrations (*circa* A.D. 1640), we find the artist creating geometrical settings and arranging the human beings, animals, trees, rivers and clouds to counterbalance one another. Striking colour contrasts are successfully employed. From the middle of the seventeenth century the school — at least in one of its sub-styles — was influenced by Mughal naturalism, which toned it down to sophistication. Yet it did not lose its creativity. Whether it was a musical scene or a battle which was depicted, these paintings continued to be brilliant in rhythmic design from which the painters derived full delight. Mythological episodes offered a world of fanciful forms in which grotesque figures were usually introduced, providing opportunity for considerable inventiveness of design.

The third important school of painting from the group under discussion flourished at Bundi. The first examples that we have are from the early seventeenth century, when the style had already matured, and was heavily influenced by Mewari traditions and also by Akbari painting. Unfortunately the examples are limited to a few *Rāgamālā* paintings, two of them identical. These were used as prototypes throughout the span of the style over the next two hundred years or more.

However, the Bundi artist could not remain content with the illustration of such traditional and stereotyped themes. Soon he found expression in the portraits of his patrons. These show a rare sense of vitality.

In the eighteenth century, the Bundi style had a chequered history. Many new motifs were created, some of them modelled after Mughal originals, while others parallel to them, to show a variety of expression of feminine grace. Mughal painters might have been invited to work for the Bundi court or their work was possibly used by local painters as a model.

The Kota school of painting arose as an offshoot of Bundi painting. But in the last quarter of the eighteenth century it evolved a facial type which was independent of Bundi style. As in the parent Bundi style, so in the Kota paintings, *śukār* scenes attained popularity in the late eighteenth century. The Kota artist excelled his Bundi colleague in depicting nature in its full glory.

As we turn to the Marwar group, we find its early history shrouded in obscurity owing to lack of definite evidence. Whatever is available substantiates cultural ties between this region and Gujarat; paintings from both the centres show similarity of style. However, while the Gujarati paintings showed a degenerate tradition in the seventeenth century, we find freshness of expression in Marwar paintings. A major change appears in the selection of new themes and their independent treatment, which mark the Marwari painting. The early Marwari *Rāgamālā* series (A.D. 1623) shows the folkish aspect of the style while the *Kṛishṇalīla*

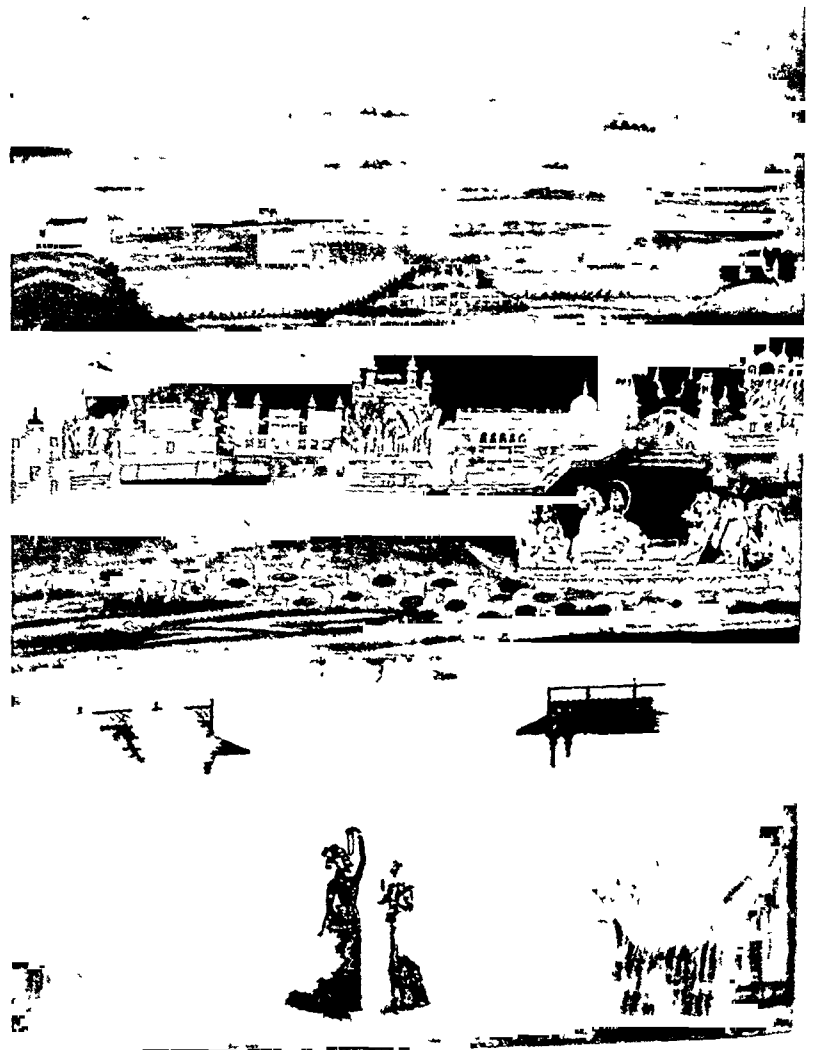
Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



(popularly known as the *Tulā Rām Bhāgavata* and now dispersed in numerous collections) illustrations demonstrate an established tradition. The *Kṛishṇalīlā* scenes are noted for their roughness of treatment and vigorous movements.

These traditions moulded the growth of the Jodhpur school in its later productions. Very little is known of Jodhpur painting during the early or middle seventeenth century. However, the late seventeenth century portraits, though on the Mughal pattern, are good examples of regional expression, with their vigorous stance, derived from the local tradition. Such portraits — standing figures and equestrians with their tall and intricate turbans, large and curved eyes and flowing moustache — personify Rajput vanity. In the seated groups, which are frequently encountered in Jodhpur painting, the background is sparse and consequently the attention is directed to the main group, with people dressed in long flowing white *jāmās* with black shields by the side.

The last flicker of Jodhpuri painting can be seen in the second half of the nineteenth century, under Maharāja Mān Singh II. He was ardently devoted to Nāthjī,⁹ and there are numerous pictorial representations of Nāthjī amidst festival scenes.

Another major branch of the Marwar group of painting flourished at Bikaner. The Bikaner school reveals much refinement and was inspired by the Jahangiri or the Shahjahani phases of Mughal painting. In the eighteenth century Bikaneri painting assumed more colour as it drifted from the Mughal-influenced sophistication towards decorativism. This coincided with the gradual but steady influence of the Jodhpur school on the Bikaneri style.

The Kishangarh painting represents possibly the best flower of the eighteenth-century revival of Rajasthani painting. Here we find a meaningful blending of the old Marwari tradition with the local artist's skill in improvisation. The Later Mughal influence is also present¹⁰ in the earlier stage of this style; yet the Kishangarh painters in the initial stage were able to evolve their own approach which can be seen in their characteristic facial type. This is tender and a little elongated with accentuated nose and protruding chin. The large and curved eyes play an important part in delicate expression of amorous feeling.

Although the themes of Kishangarh paintings are almost the same as in any other parallel school of painting from Rajasthan, the painters invariably added their personal feelings in the treatments. Besides *darbār* and *shikār* scenes, or even the standing or riding portraits of their rulers, there was the usual theme of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa as idealized lovers (Fig. 7).

The glory of the Nāthadvārā paintings appears in the *pichhavaīs* (large-sized painted cloth used as a backdrop to the icon). As the artist had a wider field available he could enlarge his imagination accordingly.

Another family of painting which flourished in north India in the western Himalayan foot-hills is popularly known as the Pahari painting. From Jammu in the west to Garhwal in the east the region pulsed with artistic creativity during the Mughal period.¹¹ Though the local potentates could not be considered big political powers, they were great patrons of painting. With the fall of the classical traditions in the hills, certain decorative treatments (a parallel can be drawn with Rajasthani painting) began to appear from the first half of the seventeenth century.¹² Stylistic variety indicates a long record of artistic activity and possibly independent origins. One branch which concentrated on portraiture is undoubtedly indebted to the Mughal painting. The established types of portraits, particularly "the standing prince against green and flowered background" was already popular with the hill painters. The profile view along with the floral designs in the foreground suggests Jahangiri or Shahjahani influence. Here again, in vivacity and colourfulness, the Pahari painters at Nurpur, Bilaspur, and other centres show their excellence and even superiority to the Mughal prototypes.

Basohli was an important centre of the conventionalized decorative approach. Though independent, the school resembled closely the Mewar or the Malwa school in its totality of effect. Yet the Basohli style was richer in sense of design and colour values than either of its Rajasthani counterparts. The earliest known productions from Basohli are the *Nāyikābheda* illustrations (belonging to the last quarter of the seventeenth century), but they suggest an already established style with long experience. Even at this early stage, the style has great creativity and control as can be seen in its original interpretation of the human sentiments as well as the natural forms. They are illustrations on the *Śringāra rasa*, dealing with love poems, and the human figures occupy the central position. The moods are matched by the imaginative conception of the background.

The Jammu school, under the patronage of Balvant Singh (middle of the eighteenth century), represented the golden age of Pahari painting. His chief painter Nainsukh¹³ introduced a new style in the hills, which was to reign supreme for the next few generations. Nainsukh's work is indebted to the Late Mughal painting of the Muhammad Shah period, but it is the artist's personal interpretation of the style that made the Early Jammu school a great movement of art.

Nainsukh's brother Manak was also a reputed painter. His paintings were also based on the *Bhāgavata* and the *Gīta Govinda* texts (Fig. 8). They depict idealized situations described by the texts. The painters from the Nainsukh-Manak family spread this style to adjoining centres, among which Kangra is justly famous. We find the Manak style in Chamba, Basohli and Mandi also at different periods. The later paintings

from this group show gradual loss of creativity in theme and treatment. A number of extensive sets of paintings, based on certain narrative texts, were produced. Some of these are: the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Rukmiṇī Harāṇa*, and the *Sudāmā-Charita*. Towards the end of the century, the artists in this group contented themselves with producing copies of the earlier works of their predecessors, a tendency which made for stereotyped art.

A distinctive feature of the above-mentioned school was the use of an ovaloid face with delicate expression. A more aquiline face with broad jaw and elongated eye type was evolved, possibly in the last decades of the eighteenth century.

Kangra, which was the strongest political force in that region, was a centre of the last-mentioned phase of the Guler-Kangra style. Yet the credit which Sansār Chand (the local ruler in the last quarter of the eighteenth century) enjoys as a great patron of the style is hardly justified by his widely known portraits. Possibly, besides the extension of the Guler-Kangra style in his court, his favourite painters produced many portraits of him. Some of them record the festivals at his court in which the artist has been able, although in a limited sense, to capture the colour of the scene. But the men are too heavy-bodied and the women too anaemic and the paintings themselves lack feeling.

Each local court in the hill region maintained its own group of painters and fostered a distinctive tradition in painting. The characteristics which help us to distinguish one style from the other are the special colour tonalities, the facial type or physiognomy, and, above all, the treatment of nature in the landscape.

In the nineteenth century there was a gradual decay of the Pahari pictorial traditions. As in the other centres of Indian painting, the Pahari schools were increasingly overloaded with repetitive themes and imitative treatment. The Guler-Kangra style, in its decadent form, had already gained a position in the Pahari courts; the political fall of Sansār Chand seems to have helped the spread of Kangra artists to these other centres.

Many regional schools of Indian painting have been discussed above, and their artistic inspiration and attainment indicated. Each school had a special achievement. Owing to lack of space, only the most significant movements have been dealt with. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Company school of painting grew up, under the influence of British painting. But the origins of modern Indian painting and the story of the last hundred years require separate study.



Fig. 8

- 1 Elsewhere I have identified this scene as the *Kshāntivādin Jātaka* (see “Ajantā kī Chitrakalā” Hindi).
- 2 This style is well exemplified in the remnants of the wall paintings at *Bādāmi* (circa A.D. 578). This influence must have reached Ajantā owing to the waning power of the Vākātakas and rise of Chāḷukyan power in the Deccan.
- 3 This is a queer treatment showing the eye (beyond the farther side) of the three-fourth profile faces, a redundant appendix to a countenance. The form continued for almost one thousand years (until about the sixteenth century), when it was dropped in the wake of the revival of the Turk-Pathan period.
- 4 These forms seem to have reached the Indian artist either through the imported manuscripts or by the establishment of Sultanate styles of painting in India. The latter is a greater possibility.
- 5 Such margins were offered even to calligraphic panels, prints, etc.
- 6 Parallel yet independent movements in painting are known from the same period and from the Sultanates in the Deccan. These are equally important, yet are not discussed here owing to limitations of space.
- 7 This is not a freak instance and shows an already established tradition, which was being reinterpreted by Nisardīn, its pioneer. Several generations of Nisardīn seem to have worked for the Mahārānās of Udaipur. The *Rāgamālā* series (A.D. 1605) was produced while Nisardīn accompanied his master Rāna Amar Singh I in an exile at Chavand.
- 8 An extensively illustrated copy of *Gīta Govinda* is reported in one of the palace collections of Rajasthan.
- 9 A recluse of the *Nāth panth* (order) whose spiritual blessings and martial help restored Mān Singh to his paternal throne.
- 10 Some of the examples, from this level, are very close to the later Mughal painting, the distinguishing features are freer expressions of the artist, the exaggerated eye type and the characteristic colour scheme.
- 11 During the pre-Mughal period this region had popular styles of painting, which were mostly devoted to Buddhist manuscript, cloth and wall paintings. This was an extension, or a local version, of the classical style of northern India.
- 12 As from Chamba, where a long history of metal and stone images is known, seventeenth-century wood-work from this region leaves no doubt about the existence of a local style of figural treatment. Recently certain dated panels of wall paintings (from the early eighteenth century) have been discovered.
We cannot determine exactly when Himalayan art changed from classical trends to the decorative treatment, parallel to Rajasthanī painting. Possibly this change took place in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Many other centres, apart from the Basohlī painting, are known to follow the Rajput type of treatment of which Nepal and Assam styles are other examples.
- 13 From a family of distinguished painters.

The Terracotta Art of India

S. C. Kala

Terracotta figurines have been found in large numbers in the Middle East and in India. Until a few years ago, little importance used to be given to terracotta statuary. However, a continuous flow of terracotta figurines from ancient sites, and a widening of the scope of research have now fortunately resulted in this subject being studied in detail in the West and India.

Terracotta figurines and plaques have either been discovered in excavations or picked up from the surface of ancient mounds. The principal sites yielding terracotta figurines in India and Pakistan are Mohenjo-daro, Chanhudaro, Harappa, Taxila, Charsada, Bala Hissar, Akhun Dheri, Rupar, Mirpur-Khas, Ratangarh, Hastinapura, Mathura, Atranjikhhera, Ahichchhatra, Sankissa, Saheth-Maheth, Musanagar, Kausambi, Jhusi, Bhita, Rajghat, Masone, Sarnath, Buxar, Patna, Basarh, Paharpur, Lauriya Nandangarh, Tamluk, Bangarh, Chandraketugarh, Kondhapur, Ter and Nagarjunakonda.

The earliest Indian terracotta figures come from Mohenjo-daro,¹ Harappa,² Chanhudaro,³ Lothal,⁴ and Kalibangan.⁵ They are all hand-modelled. The females have prominent breasts, thin waists and broad hips which characteristics continue for several centuries onwards in Indian art. The legs of most figurines are straight and without any indication of the feet. The figurines are plain and unworked on the back. The eyes and the breasts are appliqué, and so are the apparel and the jewellery. The head-dress, the costume and the jewellery are shown only on the front side. In some female heads from Mohenjo-daro, cups are attached on both sides of the head. These probably contained incense powder or oil. A special type from Chanhudaro has a swelling body resting on a flat base. Such figurines have been finished on both the faces.

The wide gap in the history of India from the end of the Harappan to the beginning of the Mauryan period has not yet been satisfactorily filled. The excavations at Rupar have shed some light on this hazy period, but no conclusions can be drawn from the small quantity of material unearthed from the limited work done there. Long before the excavations at Rupar, D.H. Gordon tried to present a chronological sequence of the post-Harappa terracottas. However, in order to be more certain about the points raised in his thesis, he suggested deeper diggings at some sites near Bala Hissar, Charsada (both sites now in West Pakistan), Ramnagar (Ahichchhatra), Kausambi and Mathura.⁶ It is a pity that nothing has yet been done in this direction.

The Ganga-Yamuna doab is rich in deposits of fine and plastic clay which the sensitive potter artists exploited. Metal and stone, besides being scarce, were harder to work in. Clay had its advantages over them; it required less labour and time to work in; moreover, it could be moulded, and several pieces prepared from a single mould.

Terracotta objects collected from the Indus sites are various, and reflect the life of the people. They include images; household objects for interior decoration; plaques depicting the daily life, popular magic or witchcraft and folk beliefs; animal-shaped pendants and amulets evidently having auspicious or totemic significance; playthings; and ornaments, particularly ear-tops, studs, bangles, seals and sealings. Countless terracotta figurines must have perished in course of time because of their fragility. However, the vast numbers of terracotta objects discovered every year from the ancient sites make it evident how extremely popular they must have been.

The plaques and figurines were made for various purposes and occasions. The flat plaques having suspension holes at their tops were undoubtedly meant for worship or decoration. Carved bricks and panels containing geometrical, floral, and animal motifs, or subjects relating to the Hindu and Buddhist pantheons or contemporary society were made for use in friezes of temples or *stūpas*. There must have been niches or mantles also in the private houses in which mould-made or modelled terracotta images were kept for decoration or worship.

As in the present day, terracotta figurines in ancient times were specially prepared for various religious ceremonies which are celebrated on particular days throughout the whole year. On the eve of annual festivals like Ganesha Chaturthi, Divali and Naga Panchami, images of Ganesha, Lakshmi and Naga-Nagis must have flooded the markets in the same way as they do today. There are several literary references to the making of terracottas on special occasions. Referring to the *nāga bali* (snake sacrifice) Aśvalāyana says that a fine head of snake in wood or clay was to be made and worshipped for a year.⁷ The *Kaśyapa Saṁhitā*, a medical treatise re-edited in A.D. third century, refers to a number of toys placed before the child during *saṁskāra* rites.⁸ Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa in the seventh century refers to the employment of a host of clay modellers (*leppakāra*), for making terracotta models of fishes, tortoises, crocodiles, coconuts, plantains, and betel trees on the occasion of the marriage of Rājyaśrī.⁹

In Egypt, Greece, and Mesopotamia terracotta figurines were found either with human skeletons inside graves or stored beneath the floors of residential houses. The Chinese, Egyptians, and some other peoples believed in the continuity of life after death.¹⁰ As terracottas played an important part in the daily life of man, it was considered necessary to deposit them along with dead bodies in the graves.¹¹ In Babylonia terracotta figurines were found in boxes placed under floors of rooms. Such deposits may have had some totemic significance. A particular class of terracotta was also made for votive offerings. They could take the form of the deity thus honoured or an attribute of the deity, or something pleasing to the deity and perhaps even of the donor

himself.¹² The number of terracotta objects thus offered would accumulate and rise in heaps in temples or places of worship day by day. The priests had, therefore, to collect them in lots almost every day and deposit them in store rooms or in the trenches dug outside the temples or immerse them in tanks or rivers.

During the Gupta and post-Gupta periods brick temples having beautiful friezes of decorative panels on their exterior walls were erected at Mirpur-Khas (West Pakistan), Ratangarh, Bhitargaon, Chausa, Paharpur, Mahasthan, Maniyar Math and Apsad. Stray brick panels used in temple structures have also come to light at Nachar Kheda (Haryana), Ahichchhatra, Gumthal (Chandausi), Mathura, Saheth-Maheth and Sankissa. It is a pity that many brick panels containing exquisite floral and animal designs as well as figurines of gods and goddesses have been either totally lost or disfigured owing to the rigours of weather.

Not a single potter's workshop has so far been identified at any excavated site in India. The remains of structures exposed in excavations yielding terracotta hoards may have been shops or residential houses of the potter artists. In the Middle East also, no large-scale workshops of potters have come to light. Only a few workshops were sighted near the graveyards of Susa.¹³

An interesting panorama of native and foreign population and also the general socio-cultural life of the contemporary society is available from the vast number of terracotta figurines preserved in private collections and museums of India. Men and women of high and low social status; fashionable ladies belonging to the court or the aristocracy; common men and women earning their livelihood through the practice of their profession like music, dance, acrobatics and wrestling, and also jesters, dwarfs, elephant- or horse-riders, hunters, and experts on physical culture — all these have been represented in the medium of clay. The expression, features, and different costumes of certain terracotta figures clearly show that they are representations of foreigners who lent themselves to caricature because of their peculiar appearance.

Exquisite coiffures done in short and long loops, and spirals and ringlets which are characteristics in the Gupta terracotta heads discovered at Ahichchhatra, Bhita, Jhusi, Kausambi and Rajghat find eloquent references in the works of contemporary poets and romancers. The style in different species of animals and birds, modelled or depicted on plaques, is vigorous, sensitive and in many cases fairly naturalistic. One really marvels when one sees the artisans' intimate knowledge of the animal and the bird kingdom. A few modelled heads, or heads with mould-made faces, and some completely mould-made figures were undoubtedly creations of master craftsmen. The female figures have supple and graceful bodies and generally represent the ideal of Indian feminine beauty.

The technique of preparing models and mould types varied from one centre to another in accordance with the nature of the local clay and technical traditions. Thus the Śunga period plaques from Kausambi are usually thin, hard and have a thin coat of superfine clay on the surface on which the mould was impressed. The plaques from Mathura and Ahichchhatra on the other hand are thick and executed in coarse, plain or coarse mica-mixed grey clay. No particular distinguishing or trade marks have been noticed on the terracottas from various sites.

To avoid undue contraction, the artists often mixed foreign materials like mica, sand and husk with the clay. The terracotta figurines and plaques were also dipped in colours in order to fill the pores and to give them a better look.

Although a tentative dating of terracottas from particular sites can be arrived at on the basis of styles, the problem of firmly dating early Indian terracottas still presents many difficulties. The study of this subject in clear-cut sequences has been rendered difficult by a large number of figurines termed archaic or primitive by Stella Kramrisch and also by those ageless and timeless types which have hardly changed with the passage of time, space, and history.¹⁴

Referring to the problem, Gordon rightly remarks that "the presence of an object held to be of a definitely datable age does not prove that all the objects in that stratigraphical vicinity were of the same age".¹⁵ At several sites, archaic or primitive types occur side by side with examples of historical period in the same excavation level but these differ widely in technique and form. The timeless or archaic types have been found at Taxila, Hastinapura, Mathura, Ahichchhatra, Kausambi, Bhita, Jhusi, Basarh and other minor sites of India. These generally represent crude female figurines, identified with the great Mother-Goddess, bearing different names in Indian mythology and religion. Archaic male figures, animal types and toys are also available in plenty. The archaic type is essentially modelled by hand, the attempt being to reduce the physiognomical form to the minimum.¹⁶ Only the major parts of the body, like the head, the trunk, and the arms have been indicated in these types. The figures are symbolic and hardly have any resemblance to human beings. There are, however, a few exceptions where an attempt has been made to indicate partial human features. The Mother-Goddess figurines have thin waists, broad hips, prominent breasts and deep navels which are supposed to be the characteristics of potential motherhood. These features are common in Mother-Goddess types found all over the world.

Some of the terracotta figurines have animal snouts and horns, while others have spear-shaped head-dress. The majority of the female figurines have a single projection or two high rolls, each one of them reclining on either side of the head. The top projection is subsequently replaced by a bicornate head-dress. The girdle, the jewellery, the eyes and the ears in

the archaic types are appliqué and usually decorated with incised lines or punched circlets. Seated female figures with children in arms or the lap, or engaged in fondling or suckling milk, are also available in the archaic group.

Terracottas of the historical period housed in Indian museums have been mostly picked up from the surface of the ancient mounds, but examples from scientifically excavated sites like Taxila, Charsada, Hastinapura, Mathura, Ahichchhatra, Kausambi, Rajghat, Basarh, Tamluk and Chandraketugarh are also available in plenty. However, only terracottas from Ahichchhatra excavations have so far been examined somewhat scientifically in the light of stratigraphy.¹⁷ But even in the case of terracottas from scientific excavations the dates are uncertain. One has to be careful and cautious in assigning the types to clear-cut periods, like Maurya, Śunga and Kushāṇa. It is held that some terracotta figurines from Mathura, Buxar, and Patna belong to the Maurya period. But a close study of the terracotta specimens discovered in the wide expanse lying between Taxila in Pakistan and Chandraketugarh in West Bengal show that there are actually very few specimens which could be definitely assigned to the Maurya age. It is unfortunate that modern methods of excavation were not known to Waddell when he conducted excavations at Kumrahar, Bulandi-Bagh and Patna. Some of the terracotta figurines from these sites which were earlier assigned to the Maurya period are, after reassessment, supposed to have been executed during the early Śunga period. Nevertheless, it seems to me that for the most part the specimens which were dug out at a depth, ranging between seven and twenty feet, at Pataliputra and Buxar could be of considerable antiquity and in all probability lie between the third and the second century B.C.

During the Śunga-Kaṇva period (200 B.C. to A.D. 100) terracotta art made significant departures from the earlier manufacturing methods. Discarding the technique of modelling, the potter artist began preparing figurines from single or double moulds. The mould-made specimens are generally executed in a fine powdery clay. The outstanding subject in such types is again a female figure, richly attired and bejewelled, standing erect or with her legs placed sideways on a flower or with one leg bent from the knee. The head-dress varies, but it is invariably quite elaborate, and is formed in single or double rolls, the latter usually parted in the middle by a projection. The head-dress is also bound by embroidered fillets, ribbons or beaded chains. A group of five symbols is seen inserted on the head rolls of some female figurines. In other types ornamental ribbons emerge from the head-dress or the head rolls and hang down on the sides of the face. In the terracotta specimens executed during the first half of the Śunga period the hair is completely hidden under the head-dress. In latter examples part of the hair sticks out on the forehead.

In most cases the hair is cut in steps, thus forming a trapezoid line

on the forehead. In the terracotta types termed as the Pataliputra type the costumes and head-dress are in the appliqué technique but the face is invariably mould-made. The ruins of Ahichchhatra, Kausambi, Tamluk and Chandraketugarh have yielded exquisite figurines of the Śuṅga period. Some terracotta specimens for Mathura, Kausambi, Bhita, Buxar, Bulandi Bagh, and Kumrahar which were produced during the early centuries of the present era bear Hellenistic traits. This impact is particularly evident in the costumes, headgears and facial expressions of the various figures.

The Śuṅga period terracottas present a fascinating picture of contemporary life. The subjects include gods and goddesses, and scenes of dance, music, picnics, festivals, amorous dalliance of couples, *chauri*-bearers, hunters, acrobats, and also men and women fondling domestic animals and birds.

The Śaka-Kushāṇa period (first century B.C. to A.D. 200) ushers in another formative stage in the development of terracotta art. The unity and variety of the earlier art forms receded to the background during this period. Owing to unstable political conditions there was hardly any scope left for artistic activities. The cultural pattern of the country had almost broken down owing to repeated onslaughts of foreign tribes like the Śakas, the Pahlavas, the Kushāṇas and the Huṇas. These tribes entered India through the north-western gateways (now in Pakistan). After conquering the Punjab the raiders ran over the Gangetic plains. Some of them, with distinct apparel and ethnic features, must have lived in or passed through important cities of the times. This infiltration of alien nationals could not escape the attention of the contemporary artists. Finding them interesting models, they prepared a large number of portrait heads. The modelling in these heads is extraordinarily bold and vigorous and reflects the virile character of the intruders. Figures of musicians blowing double or single wind-pipes were also prepared. For the first time, modelled horses equipped with trappings, reins and often riders on their backs appear in Indian terracotta art. A large number of heads with short beards and thick curved or straight moustache representing distinct ethnic types were made during the Śaka-Kushāṇa period. Some of these recall the stucco and stone heads of Gandhāra. The vicissitudes through which India passed during the centuries on either side of the Christian era and also the hectic social and religious life of the period is reflected in the terracotta art of that age.

The creation of terracottas proceeded side by side with stone sculpture. During the Śuṅga period there was abundant use of moulds. The scenes depicted on the mould-made plaques are distributed in well-thought-out plans and are reminiscent of reliefs on the stone sculpture of Sanchi, Bharhut, Amaravati, and Bhaja. Besides, the costumes and jewellery in terracotta figures are almost the same as found in the sculptures.



1 Standing female on plaque

Kausambi in Allahabad District and Tamruk in West Bengal were the greatest centres of terracotta industry during the Śuṅga period. The artists of these two cities were undoubtedly proficient craftsmen. They used a vast range of subjects, many of which are otherwise absent in other media of Indian art.

It is not possible to mention all the important terracotta pieces in this short article but a few notable specimens are described below:

1. *Kausambi, Alld. M. No. 5158; 25.5 × 10 cm.; first century B.C.*

Standing female on plaque. Her feet are placed sideways on a lotus flower. She has an elaborate headgear formed in two rolls parted in the middle and held up by fillets decorated with square pieces. There are five sheaves of corn stuck on the right roll while the left one has five symbols, a goad, an axe and three other symbols. She wears a close-fitting sari, earrings, a torque, and a girdle. She holds a bud in her right hand. The figurine represents some goddess.

2. *Kausambi, Alld. M. No. 2537; 6 × 6.2 cm.; first century B.C.*

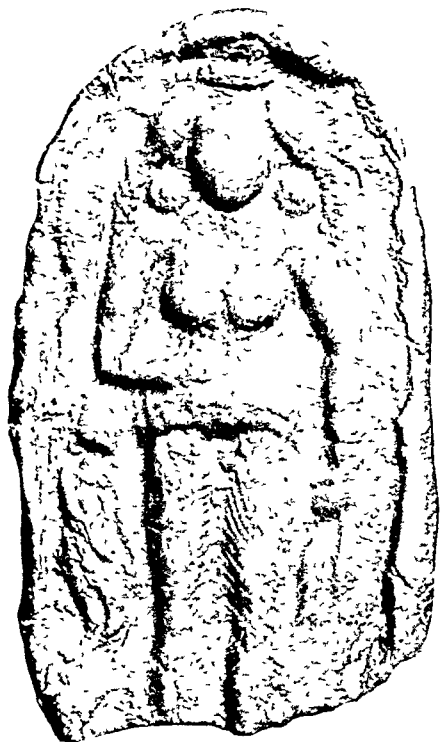
Female bust on plaque. She has a high head-dress composed of two high rolls parted in the middle by a central projection. On the right roll are pinned five symbols and on the left five palm fronds curved at the top. She puts on a button earring from which hang pearl or bead chains in her left ear; the right one is stretched to the side.

The palm fronds on the head roll of the figure are significant. They recall the palm tree depicted on the inner side of certain ring-stones of the Mauryan period.¹⁸ A number of examples from the Middle East show that the palm tree was associated with the cult of the mother-goddess¹⁹

3. *Kausambi, Alld. M. No. 5244; 9.5 × 5.7 cm.; first century B.C.*

Standing female on plaque. She has a head-dress composed of two rolls parted in the middle by a projection. Two ornamental ribbons hang from her head-dress on either side. Her right hand rests on the waist. The lowered left hand holds a string from which hang a pair of fish. The type with some variations is known at Mathura,²⁰ Rairh²¹ and Chandraketugarh.²² V.S. Agrawala commented that the female carrying fish represented goddess Vasudhārā²³ but this view is not correct.

According to Neumann, the fish was associated with the mother-goddess



3 Goddess with a pair of fish



4. Lakshmi.

cult of several peoples.²⁴ The name of one of the Syrian deities which had a fish symbol in her person was 'Atargattis'.²⁵ These references prove that the cult of the mother-goddess associated with fish was known both in the Middle East and India.

4. *Kausambi, Alld. M. No. 2519, 13.7 cm.; first century B.C.*

Śrī Lakshmi on plaque. The goddess stands on a full-blown lotus flower issuing from a tank filled with flowers, shrubs, creepers and encircled by a railing. She holds a creeper in her right hand. The left hand rests on the hip. The goddess has an elaborate head-dress and wears a sari held up by girdle, a torque, bracelets and anklets.



5. Winged figure on plaque.

5. *Kausambi, Alld. M. No. 2545, 13.5 × 9.3 cm.; first century B.C.*

Winged male figure on plaque. His hair is arranged in a high mass with two high loops at the top. A fillet decorated with square pieces holds his hair in front. He wears round earrings, a thick torque, a necklace, bracelets, armlets with chains hanging from them and a *dhoti* held up at the waist by a cordlike waistband.

A decorated curved wing is on the right side of the shoulder. The left hand of the figure and a part below the thighs is broken. He holds a creeper in his right hand.



6. Man riding a peacock.

6. *Kausambi, Alld. M. No. 5398, 7 × 4 cm.; first century B.C.*

The surviving part of the plaque shows a winged male facing front and riding on a peacock. He holds a parrot in his right hand. His hair is held up by a fillet made of circular plaques. He wears a necklace and bracelets. A semicircular wing is attached to his right shoulder. the tail of the peacock is ornamental.

In another example from Kausambi (No. 4225) a man is seen grasping a peacock.

The peacock is the vehicle of Skanda Kārttikeya. The earliest known image of this god is datable to A.D. 84.²⁶ The winged figures associated with peacocks on terracotta plaques are, however, assignable to the first century B.C. Whether these figures represent some form of Skanda of the pre-Christian era is a question to which no satisfactory answer is available in the present state of our knowledge.

7. *Kausambi, Alld. M. No. 5108; 18.5 × 8 cm.; first or second century B.C.*

The plaque shows a man running towards the left. He has bulging eyes, wrinkled face and grotesque features and resembles very much a *yaksha* from Pitalkhora.²⁷ His hair is bound by a flowery wreath. He wears long pendant earrings, a four-stringed necklace, a short *dhoti* held up by a waistband, bracelets, and armlets.

The man holds a woman. Her arms are raised in alarm. She wears a sari, a double-beaded chain which has been loosened and hangs between her breasts, a girdle, part of which has broken, resulting in the fall of beaded chains from it, and anklets. One of her feet rests on the right arm of the man. A few of her ornaments lie on the ground.

The scene depicted on this plaque is interesting but it cannot be precisely identified. The subject may relate to the abduction of Sītā by Rāvana.

Similar subjects have been noticed in early Indian sculpture. The lowermost compartments on the two pilasters flanking a doorway of cave three near Pandu Lena at Nasik show a man lifting a woman in his arms.²⁸ The subject with variations is also noticeable at Amaravati²⁹ and in the Rānī kā Nur cave at Cuttack.³⁰



7 Demon carrying a woman

8. *Kausambi, Alld. M. No. 5008; 8×8 cm.; first or second century B.C.*

Round terracotta plaque. In its centre a cow elephant walks to the left raising one of her forelegs; three riders, among whom is a lady, are seated on her back. The lady places the goad held in her right hand on the elephant's head and drives her ahead. She is touching her left earring



8 *Abduction of Vasavadatta.*

with her left hand. A man holding a lute in his hand is seated on the right of the lady.

In the rear part there is a third person whose legs are tied by a rope to the elephant's body. He also holds the rope in his left hand in order to prevent slipping. His head is also turned back and he scatters coins from a long purse held in his right hand.

Behind the elephant on the ground are two men, one lifting his head and the other engaged in picking the coins which have fallen on the ground.

The scene on the plaque relates to the abduction of the Avanti princess Vāsavadattā, by king Udayana of Kausambi.³¹ This event occurred in the sixth century B.C.

9. *Kausambi, Alld. M. No. 4697, 7.5×9 cm.; first century B.C.*

Terracotta plaque depicting a furious winged lion pouncing upon an elephant from above on the right. The forelegs of the elephant are bent and



9a *Winged lion attacking an elephant.*



9b *Man striking a winged lion.*

he is passing out dung due to fear and pressure. A man standing on the left holds a stick in his hand evidently for striking the winged lion.

A better preserved fragment (No. 5328) of similar type from the same site shows on the right the lifted head of the elephant. Close to the animal's head stands a man holding a stick in his right hand. His extended left hand grasps the neck of a fearful winged lion standing on its hind legs. The man wears a gown with a beautiful border.

This subject is unique in the whole range of Indian art. It reminds us of the Mohenjo-daro seal showing a god or a hero grasping the throat of a tiger standing on its hind legs.³²

10. *Kausambi, Alld. No. 5197; 8.9×8 cm.; first century B.C.*

Front wall of a toy chariot. The bottom part of the wall contains heads of two bulls. Above them there is a semicircular border behind which stands a woman flanked by a man on either side. All of them place their hands on the border indicating that they all were standing inside the cart.

11. *Jhusi, Allahabad district; Alld. No. 5225; Ht. 7.5 cm.; fifth or sixth century A.D.*

Head of Śiva. The god has curly hair on the head. A flame rises from his forehead.

The head represents a rare form of god Śiva. According to the *Linga Purāṇa*, Satī committed suicide by jumping into the fire altar at her father's place. Greatly shocked by this tragedy Śiva went to live in the Himalayas. There Kāmādeva tried to re-instill love in Śiva's mind. No sooner had Kāmādeva attacked Śiva with flower arrows, than a flame sprang from the third eye of the god and burnt the god of love.³³

12. *Jhusi, Alld. M. No. 4973; diam. 9 cm.; first century B.C.*

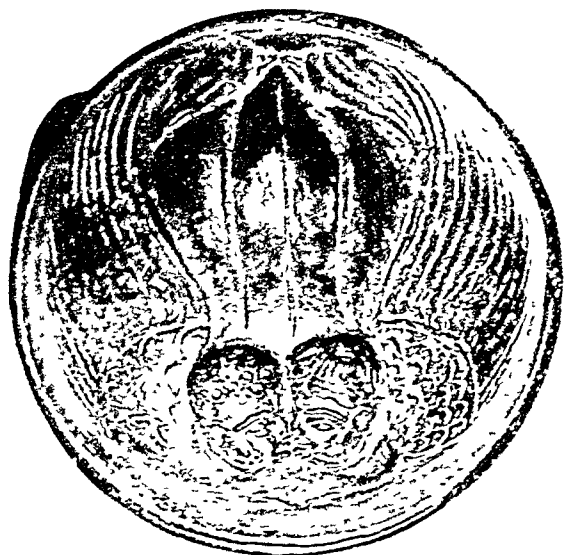
A hollow dome-shaped skin-rubbing implement with a circular



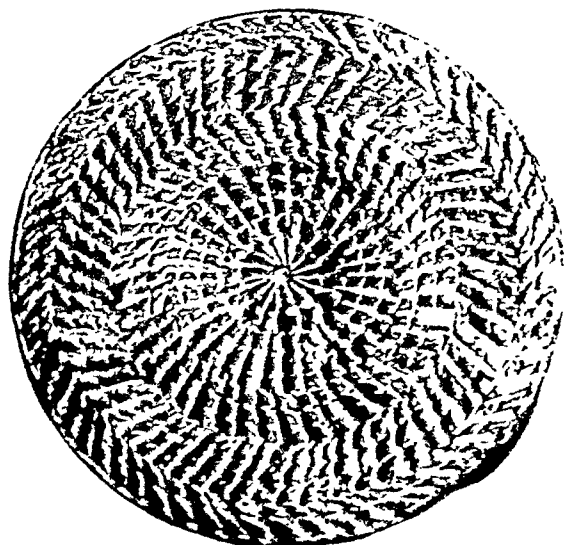
10. Front wall of a toy chariot.



11. Head of Siva with a flame on forehead.



12a. Top of a skin-rubbing implement.



12b. Bottom of the same implement.

flat base. On the dome, a man and a woman who have wings growing from their body meet face to face, each touching the lips of the other. The hair of the woman is dressed in a top knot held up by a fillet. The man has curly hair in typical Greek style.

The bottom of the dome has a decoration of indented granules spreading around a tiny circlet placed in the middle.

This dome-shaped skin-rubbing implement, which has been painted with glossy black paint, is the only example of its kind in Indian archaeology.

13. *Ahichchhatrā, Bareilly district, U.P. Alld. M. No. 5173, Diam. 10 cm.; first century A.D.*

Decorative plaque. On the obverse there is a twisted fish-tailed crocodile with gaping mouth. The animal had a bifurcated frill at the tail end. The scales on its body are indicated by indented lines. The reverse side shows a four-petalled flower. The field in between the petals has a linear design.

The animal on this terracotta plaque is reminiscent of traditional Chinese dragons.



13a Dragon on plaque—obverse side



13b. Reverse side of the same plaque.

14. Panchal region, Alld. M. No. 5130; 30×14 cm.; fifth or sixth century A.D.

Brick panel. The left half of the plaque depicts a demon carrying a boy on his back. The demon has sunken eyes and fierce looks; one of his arms is stretched forward. The left hand of the boy is on the demon's head and the right raised in order to strike him. In the right half of the panel another boy is running towards the left, his left leg in a springing motion. His left arm is advanced and the right one rests on the hip.

The subject depicted in this brick panel relates to an episode from Krishna's life as mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The two boys represent Krishna and Balarama and the fearful person is demon Pralambāsura.

This episode in a slightly different form has also been pictured on a



14 The killing of Pralambāsura



15 Man on the back of Yaksha.

stone slab excavated at Paharpur.³⁴

15. *Mathura, Alld. M. No. 2436; 11.5 × 7 cm.; first century A.D.*

Squatting *yaksha* carrying a man on his back. The *yaksha* has a round, smiling, wrinkled face and bulging eyes. He has a prominent belly and short legs and holds the legs of a man riding on his shoulders. In the latter's right hand there is a flute and in the left a *viṇā*.

A fragment from a similar type is in the collection of the Archaeological Museum, Mathura.³⁵

16. *Kausambi, Alld. M. No. 5199; Ht. 12.5 cm.; second century A.D.*

Terracotta portrait head. The person has large eyes, and perforated eyeballs. The eyebrows and eyelids are indicated by incised lines. He has also plump cheeks, broad nostrils and thick lips. He wears a turban.

17. *Kausambi, Alld. M. No. 5263, Ht. 21. cm.; second century A.D.*

Terracotta portrait head of man. He has perforated eyeballs and a prominent nose. The eyelids are indicated by curved lines. There is a low ornamental turban with a clasp on the left side.



16 A terracotta portrait head



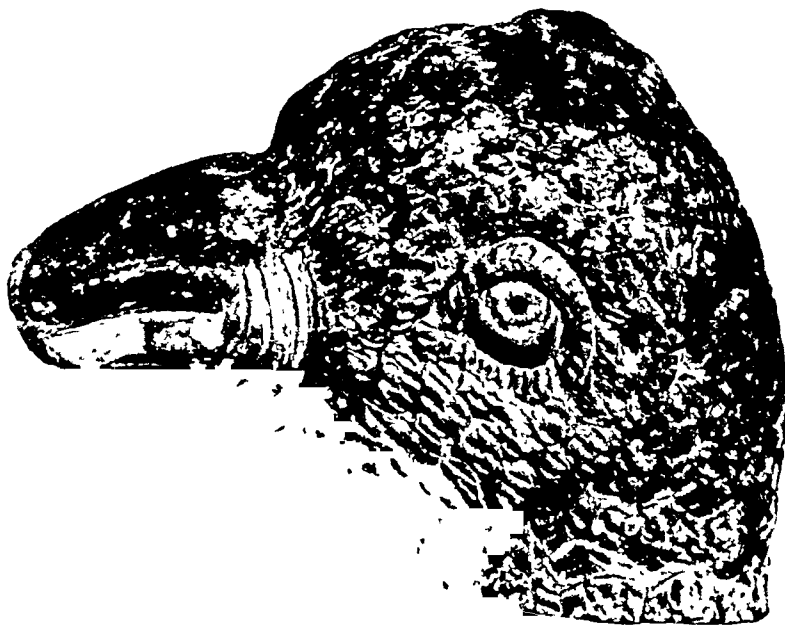
17 Another terracotta portrait head of man.

18. *Sankissa, U.P., Alld. M. No 4398, Ht. 12.8 cm.; first century A.D.*
Roaring lion. The animal has protruding eyes, an open mouth, bared teeth and a bushy mane.

19. *Bhita, U.P., Alld. M. No. 4607; 11.5 × 15 cm.; first century A.D.*
Head of a peacock. The feathers are indicated by indented marks painted with red colour. The head is one of the most beautiful examples of Indian terracotta art.



18 Roaring lion.



19. Head of a peacock.

- ¹ Marshall: *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization*, III, Pl. XCIV, figs. 1-5, 9-14, XCV, Figs. 1-30.
- ² Vats: *Excavations at Harappa*, II, Pls. LXXVI, Figs. 1-30, LXXVII, figs. 31-69.
- ³ Mackay: *Chanhudaro Excavations*, Pls. LIII-LIV.
- ⁴ Lalit Kalā, Nos 3-4, pp. 82-9
- ⁵ *Indian Archaeology*, 1960-61, Pl L, A.C.
- ⁶ *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XI, p. 180.
- ⁷ *Āśvalāyana Grhya Parīśiṣṭa*, 3, 16.
- ⁸ *Journal of the Maharaja Sayaji Rao University*, Vol. V, No I, pp. 1-5.
- ⁹ Cowell and Thomas: *The Harṣa-Carita of Bana*, p. 124.
- ¹⁰ James: *Prehistoric Religion*, pp. 117-44.
- ¹¹ Parrot: *Sumer*, pp. XIV-XV.
- ¹² Higgins: *A Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum*, I, p. 8.
- ¹³ Grishman: *Iran. Parthians and Sassanians* pp. 102-3.
- ¹⁴ *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XII, p. 89.
- ¹⁵ *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XI, p. 93
- ¹⁶ *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, VII, p. 93
- ¹⁷ *Ancient India*, No. 4, p. 104-79.
- ¹⁸ (a) Chandra: *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, Pls. V and VI.
(b) Agrawala: *Indian Art*, pp. 77-9.
- ¹⁹ Contenau: *La Déesse Nue Babylonienne* (Paris 1914).
- ²⁰ *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, U.S.A., Vol. XV, p. 2, XXV 6.
- ²¹ Dixit: *The Mother Goddess*, p. 34.
- ²² Asutosh Museum — No. T 6136
- ²³ *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, VII, pp. 13-17.
- ²⁴ Neumann: *The Great Mother*, p. 276.
- ²⁵ East West N. S. (1960), p. 158
- ²⁶ Chatterji: *Cult of Skanda Karttikeya*, p. 114.
- ²⁷ *Ancient India*, No. 15, Pl. XL IX-A.
- ²⁸ Fergusson and Burgess: *The Temples of India*, Pl. XXXVIII A.
- ²⁹ Sivaramamurti. *Amarāvati Sculptures*, Pl. XLVI-1.
- ³⁰ Fergusson, Pl. 1-4.
- ³¹ Law. *Memoir, Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 60, pp. 13, 19, 1939.
- ³² Vats Pl. LXXXIV, Fig. 75, E.
- ³³ Rao: *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, I, p. 147.
- ³⁴ Dixit: *Memoir, Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 55, XXIX, No. I.
- ³⁵ *Journal of the U P Historical Society*, IX, Fig. 38.

Indian Folk Crafts

Ajit Mookerjee

India, with a rich cultural heritage, is well known for her deep-rooted tradition in arts and crafts. To understand how closely integrated with life and how expressive of a way of living crafts can be, India offers rich and significant forms which reveal some of the deepest satisfactions known to man.

That the Indian tradition has survived innumerable vicissitudes through the ages is due to the fact that the social organization was based on the village community, in the corporate life of which artists and craftsmen played their assigned roles. The potter, for instance, was given plots of land and fixed quantities of grain at harvest time by the village people, and in exchange he supplied them their requirements. The blacksmith functioned in the same way. This system meant security, without which the artisans could not have developed their crafts in close touch with tradition. Under such conditions, the craftsmen worked out age-old forms, and countless recapitulations resulted in a state of mind in which they could produce the most abstract without any conscious effort. Even when the artisan made a significant change, he was perhaps unaware of it. He could introduce new patterns, or give the old a new look, but the possibilities of a radical assertion of his individuality in the modern sense were very confined because of the total impact of a social and religious structure extending from the joint family to the panchayat.

Many of the art forms are the result of deep spiritual experience, the innate meaning of which cannot be clearly understood in terms of our aesthetic reactions. In a particular area, however, there may be a key design which unlocks the secrets of the origin of other designs. But the mass of significance attached to these designs has been the product of an age-old emotional contact conditioned by the environment and social behaviour of a people.

Myths and legends prevalent among the folk people form another important factor in their craft. These stimulate dramatic intensity resulting in distortions and exaggerations and the use of strongly contrasting colours. An urban potter can make a tiger without any story element, but a tiger for the folk people must have some associations with a legend or rite. The women of the Rani Paraj area in Western India make terracotta votive offerings which are bold examples of such form and fantasy. This form is however not an isolated phenomenon in Rani Paraj alone; the same typical form of the votive cow can be found in the rattle, recently discovered at Harinarayanpur in West Bengal, and now preserved in the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University, which in all likelihood is of prehistoric origin. Here is an example of how significant forms have survived in craft through centuries, notwithstanding their use either as votive offerings or as toys. It is, however, difficult to say when a toy becomes a votive offering or a votive figure turns into a toy, but undoubtedly the form is the same.

Dolls and Toys: A toy made by a village woman in India even today is essentially timeless. It has the impress of an ageless type which persists through periodic variations. Such types are modelled by hand and never with the help of a mould.

A distinction must be drawn between hand-modelled and mould-made terracottas. Toys modelled by hand on the same theme can produce no exact repetition, though their closely resembling primitive form may give an impression of uniformity. On the other hand, the moulded ones conform to patterns, which, of course, are numerous and of which a large number of copies can be made at will. Sometimes the head is from a mould, while the lower portion is made on the wheel. The original mould is hand-made and carried from generation to generation in a potter's family. The variety and number of moulded terracottas are astonishing and the different purposes they serve are endless. It is in them that regional and time variations are most marked, new elements entering the old patterns, enriching and enlarging them in striking ways.

Between the product of the mould and the finished ware there lies a whole world of traditional craft which operates as a co-ordinating force. The sense of the whole is always present in the mind of the artist, not in the form of a rigid code but as a living social concept. Each artist contributes his own to their cohesive but varied tradition according to his sense of colour and power of observation. It is colour that animates the figures. Even when the mould is of an abstract nature, the art is somewhat naturalized by the use of colour and this lesser degree of abstraction is what differentiates the moulded terracottas from the hand-modelled ones. Colouring is also the principal means by which an enchanting world of make-believe for children is created, where an elephant can be green, a horse blue, and a cow a combination of green, red, blue and yellow. Even when the strokes of the craftsman, as a result of repetition through the years, tend to be stylized, these dolls retain the vitality of the original colour combination.

The predominant colours are *kajjala* (lamp-black), *gaurika* (ochre), *harital* (orpiment), *krishna* (black), *alkata* (lac), *nila* (indigo), *harit* (green), *mete-sindur* (orange-ochre), and they are applied on white coated ground prepared from *khori* (chalk). They are mixed with the hum of either the *bel* fruit, the neem or tamarind seed paste so that they last long. Quite often *garjan* oil, prepared from an admixture of incense, resin and lac, is applied over the paint to reinforce its durability. Occasionally, powdered mica is so sprinkled over the figures that they glitter.

Of the materials used, besides clay, in toy-making, wood is the most common. Dolls are also made from pith, papier mâché, cow-dung, bronzes, rags and vegetable fibres — the use of the last two being practically extinct. The makers of wood, pith and metal toys and guild artists are known as *sūtradhara* (carpenter), *malakara* (garland maker), and *karmakara*

(metal worker), and they are usually menfolk, whereas in the potter's (*kumbhakara*) family women and children generally play an important role.

Indian dolls and toys open up a world which knows no frontiers. They show striking affinities with certain types found in Egypt, in Crete, and even in the centres of the Maya civilization. Flinders Petrie points out that in the workmen's quarters at Memphis there are Indian-style terracottas of women and of the seated Kubera. D.H. Gordon says that a linking of all the terracottas of the Hellenistic period from the Eastern Mediterranean to Bengal is necessary. Sometimes the link between a particular doll and a story, which is lost in this country, may be traced abroad where our folk tales travelled in very ancient times. In Japan, Daruma (Dharma) dolls are dedicated to Yakusi, the Buddhist god of medicine, and the Guruma type has something in common with an ancient Japanese toy known as Buriburi. The Guruma toy traces its origin to a very old and celebrated legend of Umi-sati and Yama-sati.

Textiles: A study of ancient Indian literature shows that Indian textiles enjoyed undisputed supremacy all over the world for nearly 2,000 years. Even the *Rig Veda* refers to *hiranya-drapi* or the shining gold-woven cloak, the *Mahabharata* to *manichira*, probably a fabric with pearl-woven borders, and Pali literature to *kaseyyala* of Banaras, worth a hundred thousand silver pieces.

The numerous spindle whirls and bronze needles discovered at Mohenjo-daro testify to the wide popularity of the art of weaving and embroidery in ancient India. The fragments of cotton discovered at Mohenjo-daro reveal traces of a purple dye, thought to be madder. Vegetable and stone dyes have been widely used since ancient times. The chief vegetable dyes used were indigo, chayroot, lac, turmeric and safflower. At first the basic colours alone were used. One still finds the use of these colours in the textiles produced by the *adivasis*, the tribal people of India. A greater grasp over the use of colours came with the development of dyes from minerals and the discovery of mordants. This too was quite an early development in India as is evident from the popularity of the *kalamkari* or *batik* work of Masulipatam, the earliest reference to which goes back to the third century B.C.

The main types of colour work are *bandhana* or tie-dyeing, block-printing and hand-painting. The tie-dye process of Rajasthan is an ancient technique while the *patola* or silk wedding sari of Gujarat represents another variety of the tie-and-dye process of designing. It is indeed a marvel of weaving skill. The warp and weft threads are separately coloured by the tie-and-dye process according to a pre-calculated measurement. The resultant design appears equally clear on both sides. The special attraction of the *patola* is the merging together of the adjoining colours. This characteristic is to be found at its best in the warp-weft tie-and-dye technique of the *bandha* textiles of Orissa. This technique is somewhat

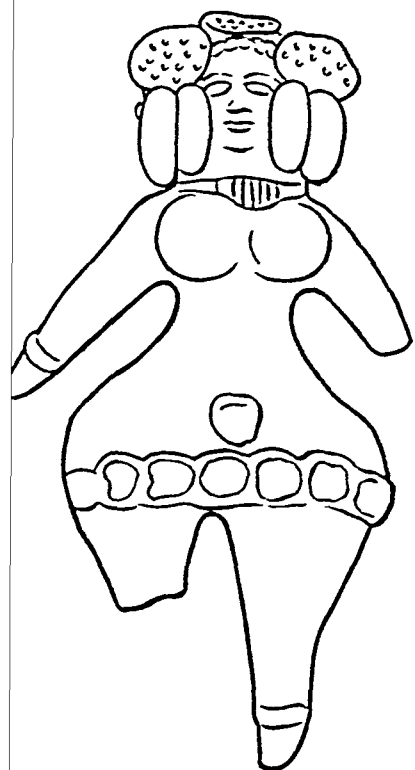


Plate 1



Plate 2

Plate 1 Early Terracotta figure, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh.

Plate 2. Bastar Bronze, Madhya Pradesh

Plate 3. Andhra leather puppet.

Plate 4 Zari work, Agra, Uttar Pradesh.

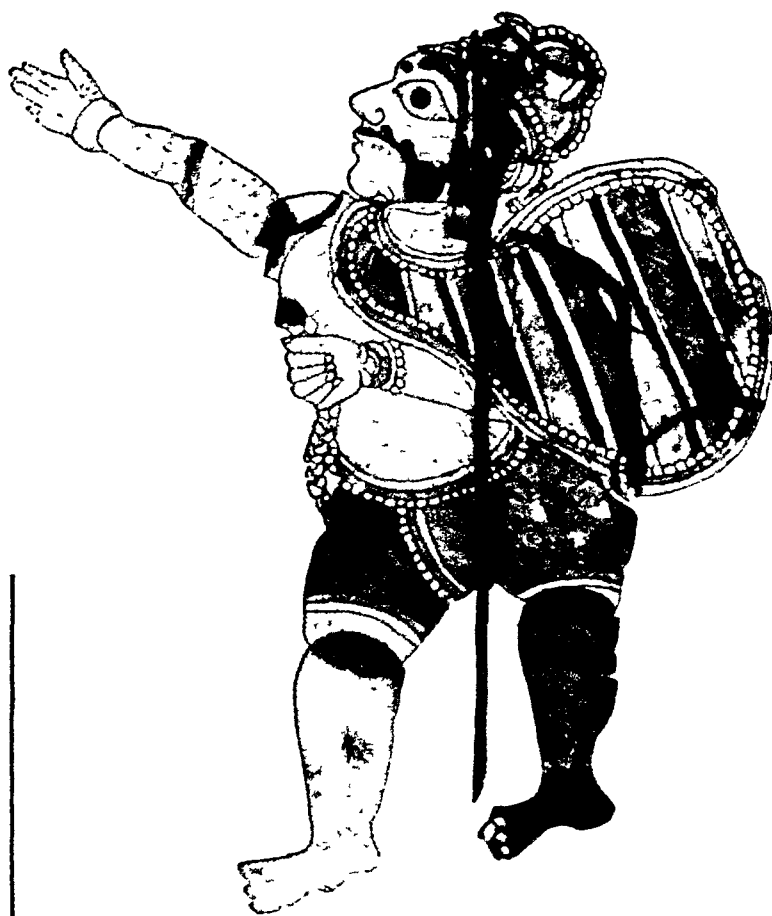


Plate 3

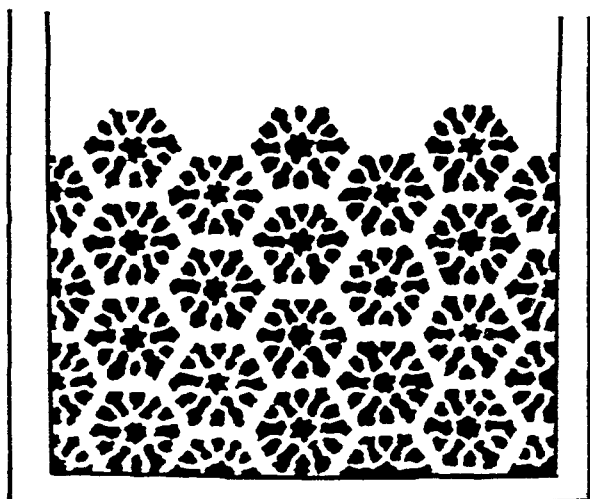


Plate 4

similar to that of the *patola*. The designs, however, are highly conventionalized and traditional. The main motifs are stylized symbols of familiar objects, such as fish, animals, trees, flowers, flowing streams and temple architecture.

Block-printing is also an ancient art in India. It was certainly known in the days about which the Greek scholar, Arrian, wrote and probably in the days of the *Mahabharata* as well. The best known of the ancient printed textiles are the calicoes of Massalia or modern Masulipatam. The beauty of designs, colour and the fastness of the dyes of the ancient printed textiles made them popular all over the then known world. They are the originals of all the prints and chintzes familiar in Europe.

Embroidery is another ancient technique of textile designing in India. Though no example of embroidery work earlier than the sixteenth century survives, there is sufficient evidence to show that it was widespread in remote antiquity. Kutch and Kathiawar are the most important centres of chain-and-satin-stitch embroidery. It is used to decorate trappings of cattle, wall and door hangings, *cholis* and *ghagras*.

The embroidery of Sind is greatly influenced by the neighbouring areas of the Punjab and Kutch. It has, however, evolved a distinctive character of its own with the effective combination of the darning stitch of the *phulkari* and the interlaced chain-stitch of Kutch embroidery. The designs are worked out in mauve, orange, yellow and black on a rough homespun, usually of a madder brown colour.

Bengal has long been a centre of rich embroidery work. The most famous of the embroideries of Bengal, however, is the *kantha* or the embroidered multi-coloured quilt. But the art of embroidery has nowhere been carried to such perfection as in Kashmir. The woollen embroideries on Kashmir shawls are held in great esteem everywhere. The designs on the earlier shawls were all woven. It was only in the nineteenth century that the embroidered shawls first made their appearance. The embroidery work is sometimes so fine that it is often difficult to distinguish between the right and wrong sides of the fabric.

Embroidery is practised in other parts of the country as well and some of the other leading centres of embroidery in India are Madras and Uttar Pradesh. The *chikan* work of Uttar Pradesh is famous for its delicate workmanship. The *kasutis* of Karnatak and the Chamba *rumals* are attractive specimens of embroidered work. The embroidered *mekhalas* of Assam preserve a tradition which goes back to a legendary past.

Indian craftsmen have also mastered the art of creating beautiful designs on the loom. The brocades are the most gorgeous and highly ornamented of all Indian textiles. The designs are produced by warp and weft threads of different colours and materials suitably woven. Pure silk brocades are called *amrus* and those with a mixture of silk and cotton, *himrus*. The most famous in legend and history are the *kimkhabs* or woven flowers, veritable cloths of gold. Gold wire was lavishly used in the

ancient days to work out the delicate patterns on *kimkhab*s, which used to be manufactured mainly in Banaras. Even today Banaras brocades are world-famous. Other centres of brocades are Hyderabad, Gujarat and Madras. The art of brocade weaving has survived the ravages of time and various types of brocades are produced in abundance.

Jewellery: Of the many cultural traditions maintained by the people of India from time immemorial none has probably been so intense and intimate as the habit of wearing ornaments of various kinds.

Indian jewellery can be historically traced back to the period of the Indus Valley civilization when gold and semi-precious stones were in use for necklaces, armlets and ear-rings. The close of the Vedic period witnessed the introduction of pearls in the making of jewellery for the first time. The unbroken continuity of the trend is further corroborated by archaeological and literary evidence of later date. Excavated materials from Rupa, Taxila and many other places, and references in the Indian epics, Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Bharatamuni's treatise on drama or accounts left by Megasthenes, Arrian and others amply bear this out. At the Mughal court and later among princes from Rajasthan and other places, the fashion of wearing ornaments in a variety of forms and designs flourished greatly. But the ornaments worn by the people are the heritage of bygone centuries which changed little with the passage of time.

Ornaments in decorative designs wrought in the purest and finest materials are still in use. Having their roots in a common heritage, they are known and used in different corners of the land. The common hair-ornaments are the *shishphul* (floral boss), the *sur mang* (pendant chain) and a *boda* (silver hair plating) used especially for children. Other ornaments consist of the heavy *bala* (ring), the *karnaphul* (bell-shaped ear ornament) and a few others in the form of a fish or a peacock. Neck ornaments include *sat-lari* (seven strings), *jugnu* (jewelled pendant), *hansli* (silver or gold collar), etc. Arm ornaments include the *bazuband* (armlet for the upper arm), the *navaratna* (nine gems combined), the *taviz* (small amulet), the *kangan* (bracelet), the *kara* (enamelled bracelet) and the *ratanchur* (decorated gold plate) for the wrists. *Sarpach* (jewelled front ornament) and *kalgi* (jewelled plume) are different kinds of head ornaments, while the *ghungru* (silver-beaded ring), and the *chanja* (large hollow ring) are ornaments for the ankles.

Metal, Wood and Ivory Work: The knowledge of metallurgy is both old and widespread in India. Metallic vessels were known in *Rig Vedic* times, and subsequently, in the classical and mediaeval periods, copper, brass, bronzes, gold and silver objects came into universal use.

Copper is still considered to be the purest of all materials; and until recently ritual objects were entirely made of this metal. Nowadays, however, for domestic purposes, brass is preferred, although vessels of this metal are sometimes used in ritual ceremonies. As it is difficult to keep brass clean

and polished, a new alloy (*kansa*) has come into common use. It is bell-metal or white brass made of copper and tin, mixed in the proportion of about 7 : 2. Brass is an alloy compound of copper and zinc in the proportion of 5 : 4 or 5 : 3, but these proportions may vary from place to place.

Brass and copper images and articles are manufactured by means of the *cire-perdue* process and hammering.

In the *cire-perdue* method, which has been widely practised in India from ancient times, a model is first made with a mixture of clay, sand and jute fibre or paddy chaff in order to give it strength. It is then coated with a layer of brass-wax which is well smoothed, and daubed with a mixture of reed ash and earth. A thin metal tube is placed at each end of the waxed model, and the whole is then encased in layers of clay and *bhusi* or husk. When the model is thoroughly dried, it is heated in a slow fire. The melted wax is drained through the lower tube. Molten metal is then poured through the upper end into the space left by the wax. When the metal becomes cool, the shell of the clay is peeled off; and, before polishing, the cast object is worked with files or chisels. The earthenware core is then removed.

According to the second method, broken pieces of metal are melted in earthenware crucibles on a fire of wood, coal or charcoal. The molten mass is then poured into moulds and cooled with salt water. Each ingot is used to make a single utensil. It is heated and beaten upon anvils into sheets. The expanded sheets are then cut to suitable sizes and are again hammered; the alternate process of heating and beating continues until the sheet metal acquires the desired form. Having worked the utensil over with a chisel and a file, the object is polished with cocoanut and jute fibres soaked in oil.

Gracefully shaped pitchers, betel-nut cutters, small jugs, bird cages, lamps, and toilet boxes are notable examples of the work of Indian metal workers.

For the purpose of ritual ceremonies, the following articles are in universal use. Ornamental copper plates of different sizes are used for offering flowers. Temple lamps are of infinite variety, the most characteristic being the standing lamps in the form of *deepalakshmi*. Also common are *ghantas* (bells), their handles decorated with foliage or linear devices ending in a bird finial, normally a Garuda or Hanuman figure. Tray stands, of which the main motif is a stylized *gajasimha* or a peacock, are used for holding votive offerings.

Often the huge brass chariots (*rathas*) are also profusely decorated with human and animal motifs, illustrating mythological and social themes.

According to tradition, the worker in wood is called a *sūtradhara* or "one who holds the string". Wood workers are frequently mentioned in the *Rig Veda* and subsequent literature, particularly the Jatakas. Both the *Bṛihat Samhita* and *Śilpaśāstra* (a treatise on art) give full directions with regard to the season and the manner of felling trees, the seasoning of

the wood, and the manufacture of various articles from wood. The tree is to be cut down only when the sap has dried up. Trees growing on burial places and burning grounds, or on consecrated lands, trees by the roadside, or trees with withered tops are considered unsuitable for the manufacture of domestic and ritual objects. To all intents and purposes, the same traditional principles are observed by the local wood workers even today.

Owing to climatic conditions, most of the wood-carvings in India have fallen into decay. Surviving examples are to be found in architectural wood carvings, temple chariots, elephant-lion seats (*gaja-simhāsana*), or bedsteads, in various parts of the country. Besides these, wooden dolls and toys, masks, vessels, musical instruments, and furniture of daily use are important objects made by the wood-carving industry in the country.

Carved and ornamental pillars as well as those of a simpler form are widely found. Capitals or brackets are made with foliage or tasselled designs, often massed one above the other. They are sometimes provided with lateral struts carved with figures of *nāyakas* and *nāyikās*, horsemen, and elephants. Exquisite wood-carvings, particularly from Gujarat, appear on friezes, door-posts, lintels and window frames, illustrating social and mythological themes.

Temple chariots and palanquins, particularly of South India, in which images of gods and goddesses are carried in procession on sacred festivals, are most elaborate structures covered all over with mythological carvings. Similar designs are characteristic of thrones. Some of the best *jali* carvings in wood, however, are executed in Kashmir and Lucknow.

Ivory-carving is also an ancient craft. Although the ivory craft is still pursued by traditional craftsmen in many parts of India, its main centres are Barpeta (Assam) and Murshidabad (West Bengal) in Eastern India, Delhi in North India and Mysore and Travancore in South India. The ivory craft industry flourished in Delhi under the patronage of Mughal and Sikh rulers. In the twentieth century Hindu craftsmen from Murshidabad were largely employed in this craft by the ivory dealers of Delhi and the products became more simplified in form and motif. Mythological panels and animal friezes were often combined with *jali* work of Mughal pattern. Today exquisitely engraved boxes, caskets, paper-cutters, chessmen, boats, and animal figures such as elephants and camels are produced in Delhi. Travancore's superb ivory statuettes of Hindu and Christian divinities are prized in almost every home. The craft was well established as far back as the time of the Greek and Roman civilizations. The products have since been one of the major items of export of the land. Beautifully carved ivory caskets from this region found their way to mediaeval Europe much before the sixteenth century. A great variety of objects is still carved out in ivory by Kerala craftsmen who have inherited traditional techniques and skill.

They can execute with equal ease art objects made in accordance with the tenets of both ancient and modern schools of art. This traditional skill finds equal and probably a more varied expression in another medium — horn, mostly of buffalo. Probably the abundance of the material and its comparative cheapness account for its popularity and widespread use in the form of table ornaments, toilet sets, walking sticks, etc.

Pottery and Basketry: Earthenware is used by the common people mainly for cooking and drinking vessels. Dolls, toys, artificial fruits, fishes, animals, whistles, and other small objects are frequently made of earthenware. The industry is an ancient one, now confined to a class of people called *kumbhakar*s. The custom of throwing usable pots away and obtaining new ones still prevails in the country, thus maintaining a continuity of tradition and ensuring the utility of the pottery industry.

The material for making pottery is obtained from the banks of rivers or canals and from the silt deposited in the fields. The clay is well moistened with water, and all extraneous substances are carefully removed. It is then kneaded by hand and in this laborious task the *kumhar* is very largely helped by his womenfolk and children. His tools and appliances consist mainly of a wooden hand-wheel, a few rods and several flat hammers.

A moistened and well-kneaded lump of clay is placed on the central disc of the wheel; and as the wheel revolves, the workman works the mass of clay on the disc. Each vessel, as it is modelled, has to be separated from the rest of the mass of clay, and this is done by drawing a string gently through the clay at the place where it is to be cut while the wheel is turning at full speed. The vessel is then sun-dried for a couple of days; and when it is somewhat hardened, it is placed in a hollow mould made of earthenware, which is sprinkled with sand to prevent the vessel from adhering to it and from consequent cracking. A pot is then beaten with a flat wooden or earthenware mallet, held in the right hand, against a smooth, oval-shaped stone held by the left hand on the inner surface. When the required shape has been given to the vessel, it is again sun-dried, and the surface is then polished with an earthenware pestle or cotton fibres folded and moistened with water.

The decoration of pottery may be either plastic or pictorial. The plastic ornament consists of indentations, incisions, stamping of the clay pot, or pelleting. The pottery may be decorated with interlocking circles and wavy lines, zigzag and cross-wise lines. Glazing by covering the product with resinous varnish, sometimes of contrasting colours, is a late invention.

Ceramic manufacture is comparatively young. The new factories in Bangalore, Aleppey, Gwalior and Delhi and in Bengal are mainly concerned with the commercial aspect of the industry.

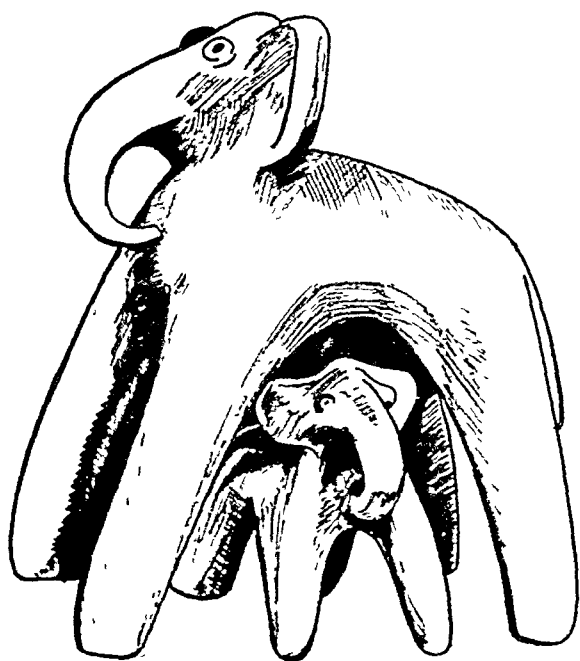
Basketry and matting are usually made in the marshy lands of the



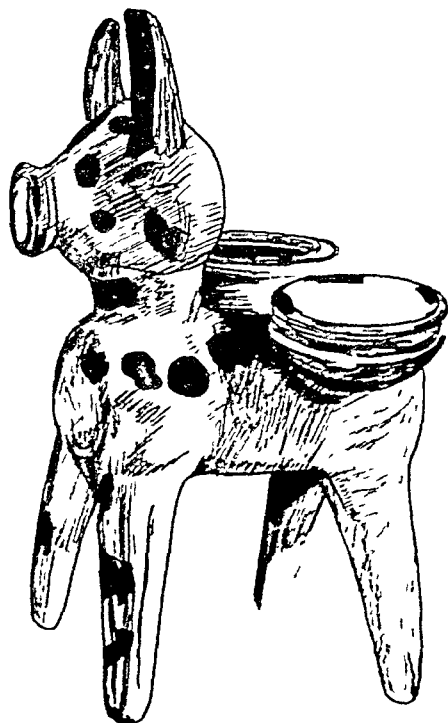
5 *Terracotta Horse, Uttar Pradesh.*



6. *Bengal Dhokra Bronze*



7. *Elephant toy Uttar Pradesh.*



8 *Ritual Horse, Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh.*

country. The materials used for their manufacture are creepers, bamboo, reeds, grasses, palm and date-palm leaves. The old and tough shoots of plants are especially suitable for this purpose.

Great care and skill are necessary for the preparation of the materials for basket-making. The quality of the finished product depends largely on the material used. Cane and bamboo are split and then subdivided and twisted until the desired warp or weft is obtained.

The finished strands are then buried in muddy water for a few days. Apart from giving durability, this process is an additional protection against the ravages of wood beetles. The natural colour is changed or modified by dyeing with vegetable colours.

Baskets may be either woven or coiled. The woven type is of a definite pattern made up of strands of warp and weft. The warp is arranged in a more or less fixed position, while the weft crosses and recrosses it, and is interwoven singly or in pairs. The composition of the basket and its decorative designs and patterns depend on the width, colour, and other features of the weaving materials, as well as on the methods of weaving. The principal type of woven baskets in India are chequer work, twilled work, wicker work, and twined work and each has several varieties.

For ornamentation, many geometrical designs, foliage patterns, and, in rare instances, human and animal forms, are used, depending upon the structure and colouring of the different strands. Coloured ornamentation is done by employing material of natural colour, the use of dyed materials, and the addition of beads, cowries and other ornamented objects. The most striking artistic effect is obtained by simple lines, bends, spirals and geometric designs. The design of the basket is modified by breaking, bending and setting the materials at different angles.

The degree of fineness of the workmanship is shown in the variety of baskets, particularly *petaras* (oval boxes), oblong caskets, flower baskets, winnowing fans, sieves, sun-hats, measure bowls, and fishing traps.

Mats are woven of bamboo, reeds, grasses, cane and strips of palm and date-palm leaves. Artistically two kinds of mats are noteworthy — those made of *madur* grass (*cyperus tegetum* and *cyperus pangoric*) and those made of *sitalpati* grass (*maranta dichotoma*). Screwpine mat weaving, it may be added, has been in vogue in Travancore State for a very long time.

Mats of excellent quality known as *sitalpatis* are made of grass in Bengal, Tripura and the bordering areas. The quality of a *sitalpati* is judged by its gloss and its delicacy of texture. It is famous both for the high quality of its workmanship and its ornamental weaving. In general, the decoration is limited to chequer-board, diagonal, spiral, zigzag and leaf (*kalka*) pattern, and also human and animal figures which illustrate mythological and folk stories.

The industry is entirely in the hands of women. Parents receive a heavy compensation from the men who marry their daughters, the amount

being proportional to the skill in making *sitalpati* mats.

India's crafts in their perennial vitality encompass emotion and thought, the conscious and the subconscious. Symbolic of the universal urge, the heritage springs from the deepest source of the unchanging inner life, coming down from the past through the present to the future.

Indian Christian Art Yesterday and Today

Anthony D'Costa

From prehistoric times man in India, as elsewhere, has sought to represent the world around him and the hidden reality behind it through the medium of plastic art and painted representation. In the early centuries of the Christian era, Indian artists showed the gods and goddesses and superhuman beings in the likeness of real men and women, having one head, a pair of hands and a pair of feet. At a later period a highly developed symbolism came into vogue, particularly under the influence of Tantrism, and we have figures with many heads and many pairs of hands and feet. However, it is remarkable that although Christian as well as non-Christian artists have over the years contributed to the development of Indian Christian art, none of them have incorporated this latter kind of symbolism into their Christian themes. The explanation probably lies in the fact that Christianity being an historical religion, these artists have with sure insight divined that such symbolism does not accord well with it.

When we talk of "Indian" and "Indian Christian" art, we obviously imply that such art is distinct from that of other countries and other Christian peoples. It must be noted, however, that there exist at times striking similarities between the arts of different countries. This fact imparts to art a universal dimension, so that when what goes as the art of one country is imported into another, it could still blend well with the local art. The *trīśūl*, for example, is found associated with Śiva in India, with Neptune in Greco-Roman mythology, and with the figure of Death in the Christian iconography of medieval Europe. Hence a representation of the Greco-Roman god of the ocean or a medieval European picture of Death would not be entirely out of place in an Indian setting.

As might be expected, the earliest specimens of Indian Christian art are to be found among the Syrian Christians of Kerala, who claim to be descended from the Apostle St. Thomas. One such example is the stone relief of a cross, which has its extremities shaped like a trefoil, and rests on a terraced pedestal. Behind the pedestal is what appears to be a conventionalized lotus flower in full bloom, placed there to make it seem that the cross is sprouting from the flower. Below the pedestal, a band has been carved across the whole width of the stone on which can be seen reliefs of rosettes. All these motifs — the trefoil, the stepped base, the rosette — were present in India from very early times and can be discerned in the art of Mohenjo-daro, Taxila and Sanchi. Moreover, India shared these motifs with the contemporary civilizations of the Middle East.¹ The big, monolithic cross which Father Henry Heras observed behind the church of Kuduruthi, in the diocese of Kottayam, is yet another example, and engraved on its pedestal are elephants, lotuses and other classical Indian motifs. Finally, there is the baptismal font which has been carved out of a single block of stone and has its outer surface chiselled in such a way as to make it appear like a lotus in full bloom. The block

rests on a pedestal which is supported by four sculptured lions, just like the *dharmacakra* of some of the early Buddhist pillars.²

The coming of the Portuguese is generally taken to mark the commencement of the westernization of Indian Christians, particularly with regard to art. The more perceptive scholars, indeed, did not fail to notice the presence of decorative motifs such as the lotus on the façades of several Indo-Portuguese churches. But even they readily conceded that Indo-Portuguese art was inspired by western forms and was therefore like an exotic plant. This was certainly a mistaken assumption. For we learn from the contemporary sources that even in the early days of Portuguese rule, Hindu artists' guilds employed their skill on Christian themes. They were patronized by the Church as well as private individuals and their productions are said to have been inspired by genuine religious sentiment.

To this period belongs the exquisite palm-wood statuette of the Child Jesus from Goa, which is now in the museum of the Heras Institute. (Pl. 1.) The Child is seated in the *yogāsana* fashion. The right elbow rests on the thigh and the arm supports the head, which is inclined slightly to the side. The left hand is placed on a globe which is resting on the left thigh. The pedestal consists of a fire which appears to issue from the ground, becomes parted at the Child's feet and envelops his figure up to the knees. This statuette resembles very much the mourning Gandhara *bodhisattva*, who is filled with compassion at the sight of human misery.³ (Pl. 2.) The motif of the Vedic sacrificial fire has been noticed on the eastern gateway of the great *stūpa* at Sanchi,⁴ and has been here most appropriately turned to account in connection with Christ who was to the last conscious that he was called upon to sacrifice himself for the good of mankind. The globe is a well-known Christian symbol, signifying God's dominion over the world. And it is interesting to observe that when the Portuguese captain, João de Castro, visited Elephanta and Kanheri in 1538, he mistook the *linga* and the *stūpa* for a globe.

The statuette is a masterpiece of Indian Christian art and calls for some further comment. In the early centuries of the Christian era, Buddhism had exerted a powerful influence in the western Deccan and the Konkan. The discovery of Buddhist remains in Goa and the monumental caves of Ajanta, Karla, Bhaja, and Kanheri prove this beyond doubt. The artists of that period naturally exercised their skill on Buddhist themes, and the sorrowing *bodhisattva* must have been one of them. From about the fifth century onwards, however, Hinduism in its present form began to assert itself and in the course of the following centuries succeeded in absorbing Buddhism. The free standing Buddhist structures disappeared and were replaced by Hindu shrines, and the artists now took to Hindu themes. The conception of a superhuman being who himself experiences sorrow on account of the ills which afflict men is not very evident in Hinduism, and so could not find expression in art any longer. It speaks volumes for the

long memory of the old Indian artists' guilds that when, after the lapse of several centuries, they were told of Jesus the man of sorrows, they were able to recall the sorrowing *bodhisattva* as the form in which they could most appropriately represent him in the Indian manner. A diligent search in the lumber rooms of the old Indo-Portuguese churches may yield similar gems of Indian Christian art.

In the church of Korlai, at the southern tip of the bay of Bombay, is a wooden panel of this period showing Mary suckling the Child. The execution is European, but the motif is common to Indian and European art, and the panel must not have seemed wholly foreign to the Indian Christians of the time. (Pl. 3, 4.)

The architects of the churches which arose in Goa and the other areas under Portuguese rule were, indeed, influenced by the baroque art and its derivations which prevailed in Europe at the time. However, the craftsmen and masons were Indians and were allowed some freedom to give play to their creative talent, particularly with regard to decoration. This can be seen in the ruined church in the fort of Chaul. The ribs of the vault distinctly recall the wooden ribs of the Buddhist *cāityas* at Karla, Ajanta and other places. At Chaul, the use of stucco, a more malleable material than wood, permitted the craftsmen to devise curves and fashion elegant patterns — a good example of how change of material can contribute to the development of art. (Pl. 5.)

Nor was there anything un-Indian about the baroque façades of these churches. It had been the same when the Turks had introduced the arch and the dome into India in the twelfth century. Their construction technique was new to the land, but the form of the arch and the dome had made their appearance here centuries earlier: the Buddhist *stūpa* had the shape of a dome, and the entrance of the *cāitya* was in the form of an arch. Similarly, the façade of these Indo-Portuguese churches had its counterpart in the *kīrti-mukha* window of the Hindu temple. (Pl. 6.)

In 1579 Akbar invited the Jesuits to his court, and the year following the first batch of Jesuits headed by Father Rudolf Acquaviva arrived at Fatehpur Sikri. That event may be said to mark the beginning of the Catholic Church in north India. The missionaries presented the emperors and their other Muslim benefactors with western Christian paintings, and these in their turn commissioned artists to do similar pictures for them. Such paintings are today found scattered here and there, in public museums and private homes, and are the subject of a detailed study by Fr. Felix zu Loewenstein.⁵ Generally, these pictures are copies of European models, except that the figures are dressed in the Indian fashion. There is one remarkable picture which Loewenstein has reproduced under No. 18 in his book, and to which he has given the caption, 'A type of Mary the sinless'. It depicts a standing young maiden, having the hands joined in an exquisite *añjalī-mudrā* and the legs crossed in the elegant *ardha-sama*



Plate 1



Shenar N.

Plate 2



Plate 3

pose so characteristic of Krishna when represented as the flute-player. The lines are very delicately drawn and recall the ethereal quality of Fra Angelico's paintings. The natural ease with which the *ardha-sama* pose has been depicted bespeaks an Indian and probably a Hindu artist. The picture shows how well the artist had entered into the spirit of his Christian theme.

In the Catholic cemetery near Civil Lines, Agra, we have several tombs of this period which are evidently inspired by Mughal forms. Here are to be observed the spear-headed arch, the window of pierced screen, the *chajjā*, the bulbous dome complete with the *āmalaka* and *kalāśa*. The tombs of John William Hession and Ellis Merchant are each crowned by a dome which approaches the elegance of the Shahjehanian prototype. The former tomb looks like the Taj in miniature, and the floral reliefs on its walls are among the most elegant of their kind. A perceptive scholar has remarked about these tombs as follows: "The builders of these tombs employed Indian masons to work out Indian plans with Indian techniques. . . . Decorative motifs are Hindu and Muslim, but the distinction has disappeared in these tombs and the style has become purely Indian. The fusion of two building techniques, Hindu and Muslim, which began unconsciously in the Sultanate period and [continued] consciously in the Mughal period is complete in these Christian tombs. The style of this architecture is the greatest and most perfect manifestation of this fusion."⁶

In the far south, on the confines of the Mughal empire, there lived in the eighteenth century the Italian Jesuit apostle, Constant Beschi. He was an accomplished Tamil scholar and has to his credit a poem called the *Tembāvani*, which is regarded as a classic. We also learn that he had a statue of the Mother of Jesus made, draped in a sari, after the fashion of a Tamil lady.

The nineteenth century witnessed the complete establishment of British rule in the country. English education served Indians as a window on Europe and civil buildings came to be constructed in the Gothic and Renaissance styles. The Gothic now became the preferred style for Christian churches. Moreover, as a result of the improved means of communication and trade, European religious pictures and statues were imported and installed in churches and Christian homes. Gradually there developed the feeling, particularly among Catholics, that the only appropriate idiom in which to represent Christ and the saints was the western.

By the twenties of the present century, young Indian artists here and there found this situation unnatural and experienced the urge to represent Christian themes in an Indian way. Some of them have adopted Ajanta techniques, particularly in delineating the hands and eyes. Others, however, have preferred to follow the modern Indian school and depict their subjects naturally: what makes their pictures recognizable

as Indian is not the *mudrā* or *āsana*, because there is little attempt at it, but a distinctive atmosphere which European critics have been quick to notice. As in former days, so also now, friendly Hindus have made their own contribution towards the renaissance of Indian Christian art.

As was only to be expected, the Catholics who had become habituated to western forms felt hesitant about the new spirit which animated these artists. The Protestants were better disposed to welcome the new movement and even afforded shelter to the Catholic artist, Angelo da Fonseca, in his early years. It was from European Christians, however, that these pioneers received the most significant moral and material support. Foremost among these we encounter Cardinal Celso Costantini, who was for long years the secretary of the Catholic Church's central committee for diffusing knowledge about the Church and regarded it as his life's mission to encourage the development of native Christian art in African and Asian countries. He was of a scholarly temperament, conversant with the writings of Italian orientalists like Giuseppe Tucci, who had drawn pointed attention to the fact that Indo-Muslim art is a perfect blend of ancient Indian and Turco-Persian, and in the case of the Taj Mahal perhaps also of European, elements. The study of this art made Costantini discern the possibility of a distinctive Indian Christian art.

Father Henry Heras, the founder of the historical institute which today goes by his name, was another untiring advocate of the same cause. In 1927 he contributed a series of articles on the subject to *The Examiner*, the Catholic weekly of Bombay, which attracted the attention of Costantini, and the two became fast friends. When Costantini planned to hold in 1950 in Rome an exhibition of Christian art from the countries of Asia, Africa and America, Fr. Heras was selected to organize the Indian section. It was on this occasion that Costantini wrote to Fr. Heras, advising him not to take adverse criticism too much to heart and encouraged him in the following words: "We shouldn't be surprised if at times certain difficulties arise, especially when it is a question of a reform contrary to colonial traditions. But we are on the right road." And it is pleasant to record that Mgr. Giovanni Battista Montini, who was at the time substitute Secretary of State under Pope Pius XII, took a personal interest in the exhibition as attested by the following cable, addressed to Fr. Heras and received in Bombay on August 6, 1948: "Vatican City: Monsignor Montini communicates exhibits needed within December — Montini, Substitute." Today, Montini is Pope Paul VI.

One of the earliest artists of the Indian Christian renaissance was Angelo da Fonseca who had studied under the acknowledged master, A.N. Tagore, at Santiniketan. Costantini had a high regard for him and once remarked that the most notable thing about him was "his sense of composition and colour; but above all, an extremely delicate feeling for the line and the grace and harmony of design, which impart to

his creations a musical rhythm.” Hindus too appreciated his efforts and he felt rewarded when the *Modern Review* reproduced in colour his painting of Mary with the Child Jesus.⁸ Herr Sepp Schueller, the curator of the Catholic museum of Aachen, not only acquired some of his paintings for his institution, but also introduced him to the European public by bringing out a pamphlet describing his art. Fr. Heras too supported him warmly till the very end; and Fonseca showed his gratitude in the true fashion of an artist about the year 1949, when he was asked to do a picture showing the arrival of the first Jesuit mission at Akbar’s court. He took the opportunity to depict one of the members of the mission as Fr. Heras with his flowing white beard.⁹

Next we have Olympio C. Rodrigues, who received his training in the J.J. School of Art in Bombay. He has done a set of paintings in water colours, depicting the biblical story of the creation and fall of man. One of these shows Adam in his primeval simplicity, seated in the *padmāsana* posture, with his left hand resting in his lap as in the *dhyāna-mudrā* and the right raised in the *ardha-patākā* gesture. Ranged about him in harmonious pairs, as though doing him homage, are various kinds of animals, big and small. The ruddy sky in the background suggests the dawn of creation. The inspiration is thoroughly biblical, and yet a person versed in ancient Indian lore will not fail to be reminded of Śiva *paśupati*, the lord of creation.¹⁰

An artist of the modern school is Alfred Thomas, who graduated through the Lucknow School of Art. Costantini described him as an artist possessed of a rich imagination and an expert technique. His crowning achievement is his life of Christ in twenty-four pictures which were published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.¹¹ The publisher’s brief introduction is a fine example of a westerner’s appreciation of Indian Christian art. The painting of the crucifixion, for example, shows a young-looking Christ, with his hair arranged like that of a Gandhara Buddha. The background consists of a dusty waste and a darkening sky. Kneeling in sorrow at the foot of the cross is Magdalen, and a short distance away is a tiny red flower with its drooping head. Interpreting this picture, the publisher observes: “A single tiny flower bows its head at the foot of the Cross worshipping the Son of God and representing the homage of nature. Darkness surrounds the Lord’s Head but at his feet there is already light and hope for those who kneel in adoration.”

Thomas Wesley is another Indian Christian artist of the Lucknow school. One of the secrets of his success is his technique of painting on wet paper, which enables him to obtain an even wash and impart a subdued tonality to his pictures.¹² Of his painting of the Annunciation an Italian critic has remarked that the absence of the angel, so invariably to be found in western representations of the scene, is quite expressive of



Plate 4



Plate 5



Plate 6

Indian spirituality, according to which a heavenly message is perceived mentally and not through the senses.

Angela da Trindade, a former pupil of the J.J. School of Art, Bombay, belongs to the classical school and was in her early years encouraged by Alcuin van Miltenburg, Archbishop of Karachi. One of her masterpieces is that which represents Mary being taken up to heaven. The figures of Mary and the angels who accompany her are so disposed as to suggest a big, sweeping, upward movement. The entire composition has the quality of the flying figures of Ajanta. One detail calls for comment. An angel appears in the foreground at Mary's feet, offering her a bunch of lotuses. He is shown with his back towards the onlooker — an ancient device going back to the Buddhist art of the Śunga period.¹³ Angela da Trindade has also profusely illustrated with bright pictures a Hindi life of Christ.

Among the recent arrivals is Sister Geneviève. One of her most exquisite creations is the one which shows Mary in a sari, a luminous white figure against a completely blue background, as though poised in the sky. Her right hand is in the *tarjanī-mudrā*, her upright fore finger placed on her lips, suggesting silence and meditation. The picture is intended to illustrate the statement in the Bible that Mary ever cherished the memories of Jesus' childhood in her heart.

As in the sixteenth century, so also now, Hindu artists have not been slow to exercise their talents on Christian themes. Foremost among these is T.K.N. Trivikram, grandson of Raja Ravi Varma of Travancore. Jawaharlal Nehru, on seeing his paintings, once remarked that they conveyed "a sense of power and beauty, and some kind of inner spirit breathing through them."¹⁴ In 1931 he did an oil painting of Christ on the cross asking the Father to forgive his enemies, which he willingly loaned to Fr. Heras for the Vatican exhibition. The face of Christ is shown in profile against a dark background. The parted lips, the half closed eye done in the Ajanta style and turned heavenward, the streak of blood running down from the crown of thorns — all bespeak a soul in agony and yet in deep communion with God.¹⁵

Manohar Joshi of Bombay has also made a significant contribution in this field. He promptly responded to Fr. Heras's call to do scenes from Christ's life for the Vatican exhibition. For the scene of the agony in the garden, the Father gave him detailed instructions which he faithfully followed. But the colour scheme was his own, and of this an Italian critic observed that the dark green hue of the picture was extremely forceful and suggestive.

Chandrakant N. Mhatre, a former pupil of the J.J. School of Art, Bombay, had an opportunity to perfect his technique in Spain and was for some years closely associated with Fr. Heras. Angelo da Fonseca said of his productions that they "are characterized by a wave of

spirituality which is translated in a magnificent colour scheme". A fine example of this is his picture illustrating the second sentence of the Bible, "the breath of God moved on the waters". The breath is portrayed as Vishnu on a lotus pedestal, his right hand raised in the familiar *abhaya-mudrā* and the left holding the *gadā*. He is surrounded by celestial attendants seated in the *vīrāsana* pose. His movement over the waters is suggested by a white streak like that left in its wake by a ship. Bright rainbow colours have been used, signifying the peace and order that followed the storm and chaos which attended the birth of the universe.

Christian devotion has also found expression in Indian music. For generations now the Christians of Tamil Nadu, Bihar, and other regions, have sung to Christ and his Mother in their regional music. In Goa there evolved under the influence of the West a unique genre of music, which is none the less thoroughly Indian. Anyone who has heard Goan Hindu music will be able to detect the original substratum in the Christian music.

The age-old Indian art of dancing has also been utilized to represent biblical stories. Notable among these attempts is the Dance of the Earthly Paradise composed by Fr. G. Proksch, and the dances portraying Gospel parables composed by Fr. Edmond.

Church vestments decorated with motifs drawn from classical Indian art have also begun to make their appearance. Visitors to the Vatican exhibition of 1950 could see there vestments embroidered by the Franciscan Sisters with floral motifs of the kind one encounters in the murals and reliefs of Ajanta.¹⁶

In the field of church architecture there has been a conscious reaction against the Indo-Portuguese and Gothic styles, quite often due to the mistaken notion that they are un-Indian. How truly Indian the façade of the Indo-Portuguese churches is, we already had occasion to notice. Similarly, the pointed arch of a Gothic church fits in perfectly well with the Turco-Mughal arch of the mosque and the ornamental *torāṇa* of the gateway of Hindu temple.

As a result of this reaction, several churches have been constructed in the medieval Indian style. There is the Catholic cathedral of Patna, having a portico of pointed engrailed arches, like the gateway of a Shahjehanian palace.¹⁷ The Anglican cathedral of Dornakal, in Andhra Pradesh, built in 1928, has its entrance in the post and lintel style, which is the accepted one for the *maṇḍapa* of a south Indian temple. However, above the transverse beam is a pediment, and this makes it look like a Greek temple. On either side of the entrance rises a polygonal tower, which is crowned by a peculiar dome.¹⁸ At Mokameh, in Bihar, was constructed some years ago a shrine in honour of the Mother of Jesus, which is a good example of that blend of Hindu and Muslim elements which one sees realized in an eminent degree in the palaces of Akbar's city of Fatehpur Sikri. A close view of the façade gives the impression that it

is surmounted by a high central dome flanked by two smaller domes, one on each side, like the Moti-Masjids of Delhi and Agra. Actually, this is an optical illusion, for the smaller domes are the crowning portion of the side towers of the façade, whereas the central dome is at the other end over the sanctuary. The entrance to the shrine is of the *maṇḍapa* type and the side towers have long windows of pierced screen in the shape of the north Indian *śikhara*.¹⁹ Finally, at Kalimpong in the Himalayas was built in 1951 a church in the approved style of a Tibetan Buddhist shrine, locally called "gompa". It has a two-tiered roof, and the sanctuary is divided from the nave by an arch resembling a lotus bud. The decorations consist of Buddhist motifs such as the wheel and the lotus.²⁰

This is but an inadequate survey of Indian Christian art. Many more artists deserve to be mentioned, and those who have been dealt with here merit a fuller treatment. But enough has been said to show that almost from the dawn of Christianity in this land, there has existed an Indian Christian art and that it is today coming fully into its own.

- ¹ G. M. Moraes, *A History of Christianity in India, from early times to St. Francis Xavier A D 52-1544* (Bombay 1964) pl facing p. 76, Irene N. Gajjar, *Ancient Indian Art and the West, a study of parallels, continuity and symbolism from proto-historic to early Buddhist times* (Bombay 1971) 3f
- ² The font has been reproduced in Moraes, pl facing p 196
- ³ Ernest Waldschmidt, *Gandhara-Kutscha-Turfan, eine Einführung in die fruehmittelalterliche Kunst Zentralasiens* (Leipzig 1925) pl 1.
- ⁴ J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (2nd ed, Calcutta 1956) 302.
- ⁵ *Christliche Bilder in altindischer Malerei*, Muenster 1958
- ⁶ R. Nath, 'Important Christian Tombs at Agra', in *Indica* (organ of the Heras Institute) 4 (1967) 34, cf also his article on Hessing's tomb, in *Indica* 6 (1969) 29-36.
- ⁷ Heras Papers
- ⁸ *Modern Review* (Calcutta 1935) no 6
- ⁹ This picture is kept in the museum of the Heras Institute.
- ¹⁰ This entire set forms part of the museum of the Heras Institute.
- ¹¹ *The Life of Christ by an Indian Artist*, London 1948
- ¹² Heras Papers, Letter of Denis Arango, S J, to Fr. Heras, 19 Oct. 1949.
- ¹³ Reproduced in *Mostra d'Arte Missionaria*, Vatican 1950
- ¹⁴ Heras Papers
- ¹⁵ Reproduced in *Exposición de Arte Sacro Misional*, Madrid 1951.
- ¹⁶ A couple of specimens are found reproduced in *Mostra d'Arte Missionaria*.
- ¹⁷ Celso Costantini, *L'Arte Cristiana nelle Missioni, manuale d'arte per i missionari* (Vatican 1940) 258.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid* 260
- ¹⁹ Reproduced in *Liturgical Arts*, 22 (New York 1953) no. 1.
- ²⁰ Reproduced *ibid*.

Mola Ram: Painter and Poet

Mukandi Lal

Mola Ram (A.D. 1743-1833) was not only a great painter; he was a poet, a philosopher, and also a historian. His fame as a thinker and artist spread over a wide region of north India. He had his own studio, which was visited by artists and savants from the plains. In 1803 the Gorkhas attacked Garhwal and ruled it for twelve years, until they were driven out in 1815. The Raja of Garhwal established his capital at Tehri during these twelve years. Mola Ram did not go to the new capital and remained at Srinagar.

The first Gorkha governor of Garhwal, Hastidal Thapa, visited Mola Ram's studio and told him that he had heard a great deal about his paintings, and was delighted to see them at last with his own eyes. Similarly when a savant, Mani Ram Bairagi, visited Srinagar in 1818 for a second time (he had visited Srinagar earlier in 1775 when the capital of Garhwal was very prosperous, glamorous, and a seat of learning) he told Mola Ram that he had come to see with his own eyes what he had heard in the plains, and asked him to reveal to him the secret of excellence in art.

A Muslim artist from the plains, Bakar Ali, went to Mola Ram to learn painting and remained with him for a long time.

Mola Ram was often consulted by the Rajas. When Raja Jaikrit Shah (reigned 1780-1785) was attacked by his Faujdar (governor) Ghamand Singh of Dehra Dun, the Raja went to Mola Ram's studio and asked Mola Ram to go to Nahan to seek the aid of Raja Jagat Prakash of Nahan to meet the attack of the rebel governor. Mola Ram did not go to Nahan himself. He painted a picture showing an elephant caught in quagmire being helped out of the mud by another elephant. He sent Dhani Ram to Nahan with the painting and also sought his help in a verse in which he said the moon was being swallowed by Rahu Ghamand Singh. The painting and the verse had the desired effect. Jaikrit Shah was able to vanquish Ghamand Singh with the help of the Raja of Nahan.

I first introduced Mola Ram to art lovers in 1921, and continued for ten years writing about Mola Ram as a great Pahari painter. Until 1930 all the specimens of Mola Ram's paintings which I had discovered with his descendant Balak Ram (1867-1956) were in the Rajput Pahari style in the Kangra Kalam.

In 1930 I found in the Mola Ram collection an excellent drawing in the Mughal style of a gay girl who had just finished her bath and was not yet fully clad, listening to music and drinking cup after cup. Out of the descriptive verse by Mola Ram, dated 1771, two facts come out prominently. The first is that Mola Ram, who wrote that he was a poet and had not admitted in any other drawing or painting, so far discovered, that he was a painter, *mussawar*, admitted in this drawing that he was a painter also. The other fact proved is that up to 1771 Mola Ram painted in the Mughal style.

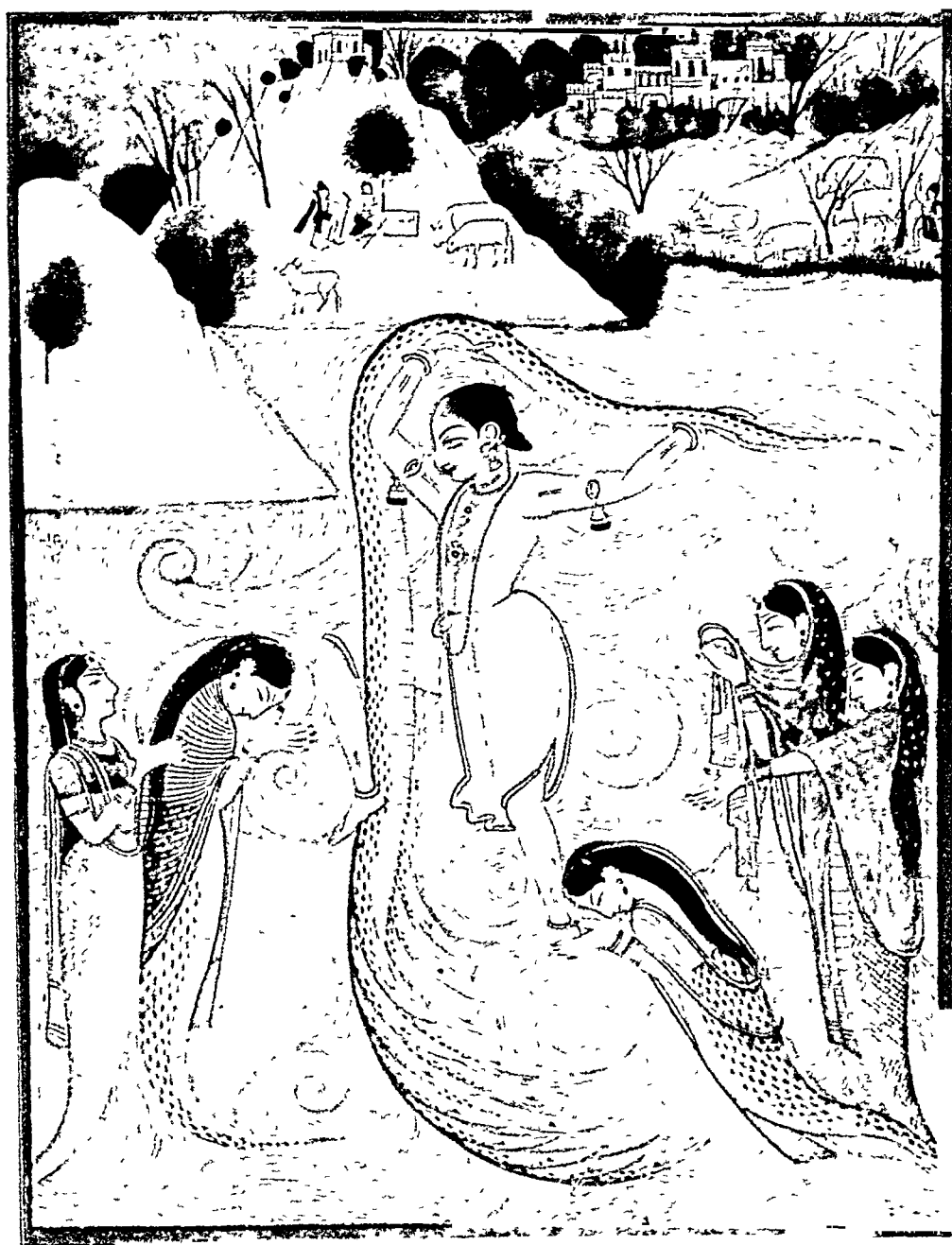
I went in search of further evidence of Mola Ram paintings in Mughal style and found them. One painting shows a royal figure, probably Jahangir, in a swing with his favourite courtesan surrounded by ten maids, dancing girls, and musicians, in a Mughal garden. Another specimen of Mola Ram's painting in the Mughal style in colour, which I found in his collection, shows Akbar at a village well. There is in my collection a painting of Gobardhan Dharan which bears influence of the Mughal style. I have in my collection more drawings and two paintings of Mola Ram in Mughal style, all of which conclusively prove that Mola Ram painted in the Mughal style, the style of his ancestors, who were court painters of Shahjahan's *darbar*.

In Mola Ram's collection I discovered one large-sized unfinished painting, "Consoling the Queens", which obviously appears to be the work of a beginner who had started painting in the Rajput (Pahari) style. This painting is dated A.D. 1769. On the back of the picture there is a verse by Mola Ram in which he has described the qualities of the sycophants who surrounded the Rajas. Another work of Mola Ram belonging to the early period when he had started practising in the new (Pahari) style is a painting of a lady who is depicted as playing with a peacock. The painting is dated 1775. In the verse at the top of the painting he tells us that he prefers sincere appreciation of his art to tons of money and thousands of villages as reward.

Another outstanding painting which attests to Mola Ram's eminence as a painter is the portrait of Jai Dev Wazir, which is now in the possession of Shri Girja Kishore Joshi, to whose grandfather, Badri Datt Joshi, it was presented along with some other paintings by Tej Ram, the great-grandson of Mola Ram in 1890. Tej Ram died in 1906. I had seen Tej Ram doing the work of a goldsmith, the profession which later descendants of Mola Ram carried on for some time. Tej Ram was born in 1833, the year when Mola Ram died.

In this painting Mola Ram shows Jai Dev riding a beautiful hill pony (evidently proceeding to the court) accompanied by five attendants and smoking even when riding. The Wazir is dressed in Maratha court dress and his attendants and followers wear the Garhwali court dress. On the top of the painting Mola Ram has written a verse in which he has described the qualities of the great minister and has also indirectly referred to himself as a painter. He says in the descriptive verse that when he painted it Jai Dev Wazir presented him with a shawl, a *pugri* and a hundred and one rupees in cash.

About the qualities of the minister, Mola Ram says that he was very learned, modest, brave, truthful, and a man of few words. He hated misers and was very generous. He kept his word and was loved by everyone, particularly by the learned. He gave due punishment to offenders. Then Mola Ram says: "O all good people, listen to these words of Mola Ram,



Kālia Daman. Mola Ram. Garhwal Pahari School.

written thoughtfully. I, Mola Ram, admire people who keep their word and I do not like fools.”

In identifying the painting I came up against a problem, and that was that Jai Dev Wazir's name had so far not been discovered in any historical document. As luck would have it, in 1964 I was shown a *sanad* by the Mahant of Kamleshwar temple near Srinagar, which was dictated by Jai Dev Wazir under the orders of the ruler Praduman Shah (reigned 1785-1804) and written by Hari Datt Khanduri. Still it was not yet known to which family of the Raja's ministers he belonged. On June 11, 1972, I was shown a *tāmra patra sanad* by Captain Thakur Shurbir Singh at Tehri in which Jai Dev is described as Jai Dev Wazir Dangwal, minister of Raja Praduman Shah. That proves that Jai Dev belonged to the Dangwal family of Brahmin ministers of the Rajas of Garhwal.

Mola Ram had a regular studio where he taught his pupils the art of painting. It was visited by contemporary rulers and artists.

As already noted, when the Gorkhas drove away Raja Praduman Shah and his brother Pritam Shah (another brother Parakram Shah having been taken to Nepal) Mola Ram did not accompany the royal family, but stayed back in Srinagar. The new capital was established at Tehri, thirty miles away. Kunwar Pritam Shah, who had been taking lessons in painting from Mola Ram, came all the way from Tehri to Srinagar to continue his studies. Mola Ram's house was not only a studio but a sort of *salon* where literary men, scholars and poets foregathered. Some of his pupils and his brothers had left Srinagar when the Gorkhas occupied it. One of the brothers was Ajab Ram, who had two talented pupils, Chaitu and Manku. Some works of Ajab Ram, Chaitu, and Manku have been found. The works of Chaitu and Manku are remarkable and come up to the standard of Mola Ram's painting. But Ajab Ram's own paintings are of inferior quality.

Mola Ram painted mythological subjects such as *avatāns*, *Aṣṭdurgā*, *Navagraha*, etc., and also portraits of contemporary royal personages and statesmen. But the themes which won him great renown and offered him an opportunity to display his poetical talents were the paintings of *nāyikās* in various playful moods. *Chakor Pīyā* is a painting in which a lady is shown playing with a *chakor*. The original of this painting is in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi. In another painting a woman is shown playing on a *sitar* while she waits for her beloved to return. In *Bālak ko khilawat hai* a lady is playing with a baby. The painting is described in a beautiful verse. The original is in the collection of Raja Pratap Bikram Shah of Savyhai. In *Bāsak śayyā nāyikā*, Radha is sitting in a bower waiting for Krishna. Mola Ram has written a verse above the picture. This original painting of *Bāsak śayyā* was one of the eight *nāyikā* paintings that were painted and described by Mola Ram and were acquired by Maharaja Narendra Shah of Tehri Garhwal from Balak Ram. Out of this set, before

it was acquired by the Maharaja, I had already made known the painting *Utkaṇṭhita nāyikā*. Although both these are in the collection of the Maharaja Narendra Shah, I have their original sketches.

The *Bāsak śayyā* is a painting of exceptional loveliness. Mola Ram's poem says that Radha looks like a flickering flame waiting for the coming of Krishna and trying to hide her beauty with beautiful garments. Another celebrated Mola Ram painting, the *Vipralabdā Nāyikā*, also has a descriptive poem by him at the top. The painting shows a lady who has come to a tryst under the appointed tree but her lover has not turned up. So she is throwing down her ornaments one by one, thinking they are a burden in the absence of their admirer. There are two *abhisārikā* paintings by Mola Ram. In one the transparent drapery and the movement of the anxious beauty proceeding to her lover's house are most attractively depicted. The other *abhisārikā* painting by Mola Ram, which originally formed part of the set of *aṣṭa nāyikās* acquired by the Maharaja of Tehri and has been included by William Archer in his portfolio of ten paintings of the Garhwal School, shows a damsel proceeding to her lover's house on a night so dark that one cannot see even her face. Her clothes are caught by thorns, her jewels are coming off, and there are demons in the dark trees. The poet asks: "Is she a sister of a demon that she is facing such storm and the snakes are twining around her ankle?"

Mola Ram's mythological paintings are also superbly conceived and executed. Among them *Kāliā Daman* is particularly noteworthy. In it one can see certain landmarks of Srinagar which are present even today. The hills opposite the old Srinagar town, particularly the hill called Ranihat, are easily recognizable although the old Srinagar and the palaces of the Rajas which are painted on the right side were washed away by floods in 1894. These palaces, which had stood until 1894, were built of very large stones. Even the doors and frames of doors were made of single slabs of stones. I had seen the palace in 1892 myself. The artist shows Krishna, having taken off his clothes, jumping into the river in his loincloth. In no other picture have I seen Krishna in the bare body without a head-dress. The five mermaid wives of the serpent king Kāliā are shown wearing the most beautiful dresses and ornaments. They are imploring Krishna to spare Kāliā's life and promising to leave the waters of the Jamuna.

There are two other remarkable paintings by Mola Ram, one in my collection and another in the Lucknow Museum. In both the subject is the same, Balaram digging with his plough on a rocky hill for water to quench the thirst of Krishna.

There is an extraordinary folk tale current in Tehri Garhwal about this Puranic incident that was casually related to me in 1942. On the bank of the Jamuna in Tehri Garhwal, at a place called Kua opposite to Lakhagriha, I saw a very large volume of water rushing out of a bare and

perpendicular rocky hill about three thousand feet in height and questioned the villagers about it. They said that it was Ganga coming to meet her sister Jamuna. The Ganga runs in another part of Garhwal which was then called British Garhwal. I laughed at their imagination, but when I saw the painting in Lucknow Museum I realized that Mola Ram had painted what his compatriots of Kua had believed. In this painting the Ganga is shown as a woman coming out of a hole in the rocky hill with a water jar in her hands, while Balaram is using his plough. Mola Ram also painted romantic pictures of the elopement of Rukmini with Krishna. I have seen two sets. One set of fifteen paintings of Rukmini Haran is with Shri G.K. Joshi and another set of thirteen is with me. The finest among this set is a picture showing Krishna's message to Rukmini. It is a most expressive and animated picture. In another Mola Ram shows Rukmini going to the temple along with her maids. They all wear charming dresses and ornaments. Six guards who are accompanying Rukmini to the Durga temple from where she elopes with Krishna are also painted most appropriately, armed with shields and swords. A priest is also shown, carrying flowers.

I should now like to mention a few *avatār* paintings executed by Mola Ram. The *Narasimha Avatār* is a particularly impressive picture. It bears the word *dhyān* on top, in Mola Ram's hand. The demon Hiranyakaśipu had a boon from Lord Siva that he would not be killed by any being on earth, or by any weapon, or during the day or at night, or inside a house or outside it. So he thought he was immortal, and started harassing the devotees of Vishnu, including his own son Prahlad. To protect his devotees, Vishnu assumed the form of a new kind of creature, half-man and half-lion, took hold of Hiranyakaśipu and sat on the doorstep in the twilight and tore open the stomach of the demon with his claws. The artist has depicted the scene with great power. But the expressions on the faces of Prahlad and his mother show wonder and submission. Another *avatār* depicted by Mola Ram is the Matsya incarnation of Vishnu.

To sum up, Mola Ram was a poet and a great artist who originally painted in the Mughal style, as his father Mangat Ram and his ancestors (who were among Shahjahan's court painters) did. He then turned to the Pahari (Kangra) style in which he attained great success and became famous. There is documentary proof that Mola Ram visited the artists of Sansar Chand's court in Kangra. The excellence of their style impressed him and he adopted it for the rest of his life (1769 to 1812). His powers seemed to have waned only after his eightieth year. He died in 1833.

What Indian Archaeology Needs Today

B. B. Lal

Below are some reflections on the archaeological studies in our country. Details apart, the most fundamental need seems to be to bring about a shift in the emphasis, from the objects themselves to the people behind them — their socio-economic evolution in a world milieu. To achieve this, many new techniques have to be applied and an interdisciplinary approach forged.

For whatever reasons, none of the universities in the country has so far been able to initiate such an integrated approach to Indian archaeology. Thus, any university taking up this challenge will not only be doing an immense service to the cause but will also have the distinction of being the pioneer in the field.

The story of India's past may broadly be divided into three main chapters. Within the first would come the struggle from savagery to the beginning of agriculture: in terms of time, it would cover the span from about 500,000 B.C. to 4000 B.C. The second chapter, beginning with the earliest villages, would embrace the first outburst of urbanization in the form of the Indus Civilization and also deal with the yet-elusive Aryans and the Ages of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Broadly, it would cover the period up to the time of the Buddha, around 500 B.C., whereafter a clear historical picture begins to emerge, marking the third chapter. To put it in technical jargon, the three chapters relate respectively to prehistory, protohistory and history.

For collecting the data for the first chapter, archaeology and archaeology alone is the tool. For the second chapter too, archaeology remains the principal tool, though literary evidence, not unoften vitiated by poetic imagination, has also to be (cautiously) drawn upon. Even to the study of the historical times, archaeology has no mean contribution to make: coins, epigraphs, paintings, sculptures, and thousands of surviving structures have as much to tell the historian as have his written records. It would thus be seen that archaeology has a vital role to play in reconstructing India's past.

Indian archaeology, it might be confessed, has not yet fully risen to the occasion. It has by and large been concerned with the study of the objects themselves and not so much with the people behind them — their habits, socio-economic structure, technological efforts to master the environments, etc. In a way, it has produced the skeleton but has still to infuse flesh and blood into it to make it live and speak.

The point may be illustrated with a simple example. The name Indus Valley Civilization conjures up quite a lot in the mind of an average intelligent reader of today — well laid-out streets and houses, seals, the oft-illustrated female figurine of bronze and so on. But little does the reader get in reply when he asks some pertinent questions like these: Did the inhabitants have a joint-family system? Did they believe in the caste system as did their successors of the early historical times? What was the demographic pattern? What was the essential difference between

large and small settlements? Only of size? Or of character as well? Were settlements only along the rivers or also away from them? In the latter case, what was the source of water supply? In what ways did the Indus people fight natural calamities like drought and floods?

Archaeology should and perhaps can answer many of these questions. But a systematic attempt has yet to be made in this direction. For example, a closer study of the plans and other details of the houses, namely, the number of living-rooms, kitchens, baths, size and character (single or multiple) of the ovens, subsequent partitions, if any, might perhaps throw some light on the joint-family system. Likewise, an analytical study of the contents of the houses might reveal the professions of the occupants. Thereafter, a comparative study of the data from one part of the settlement with those from another might throw some light on the question of profession and caste. An intensive survey of the concerned river valleys might reveal the distribution pattern of villages *vis-a-vis* provincial capitals, the latter being suggested by the citadel complexes at sites like Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, Kalibangan, etc. The details of the heroic battles of the Mohenjo-darians against frequent flooding or of the Kalibanganites against a drying-up of the Ghaggar yet remain to be unfolded.

The foregoing is just one of the hundreds of examples that might be cited in this context. The point, once again, is that it is not so much the objects as the man behind them that has to be studied. Indeed, by this process alone can there be a meaningful interpretation of our past.

All this means a reorientation of our archaeological studies and more so of our methodology. It would immediately require a multi-disciplinary approach to our problems, and the helping disciplines need not necessarily be from the humanities or social sciences alone. In fact, many of them would belong to the realm of the natural sciences. Some of the areas of co-operation may briefly be identified as follows.

In so far as prehistoric archaeology is concerned, precious little has been done in our country beyond the collection of tools, and that too mostly from the surface. The context in which these human artefacts occur has, therefore, to be studied in great detail.

It is known that the sea-level fluctuated many times during the Pleistocene period. Thus, if the river-terraces yielding Stone Age artefacts can be correlated with Pleistocene sea-levels, it should be possible to place the Indian Stone Age industries in an international time-scale and thus assess their evolution in a world-context. Further, a study of the soil-covers and of the flora and fauna of the period would enable us to reconstruct the environment in which the prehistoric man lived and which he was constantly trying to master. The archaeologist, therefore, remaining himself as the central investigator, needs help from the geologist, the botanist, and the zoologist. And let alone the reconstruction

of the environment, even the skeletal remains of the prehistoric man himself have yet to be discovered. Nothing but sustained expeditions, both to open-air stations and cave-sites, enlisting the support of the physical anthropologist, would yield results. Therefore, to get any worth-while and intelligible picture of prehistoric India it is essential that studies are initiated in environmental archaeology.

In the protohistoric period also, the first thing should be to bring about a change in the emphasis — from the objects to their creator. For this, it is obvious that a socio-economic approach will have to be adopted. As the existing data may not be adequate, it would be necessary to collect not only more data but new kinds of data. Also, liberal assistance will have to be sought variously from branches like economic geography, statistics, metallography, palynology, etc. In this case also, the archaeologist will be the central figure, seeking assistance from experts in the sister disciplines.

Talking about the Indus Civilization, another very noteworthy lacuna is the absence of any scientific study of the Indus script. Scores of attempts have been made by Indian scholars to decipher the script, but it is a pity that even the fundamentals of the script have not been studied scientifically. Most of the attempts of foreigners, often over-estimated, also suffer from a similar drawback. In fact, the only thing that has been established so far beyond any shadow of doubt is that the direction of writing in this script was from the right to the left. The script has many features which need to be scientifically recorded and analysed. Once the basic data are processed, it may be possible and certainly easier to attempt a decipherment. This project would need collaboration with the linguist on the one hand and the use of the computer on the other.

Yet another very important field of protohistoric studies is that relating to a correlation between literature and archaeology. An attempt has no doubt been made to study the archaeology of certain sites connected with the *Mahabharata* story, but it can only be described as sporadic. It has given just a glimpse into the immensity of the problem which, indeed, has to be tackled squarely and in full. The case of the *Ramayana* sites is even worse.

The attack on these problems will have to be twofold. In the first place, extensive explorations of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* sites will have to be done, followed by intensive excavation of some of the key sites associated with each of the epics. In the second place, a correlation will have to be made between the data given in the epics and those obtained through exploration and excavation. For this second aspect, a note of caution may be sounded. Both the epics seem to have been written hundreds of years after the events to which they respectively relate. The stories, therefore, were given, so to say, an up-to-date garb; and,

more often than not, poetic imagination got the better of a matter-of-fact narrative. Thus, a close collaboration has to be sought from expert Sanskrit scholars to separate the chaff from the wheat, for archaeology cannot be expected to produce what in reality did not exist.

It is well known that right from the prehistoric times India has had cultural contacts, nay even exchanges of ideas and material, with its neighbouring countries. For example, while the Old Stone Age industry of south India seems to have been derived from that of Africa, or the Neolithic culture of eastern India from that of south-east Asia, the entire Buddhist art of Afghanistan, central Asia, China, Japan and south-east Asia was the outcome of inspiration from India. During the time of the Indus Civilization a great deal of contact is attested to with Iran and Iraq. With Nepal, Burma and Ceylon the give-and-take was almost a family affair. Even further afield, traces of cultural links with Egypt are not wanting, while undoubtedly ancient Rome and Greece had a lot to do with India and *vice versa*. Indeed, there cannot be a better deification of this contact than in the form of the ivory figure of the goddess Lakshmi found under masses of lava at Pompeii.

It would, then, be more than obvious that in order to assess the many-sided development of Indian Civilization it is essential to understand what happened in the neighbouring countries. But if a simple question is asked whether we have in India any specialist in the archaeology of even one of the above-mentioned countries, the answer is 'no'.

What then is to be done about it? The remedy is not far to seek. Opportunities should be found for Indian archaeologists to study in detail the archaeological material of the neighbouring countries. This, however, cannot be achieved by sending people out on what are known as cultural-exchange tours. What is necessary is to organize expeditions to these countries on a regular basis so that not only is the existing material studied but also fresh field-work undertaken at sites likely to throw light on Indian contacts with the concerned country. For example, sustained work at Begram in Afghanistan or Anuradhapura in Ceylon is bound to be rewarding from the Indian point of view. If the situation so demands, collaboration may be sought with some university or institution in the home country. It is only through this kind of sustained effort that we can hope to build up in a decade or so Indian archaeologists who can interpret with authority the vast data that are available and are still likely to be thrown up by the spade, shedding light on India's give-and-take with its neighbours through the ages. The viewer's angle is no less important than the view itself.

There is another aspect of prehistoric and protohistoric archaeology, namely, the movement of people from one part of the world to another. Very likely, ecological factors rather than political motivations brought about these movements in ancient times. To study these movement-

patterns on a world-wide scale, say, for example, the movements of the Indo-Europeans or, still earlier, of the neolithic people, international collaboration will have to be sought. This may be achieved by organizing expeditions in which all the countries concerned with a given problem may join hands.

It is not merely in prehistoric and protohistoric archaeology that new ground has to be broken. Historical archaeology too needs the adoption of certain new techniques. History records the existence of several Indo-Roman trading stations on the south-western coast of India, but none has satisfactorily been identified so far. Excavation on the south-eastern coast, however, has indicated that parts of Indo-Roman sites like Arikamedu and Kaveripumpattinam are now below sea-level. It is, therefore, not unlikely that on the south-western coast at least some of the sites which have so far eluded the explorer may be under the coastal sea. To explore these, under-water archaeology is the only answer. The work, if carried out on an extensive scale, may bring to light not only the Roman remains, but also wreckages of the Arab ships which traded with India during the early medieval times. Looking back, for all one knows, a search in the Gulf of Cambay might produce even the cargo that used to be shipped between Lothal and Ur (Mesopotamia) during the time of the Indus Valley Civilization. In this task of under-water archaeology, a great deal of assistance will have to come from the National Institute of Oceanography and the Indian Navy; and for all one can guess, such a co-operation may be forthcoming with generosity.

One would wish the Indian Air Force to vie with the Navy in unravelling the country's past. The archaeologist has not so far succeeded in exploring the deserts of Rajasthan. But if guided, low-range air-surveys are done of these areas, one might even come across a buried channel dotted with Indus settlements on either side. Air-surveys have yielded wonderful results in central Asian deserts. Why should the Indian deserts be regarded as secretive?

Apart from the adoption of new techniques, certain glaring gaps in historical archaeology could be filled even with the conventional methods. For example, at the moment all archaeological studies seem to stop after the Gupta period. If one were asked to produce the pottery or implements used in the time of Harsha or thereafter, one would draw a blank. It is, therefore, imperative that sites like Thaneshwar be excavated on a large scale, so that details of the every-day life of the people during the early medieval times are obtained.

Late medieval archaeology has suffered the most neglect, perhaps on account of its being right under the nose, as it were. While there are many lines of attack, there are at least two which ought to be pursued on an emergency basis. The first relates to the study of domestic architecture. There is still a good deal of evidence available in this respect. But

if quick steps are not taken, much of it will be lost in the fast-blowing winds of modernization. The second priority is that of medieval town-planning, including the fort-complexes. While history has much to tell us about the events, the actual stage on which these were enacted has yet to be thoroughly recorded. Let it be done before it is too late.

(This paper is based on the presidential address which the author delivered at the Prehistory and Archaeology Session of the S C. Roy Centenary International Conference, held at Ranchi in November, 1971. The Editor's thanks are due to the authorities of the Conference for permission to publish it here.

What has been said in the paper deserves serious consideration by those who plan and look after archaeological research at the universities —*Editor*)

The Place of Music in Indian Dance-Dramas

V. K. Narayana Menon

Nowhere in the world today can we find a better example of the unity of the arts than in India. How well we all know the classic story of the king who asked a great sage to teach him how to make sculptures of the gods. The sage replied, "Someone who does not know the laws of painting can never understand the laws of sculpture." "Then," said the king, "be so kind as to teach me the laws of painting." The sage replied, "It is difficult to understand the laws of painting without understanding the technique of dancing." . . . "This is difficult to understand without a thorough knowledge of the principles of instrumental music." "Please teach me the principles of instrumental music." "But," said the sage, "these cannot be learnt without a deep understanding of the art of vocal music." The king bowed in acceptance. "If vocal music is the source and goal of all the arts, please then reveal to me the laws of vocal music."

This illustration of the unity of the arts in India is not necessarily a reflection of the superiority of our artistic tradition or a measure of any greater degree of our sophistication in the organization of the arts. There have been periods in the history of other nations and groups where such integrated growths and art-forms have been evident — for example, Nô plays of Japan and the Peking Opera of China.

In Europe and some other areas of the world, social pressures, uneven developments and specialization have come in the way of such unified growth in the arts. Today in Europe and the Americas, dancers and choreographers, performers and composers of music, actors and directors of plays all have different roles to perform. They are all, with exceptions, individualists. Each one for himself. Like specialists in other walks of life, they know more and more about less and less, though they are able to realize what they do know to perfection.

This is not the case in India. Balasaraswati has an uncanny feeling for sculpture and for instrumental music, as for dancing and singing. If she gave up dancing today, she will still be one of our great singers. Birju Maharaj has nearly the same mastery over the Tabla and vocal music as he has over Kathak dancing. Husain is painter, film-maker, toy-maker, furniture-designer, poet. Satyajit Ray is primarily a film-maker, but also an artist and composer of music. Alkazi is actor, director of plays, painter, designer. P.L. Deshpande is a writer of plays, stage director, actor, singer, instrumentalist. Ravi Shankar is not only a great instrumentalist but also a composer, a singer and in his youth a competent dancer. Girish Karnad is a writer and director of plays, actor, film-maker. There are many such instances today in India. Theirs is not versatility of the jack-of-all-trades type, but they are examples of integrated human beings who are fulfilling themselves in many ways. Of course we have had superb examples of this earlier also, and who greater than Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore?

In our literature the word used for drama is *nataka* and the players are

referred to as *natas*. *Nata* can mean an actor or a dancer. One thing is clear. The line of demarcation between dance and drama has always been a thin one. Every traditional dramatic performance had something of the character of what we would today describe as dance-drama. Every *nata* had to be, and in fact was, an actor, dancer and musician. He had to be a master of *abhinaya*, all aspects of it — *angika*, *vachika*, *aharya* and *sattvika*. This is an indication of the nature of the training and the discipline that an actor had to go through. Often, in the course of a play we come across expressions like *nātakam nanrutah* (they danced a play) or *sattakam naccidayyam* (a *sattaka* is to be danced or acted). The spectators were referred to as *prekshakas*, those who watched a *preksha* or a spectacle.

There were, naturally, several types of plays, and the accent or emphasis on words or dance or music varied a great deal from play to play ranging from what we would today call drama to opera or ballet or dance-drama. The *nataka*, the *prakarana*, the *samavakara* and the shorter *prahasana* were the closest to what we would today call opera or ballet.

The earliest musical work which relates a story of which we have reasonably authentic records is the *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva. We know the text of the work, but though there are indications of the *ragas* used, etc., we do not know with any degree of exactitude how the *ashtapadis* were sung or performed. The tradition is still strong in certain parts of the country like Orissa and Kerala. From what is stated in the Travancore State Manual, one gets the impression that Prince Manaveda of Kerala, the great reformer of the Kerala stage, owed much to Jayadeva's *ashtapadis*. It has also been stated that the Kerala dance-drama known as Krishnattam which reached its height in the fourteenth century owed much to the older *ashtapadis*. Dr Kunjan Raja goes even further. "Krishnattam", he says "was an adaptation of the *ashtapadis* of Jayadeva. It is divided into eight parts, each designed for a night's performance. . . . The general structure of Kathakali is more like Jayadeva's *ashtapadi* than anything else".

Krishnattam with its attractive music *a la Geeta Govinda* and the interesting innovations of Manaveda slowly overtook the more stately Kudiyyattam with its more stylized music.

Kudiyyattam is important, very important, because it is the main living link we have with traditional Sanskrit drama. It is one of the most sophisticated and developed forms of dance-drama in which every participant has to be a trained actor, dancer and musician. The plays are acted and danced by a community of Kerala called Chakyars and the performances are normally confined to the precincts of the temple and take place in a kind of temple theatre called *koothambalam*.

The repertoire of Kudiyyattam contains many works dating from the third to the twelfth or thirteenth century. The *Śakuntalam* is said to have

been in their repertoire, but has not been performed within living memory. But many of Bhasa's plays are in the repertoire and so are Harsha's plays including *Nagananda*. Among the most popular and most frequently performed works are Kulasekhara Varman's *Subhadradhananjaya* and *Tapatisamvarana*. Bhasa's *Swapnavasavadatta* was also a universal favourite.

Kudiyattam is a highly stylized art, the actors using elaborate make-up, the story being unfolded with great artistry and subtlety through dance, music and commentary.

The *abhinaya* of the Chakyars in Kudiyattam is perhaps the most highly developed and integrated art of its kind and every aspect of it is fully explored.

The *angikabhinaya*, the communication of ideas through gestures, is closely based on the *Natyasastra*. This is done in a meticulously detailed style, the actor dancer often spending hours on a single verse. The *aharyabhinaya*, the correct make-up and costume for character, is also important.

Then there is the *vachikabhinaya*, the correct mode of speech (verse or prose) and perfect intonation in song. There are special *ragas* for recitatives, others for the arias. Finally there is *sattvikabhinaya*, the expression of internal conflicts, feelings. This is a difficult art calling for perfect control of the facial muscles. Through the finely controlled movements of the eyes, the eye-brows, the lips, the cheeks, without the aid of the hands, the actor is able to recreate the *stobha*, the facial expression, the mood, unflinchingly.

As far as music and the new influences and innovations are concerned, first Krishnattam and then later Kathakali had the edge over Kudiyattam. The influence of *Gita Govinda* on Kathakali deserves careful analysis and study. There is no doubt that Vira Kerala Varma's Kathakali music owed much to it. In fact he modelled his music on the *Gita Govinda*.

Of our dance-dramas current today, Kathakali is certainly the most moving and dramatic, and artistically integrated. It has that heroic elemental quality which lifts one right out of one's daily lives. It has a vitality, a concentration and a grand manner which few dance forms in the world possess.

Music in Kathakali, as in all forms of Indian dancing, has two roles to perform. The vocal music provides a kind of commentary on the action. The instrumental music, the percussion group in particular, provides the accompaniment to the pure dance part. Both must be and, in fact, are closely integrated, the one rising out of the other and each reinforcing the other.

The artistry and beauty of the *padams* of Bharatanatyam and the *thumris* of Kathak are obvious. But the quality of the vocal music in a

great Kathakali drama like, say, Unnayi Warriar's *Nalacharitam* comes home to one only through careful study and repeated hearing. As one well-known critic put it: "The words are the choicest, and are invariably assonanced, the inflections seldom obtrude the even flow of the lines, and the *ragas* in which the *padams* are set and the *talas* are appropriate to the moods of the situations. . . . It is extremely difficult to convey the feel of the *padams* in a different medium, for they derive their significance from the jewel-like quality of the words, the cadence of the lines and the euphonic devices which enhance their emotive quality. Moreover, there is no single *padam* which stands by itself as conveying an idea; everyone is but a tributary which adds up to the cumulative whole."

In such cases, the music rises well above the functional role it is supposed to play. This is the case with the Bhagavata Mela also. The Bhagavata Melas are dance-dramas in the Bharatanatyam style. Among the most popular stories are *Prahladacharitam*, *Usha Parinayam* and *Harischandra*. This tradition is still kept up in the village of Melattur in Tamil Nadu where every year during Narasimha Jayanti a festival of dance-dramas is held. The music of the Bhagavata Mela is of the highest quality, more refined and traditional in its vocal lines and *sahitya* than the music for most other types of dance-dramas. Music for some of the Kuchipudi dance-dramas has also this quality of refinement.

Some of the finest music for dance-dramas I can think of is the music for some of the creations of Rukmini Devi at Kalakshetra where she had the guidance and the professional insight of that abundant and fertile genius, Tiger Varadachariar, and that serious and scholarly composer, Mysore Vasudevachariar.

And now we come to the second role of music in dance-dramas, its role in the pure *nrtta* parts where the rhythmic subtleties and complexities of the footwork come into full play.

What is rhythm? What is *tala*? How do they affect speech, movement, music, the dance?

Rhythm as generally understood, not with any special connection to music, could be defined as movement marked by "the regulated succession of strong and weak elements or of opposite or different conditions". It is a characteristic of every type of human activity. In poetry, it means a kind of metrical movement, the antithesis of long and short, of stressed and unstressed voices. In art in general it would imply the correlation and interdependence of parts, producing an integrated whole. In music rhythm is built round the organized grouping of notes according to their length, their duration. Thus, rhythm is concerned with movement, duration, periodicity. And in every context, whether in music or poetry or anywhere else, it is primarily a concept of duration in time. It concerns itself and deals with movement in time, from whatever angle we see. It then measures this movement and tries to determine its periodicity and guide it.

In the ultimate analysis, the most elemental part of music is rhythm and not melody, because rhythm started with movement; melody started only with articulated speech, which came later.

I do not believe that music is a mysterious art which was revealed to man. Music is as old as man himself, developed in the course of his struggle to express himself, crudely at first and in more sophisticated style afterwards.

This struggle took two forms — one was the effort to communicate with one's fellow-beings with articulate speech, instead of primitive cries and noises. The other was to communicate through modulated sound which is the origin of poetry and of music. And here, rhythm begins to make its appearance in music. It begins to take two main forms — body rhythm and speech rhythm. Body rhythm is the rhythm of the movement of the body — of all movement — developing ultimately into the rhythms of the dance. This is normally symmetrical, balanced, reasonably obvious.

Speech rhythm is based on the rhythms of speech, of words in sequence. It can be asymmetrical, not necessarily balanced, subtle and not too obvious.

These two types are seen in music from the earliest days till today — in all forms of music, in all systems, the world over.

There have been areas and musical systems in which the relationship between song and the dance, that is, between the two types of body and speech rhythm, have been close when the one has influenced the other a great deal strengthening both in the process. This is where we see rhythm in the most integrated, sophisticated form and India is one of these rare examples.

The close interdependence of melody and rhythm is a feature of all purely melodic music. The more sophisticated the melodic line, the more sophisticated its rhythmic structure. This is equally true of Iranian music, Arabic music, Cambodian music and of course, of Indian music, in all of which the drum — the percussion instrument — is an integral part of a performance. Areas like Indonesia where the rhythmic element predominates as in the Gamelan with its subtle contrapuntal system is rather different because the melodic line there has a slightly different function.

We must now make a distinction between rhythm and *tala*. *Tala* is essentially a measure of time. It certainly implies rhythm and more. But it is a more definitive concept. It is more precisely measurable. You can have many rhythms worked into the framework of a single *tala*. Thus *tala* can be measured, analysed, dissected, put together, and a great exponent of *tala* really functions in the realm of higher mathematics.

Indian music has seen perhaps the finest flowering of this particular concept. While the basic values, approaches, attitudes are the same

all over the country it is inevitable that a country as large as ours with its multiplicity of races, languages, social behaviour should show this flowering through diverse channels, instruments, dance and musical forms.

What immense variety there is in these various manifestations! And how superbly and tightly have they been knit together and harnessed to the dancing feet — in Bharatanatyam, in Kathak, in Kathakali, in Bhagavata Mela, the Raslila of Manipur, in Kuchipudi, Mohini Attam, Odissi; not to mention the many many folk styles all over the country — the Ramlila, the Krishnalila, the Ras of U.P. and the north, the Nautanki of Rajasthan, the Bhavai of Gujarat, the Burrakatha and the Veedhinatalam of the south. What organization there is in the *tehais*, the *teermanams*, the *kalasams*! Their drama and their eloquence are heightened by the words, the vocal parts preceding them and following them.

The music of our finest dance-dramas does not merely reinforce dramatic action. It is part of the dramatic action, the visual experience. The presence of the musicians on the stage is not a distraction to the dance; it is part of the total audio-visual experience.

There is today, the world over, a greater appreciation of the 'total theatre'. Our dance-dramas provide good examples of this. The problem which faces us today is to retain their totality of being in the context of the twentieth century and bring them into the mainstream of contemporary theatre. We have certainly talent in abundance for it, if not opportunities. Only a national theatre with imaginative leadership and generous subsidies can bring it to full fruition.

Self-Expression through Classical Art

Mrinalini Sarabhai

Tradition is an aspect of culture, not, as many people believe, the wholeness of it. To be traditional in art is to be able to recognize a known structure embodied within a clarity that has withstood time. It is the art of perceiving a reality in patterns formed by hundreds of years of experience. But it is not a static entity. The development of any art necessitates growth based upon historic evidence. Many so-called traditionalists ignore this aspect and insist upon tradition not realizing that the tradition they so firmly advocate is only about three hundred years old. Repetition of old dogmas is certainly interesting but not very elevating or enlightening. On the contrary the creative artist is the real knower of tradition which perhaps could be called "source material".

Knowledge of the principles involved, and, in dance and architecture, of the design, language, gesture, and cultural background, should work towards a meaningful search for a new identity, a new bridge between the past and the present.

To me dance, apart from its essential beauty, has to develop awareness of and be a significant force in contemporary life. To be static is near to death. Can one truly exist without expression? And is someone else's expressiveness good enough? Being traditional, to me, means delving deep into the waters of our dance forms, but coming up into the open for deep breaths of the air of one's own self. It was not to meet the current desires of the audience that I began to create new works but to satisfy the innate yearning in myself to tell of my involvement with the world around me, the world I lived in, breathed in, the world of the constant dualities, joy-sorrow, life-death, love-hate, construction-destruction, creating a process of insight, into which, like conversation, audiences followed with their own insights and often their ignorances; and yet an impact, a shock, was inevitably there.

Bharata Natyam, the technique into which I have dived the deepest, speaks always of love and longing. Often stretching my arms to God, I felt not only love but frustration and despair; again, not the sweet despair of the beloved, but the despair of the downtrodden, of the millions who, in this century of man, cannot find enough to eat, of women, exalted somewhere, despised in other regions. So one creation told of suicide, the ultimate of a dreary dreadful existence which drove a woman to death, the horror of anguish, the terrible penalty of an unhappy unwanted marriage. The real world must be touched and moved by dance. Not because it is a crusade, but because the dancer is a living human being, tossed and turned in the changing values of an alien world. The past is the springboard, the preparation for the perfect leap into the future. No dancer can live and breathe only in the past. She will then, like the sculptures, like Ahalya, be turned to stone, exquisite no doubt, but without life. A form can hold perhaps for all time, but a gesture changes its validity.

Every time a dancer moves there is a motion against the backdrop of space. It is a dramatic moment, one such magical moment in the wholeness of movement, never to be repeated in the same way.

I am often asked the question: "What are you trying to do?" My answer continually is: "I am not trying to do anything. I am just being."

There is no experimental work. There is only expressive work. Never as a creative dancer have I planned a new work. An idea enters into me, slowly takes hold of every part of my thinking world, then my physical world, till it explodes into a pattern of moving design. It is only then that the individual steps in, and the contours of the composition are placed within a certain framework.

With an abstract piece I did not bother with a form, yet so traditionally trained is my body that the shapes were completely in conformity with the *karanas* of the *Natya Shastra*. After this was recognized, I made them even more so for the flavour was then enhanced and the piece came to life.

The universe is one of figures. In the dance, man draws upon all these figures. In tradition the figures are close to life as in Kathakali. But as unidentifiable figures grow, and the symbolism is enlarged and projected on a vaster canvas, then an elaborate new language of communication is set up. Still the basic recognition is there and the discerning audience can with some familiar signs comprehend the meaning. We read in ancient texts of the role of the spectator, the *rasika*, one who understands and enjoys.

This role is even more important today when artists speak almost prophetically in significant ways, whether through dance, drama, or painting. A basic sense of aesthetic understanding is absolutely essential when teaching the young citizens of today, for then they can easily assimilate the nuances of every form of art, and open up for themselves a wonderful world of vision. In defence of poetry Shelley once wrote an interesting passage:

"For he (the poet) not only beholds intensely the present as it is, and discovers those laws according to which present things ought to be ordered, but he beholds the future in the present, and his thoughts are the germs of the flower and the fruit of latest time. It is not the function of a poet to relate what has happened, but what may happen, what is possible according to the law of probability or necessity. Poetry, therefore, is a more philosophical and a higher thing than history: for poetry tends to express the universal, history the particular."

Bharata Muni tells us: "This play is not merely for your pleasure as following the movement of the World, whether in work or play, profit, peace, laughter, battle or slaughter; yielding the fruit of righteousness to those who follow the moral law, a restraint for the unruly, a discipline for the followers of a rule, to create wisdom in the ignorant, learning in scholars, affording sport to kings and endurance to the

sorrow-stricken; replete with the diverse moods, informed with varying passions of the soul, linked to the deeds of all mankind, the best, the middling and the low; affording excellent counsel, pastime and all else.”

The dance perhaps does not carry instruction directly, though the creator of the *shastra* said: “This is not for your entertainment alone” but gives life a dimension unknown to the average human being.

As the seer Sanjaya with inward eye saw the battlefield Kurukshetra and with his secret powers heard the words of the Lord, so does the creative dancer explore the withinness of problems both real and philosophical and present them in colourful demonstration to the world.

Through centuries in Indian history art in its own way has kept the spirit of religious thought eternal. So fresh is the meaning of the *Rig Veda*, chanted 2500 years before Christ that out of it was created an abstract dance piece that spoke of the very beginning of existence and yet used a modern form for expression. Thus the dance in itself enriches the world with a new horizon extending beyond the usual boundaries of thought; thinking, illumining and projecting aspects of life and bestowing upon them a new dimension

Aesthetic absorption has always been compared to a spiritual experience for each man brings his own understanding to it. The problem is of communication.

That is why there has to be, in the development of a nation, an educative force that directs correctly the minds of the people towards comprehension. The technique of vision is not a momentary fleeting phenomenon. It is a long process of study and appreciation. Only then can the student acquire the perfect sensibility required for identification with the artist and the art itself. For to the artist in India, work is dedicated to God and, as is said in a Buddhist Sutra,

With one voice which is wondrous he giveth utterance to
thoughts innumerable,
That are received by audiences of all sorts,
Each understanding them in his own way.

Eternal themes, however, have a continuity about them like the rivers of India that forever flow headlong into the plains from their mountain homes.

Recently I dealt with that favourite among classical plays the *Shakuntalam*. The thought of Durvasa’s curse haunted me, and I seemed to re-live the moment of Durvasa’s curse and Dushyanta’s rejection. It was a human document of misunderstanding and conflict. Every character was innocent and yet in their togetherness made for chaos. Dushyanta, a noble king, marries Shakuntala in secret and goes back to his kingdom. The innocent Shakuntala, deeply enamoured and dazzled by the king, accepts her love without question, for she has no one to turn to except two companions who also know nothing of the world. Her foster-father is away

and by his absence shares the guilt. The irate *rishi* curses without thought a blameless girl. The curse echoes continually through the play. No one warns Shakuntala to be careful of the ring. No one tells her of the dreadful curse. No one is to blame, yet all share the tragedy of her rejection.

So is it in life. Small incidents, unwitting actions, thoughtless words, all pile up into dread situations and man is helpless in the grip of the unknown factor we call destiny.

All the characters come on to the stage as though in a witness-box. Each relates his or her own story and the story of the play. The separate stories are arranged in a continuity and time past and present and future all together.

But the end of the story came to me late one night. The king had given Shakuntala his ring, off his own finger, his signet ring. Shakuntala asks him: "If you did not give your ring to me, then show it to me on your finger."

The king looks for the ring and cannot find it. Then Shakuntala rejects him and asks each one to answer for their actions, finally in despair realizing that one is truly always alone in the world.

Thus a classical text finds a new illumination in modern terms and young people find that old stories illustrate the realities of human life, and behavioral patterns have not changed much through the centuries.

Imperceptibly, a change is taking place in artistic traditions throughout India. Those who have the intellectual and aesthetic integrity and the creative vision cannot but make themselves felt. But there must be greater growth of an awareness of the absolute essentiality of a harmonious cultural environment for the real artist, who wishes to work in a conducive atmosphere, freed from the exhausting pressures of orthodox systems. Only then can the real soaring of the spirit take place and the fullest self-expression come into being.

Linguistic Studies in Post-Independence India

Sumitra Mangesh Katre

Though admittedly India is the home for the development of linguistic studies since the Vedic period, and the work of Pāṇini, which culminated the creative period of linguistic science in India, is hailed as the crowning achievement in this field never equalled as yet anywhere, it is a matter of regret that linguistics hardly found an honorable mention in the foundation of our universities. The credit, however, goes to the University of Bombay for establishing the first endowment in this field in the last quarter of the nineteenth century with the founding of the Wilson Philological Lectureship inaugurated by a series of seven lectures delivered by Dr Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar in 1877. The next landmark is to be seen in the University of Calcutta which set up a chair for comparative philology just before the First World War and later followed this up by founding the Khaira Professorship of Indian Linguistics, of which Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji was the first holder. This was the only university in the country which offered courses in comparative philology and offered the master's and doctorate degrees in this subject until the early fifties of the twentieth century. Credit must therefore be given to the then Government of India for instituting a number of overseas scholarships which enabled brilliant young scholars to study Sanskrit and Comparative Philology under the leading lights of Europe. Germany, France and to some extent England offered the necessary training and encouragement to this first generation of scholars interested in linguistic studies. But without exception these scholars, on return to India, had to be attached to language departments since the word linguistics was still unfamiliar to those running universities, and comparative philology, as the term current for this at that time, was primarily oriented to a study of the language and culture as reflected in literature and formed only a minor part of a single paper at the M.A. level.

Recognizing the difficulties involved in this situation, the first generation of Indian linguists met in Lahore in 1928 and established the Linguistic Society of India and decided to hold a biennial conference as a section of the All-India Oriental Conference. The University of Panjab offered a temporary home to this Society and assisted in bringing out a number of issues of *Indian Linguistics*, the official organ of the Society. Nevertheless the study of linguistics was a minor pursuit, restricted to a few doctoral aspirants working in different language departments. Those who wanted to specialize in the higher reaches of this subject had still to proceed abroad and somehow the time did not seem to be suitable for linguistics to take a proper place in the university curriculum. The history of the Linguistic Society at this time amply illustrates the situation. So long as Professor A.C. Woolner who, as Vice Chancellor of Panjab University, had closely associated himself with the Society and supported it financially through grants from the University the work progressed satisfactorily, but with his lamented death the Society faced a signal crisis which was solved only

by resolving to move the headquarters from Lahore to Calcutta where the University had a Department for Comparative Philology. This occurred in 1938 and the burden of running the Society chiefly fell on the staff of the Department of Comparative Philology headed by Dr Chatterji.

While these events were shaping themselves, a significant happening took place in the Bombay region. The Deccan College, established in 1821 as a continuation of the great Dakshina fund established by the Peshwas when the British took over the administration of the country, was closed in 1934 by the then Government of Bombay, and at the end of five years, reorganized as a foundation for research and post-graduate studies in linguistics, history and experimental psychology, three important fields in which not many universities in the country specialized, with a view to establish a number of newer regional universities. It was in this sense that the Government of Bombay committed itself to develop these neglected subjects as nuclei for new universities. Although the beginning was small (the College reopened with only two departments, linguistics and history-sociology), it occurred at a time of great significance. Within months of the College reopening in its new form the country was drawn into the second global conflict, but within the restrictions imposed by a war economy the response to its opening was beyond the dreams of the sponsors. Almost from the beginning the College attracted scholars from every nook and corner of the country, and the work accomplished within this short period of six years marked a new era in the development of linguistic studies in the over-all context of the study of man in India from the point of view of archaeology, anthropology and sociology. Thus an integrated approach was developed here while linguistic studies in Europe and America were similarly engaged in unifying the different approaches to the physical and other sciences.

During most of the war years from 1939 to 1945 most of the linguistic work turned out through the Department of Linguistics at Deccan College and in other universities was primarily in the field of historical and comparative philology with a certain amount of emphasis on phonetics. But the vast mass of unrecorded linguistic wealth of India remained outside the general scope of research and, with a few honourable exceptions, did not draw the attention of Indian scholars. It is indeed a matter for gratification that recognizing the impact that the Deccan College had on these developments, the Government of India invited plans of development from the College and approved them in principle, giving initial financial assistance to one of them, namely, a Dictionary of Sanskrit on historical principles, delineating the history of each Sanskrit word from the *Rig Veda* to about A.D. 1800. It was in 1948, just after the country had won its independence, that this sanction was accorded by the Government of India and work on this magistral project was initiated at Deccan College. The second project approved in principle was an Ethno-Linguistic Survey

of India, but in view of the fact that competent scholars trained in modern linguistic tools and techniques were not available in the measure required for this gigantic project, the matter was filed for some time.

In the meantime the original aim of the Government of Bombay to establish regional universities took concrete shape and the University of Poona came to be established in 1948 with provision for a department of linguistics which had already been set up at the Deccan College. This was the second significant action taken by a national government in power, the first being the decision to revive the Deccan College as a foundation for research and post-graduate study in 1938, both under the inspiring leadership of the late Balasaheb Kher as chief minister.

With the adoption of the Constitution of India in 1950 and the setting up of the Republic of India the recognition of the importance of linguistic studies gradually manifested itself in the larger awareness of linguistic problems facing the country. While adopting Hindi as the official language of India the Constitution provided under Article 351 for the development of all the regional languages and for gradual evolution of the official language as the ultimate national language by incorporating within itself the manifold richness exhibited by these languages in their structures, vocabularies, etc. Indeed one of the first tasks of the national government, in the wake of this linguistic aspect, was the re-drawing of the map of the country by reorganizing the States on the principle of single-language units.

Apart from the activities originating from policies laid down by various governments through agencies established by them two significant events should be mentioned at this point. In 1953 the University of Poona called a conference of educationists to discuss the question of the medium of instruction at the university level which was followed shortly thereafter by another conference, organized by the Deccan College, of linguists and educationists to consider, among other matters, two urgent and important matters: (a) to make linguistics a more central subject in university curriculum and (b) to preserve for scientific study the fast disappearing linguistic wealth in the shape of unrecorded speech forms and dialects through a new and thorough linguistic survey of the country. Among marginal problems discussed were facilities for training modern linguists since the formal courses offered at university level did not provide for such intensive and problem-oriented training. The main theme was of course the role that scientific linguistics could play in the matter of establishing linguistic competence and contributing towards the realization of the objectives outlined in Article 351 of the Constitution. In the organization of this conference and the subsequent activities which the Deccan College initiated to fulfil the major recommendations arrived at in the conference, substantial grants were provided by the Rockefeller Foundation of New York during the six years 1954-60 and thereafter by the University

Grants Commission. The decade beginning with 1954 saw the somewhat rapid development of linguistic studies in the country through establishment of university departments. Agra and Annamalai were the first, after Poona, to constitute such departments in the shape of the K.M. Munshi Institute of Hindi and Linguistics and the Silver Jubilee Department of Dravidian Linguistics respectively.

Similar departments were also started in other universities like Saugar, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Mysore, Trivandrum and Baroda. At present there are well over fifteen universities with active departments of linguistics. It was significant that following a conference jointly sponsored by the University of Poona and Deccan College in 1958 the University Grants Commission supported a study by the Linguistic Society of India to consider steps suitable to realize the objectives reached by this conference of Vice Chancellors and educationists and linguists, and the U.G.C. undertook to give top priority to such development and initially sanctioned the creation of five posts each at Agra, Annamalai, Calcutta and Poona.

On the recommendations made by the Official Language Commission, the Government of India set up two central institutes for the training of teachers to teach Hindi and English respectively, by using intensive methods developed jointly by linguists and language teachers, at Agra and Hyderabad. A special division in the Department of Education was created for devising scientific terminology in Indian languages, but with special reference to Hindi at the Centre, and by some State Governments for a similar activity in the area of the regional languages.

By establishing the summer and autumn intensive courses in linguistics designed to supplement the normal teaching at the universities, the Deccan College, jointly with the Linguistic Society of India and various Indian universities, trained more than two thousand scholars in the modern tools and techniques of linguistics. A great deal of new material from the four important families of languages spoken in the country was subjected to scientific analysis. Despite the expansion of linguistics departments in the universities these schools have attracted large attendances all through.

The question of a common medium of university education, the importance attached to mother-tongue teaching, and the intensive development of the great regional languages, have all added up to a set of grave problems the solution of which requires careful scientific handling. Part of these problems occupied the attention of the last Education Commission under the chairmanship of Dr D.S. Kothari, and subsequently the Ministry of Education and the subsidiary organizations have all co-operated in giving concrete shape to its recommendations. The three-language formula which has been evolved as a compromise between competing interests needs a reorientation regarding purpose and methodology of acquisition of linguistic competence, and basic research

on evolution of suitable teaching materials on this set of scales is being carried on by a number of institutions and universities.

During the first half of the sixties the Government of India entrusted the Deccan College with completing the first Linguistic Survey of India which had omitted the southern part of India, while some Sahitya Parishads as in Bihar and Hyderabad carried on work of the type that Grierson accomplished in his *Bihar Peasant Life*. But the most significant action came towards the second half of the sixties when the Government of India finally set up a Central Institute of Indian Languages as originally recommended by the Official Language Commission and located it in Mysore University. With the close co-operation which has marked the activities of the Deccan College, the Linguistic Society of India and the various universities which have jointly supported the holding of intensive training sessions for the past eighteen years beginning with October 1954, the setting up of this all-India institute marks the culmination of a remarkable development which is unparalleled elsewhere. The two centres of advanced study in linguistics at Deccan College, Poona, and Annamalai University attest to the fact that linguistics has become a major subject of instruction and research. While the universities will primarily be concerned with the theoretical aspects of linguistics, since it is one of the most fundamental branches now developing sophisticated approaches in world universities, the Central Institute of Indian Languages will co-ordinate problem-oriented research. Once again a chance is given in India for recovering its ancient mastery of a branch of learning which it gave to the world of scholarship and for a creative resurgence which alone can bring to fruition the dreams of the framers of our Constitution and unite the country in a strong and unbreakable conglomerate, representing every phase and nerve of its constituent elements. The four families of languages which developed in this subcontinent have contributed to the creation of a unique culture which is pan-Indian and a unique linguistic unity which remains only to be discovered and recognized as such.

Studies of India at The USSR Institute of Ethnography

M. K. Kudryavtsev

The progressive sections of Russian society have always had a keen interest in remote India, its culture, literature, philosophy, art; they cherished kindly feelings to the creators of this culture, the people of the country. Statesmen and scientists strove to understand the traditional features of Indian culture so as to estimate in full measure the contribution of the Indians since the ancient times to the treasury of the world civilization.

As early as in the sixties and seventies of the fifteenth century the Russian merchant Aphanasiy Nikitin ventured a voyage "over the three seas" to distant India. Such a voyage was extremely hard at that time. For several years he carried out intensive studies of the life, customs, beliefs and rituals of the Indians. His description of his travel to India has remained so far one of the principal sources of information on the Indians of that period.

Another enthusiastic Russian investigator of India, who was an expert in the Indian languages and literature, and a writer, actor and musician, was H. Lebedeff. He lived in India for many years towards the close of the eighteenth century. He so wholly and selflessly gave himself up to the cultural progress of the Bengalis, among whom he lived, that his name is mentioned in Bengal nowadays along with names of the most outstanding national leaders of the time.

A prominent scientist who devoted himself to the study of India in its diverse aspects, as a linguist, specialist in literature and folklore, geographer, historian, Buddhologist and, what is essential for us, ethnographer, travelling extensively over India in the seventies and eighties of the last century, was a professor of the Petersburg University, I.P. Minayeff. He left for us priceless records of the life and morals of the Indian people, acquainted the Russian society with the peculiarities of Indian culture and taught them to comprehend and respect its traditions.

Among the disciples of Prof. Minayeff were some distinguished Indologists of the twentieth century; for instance, academician Th. Stcherbatskoi, an expert in Indian philosophy, and the greatest Russian Buddhologist of the twentieth century, Academician Oldenbourg. Oldenbourg was a famous authority on Indian epigraphy, a collector and interpreter of ancient manuscripts, the author of a great number of works on Indian culture. Academician A.P. Barannikov was an immediate teacher of many Soviet Indologists.

Russian scientists and travellers, in particular, Minayeff, M.S. Andreyeff and later (in 1914-1918) A.M. Meerwarths and his wife L.A. Meerwarths, specially sent to India by the Academy of Sciences, collected objects of material culture, art, religion, handicraft and those pertaining to the everyday life of the Indians. These collections made up the basis of the Indian exhibition in the oldest museum founded by Emperor Peter

the Great (now the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences). The Indian Department of the Museum has become a centre of mass propagation of knowledge about India in the Soviet society. Academician Oldenbourg was one of the directors of the Museum.

When the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics was formed, the big and small peoples of the former Tsarist Russia were brought together in a process of socio-economic, political and cultural development. Since then interest in the investigation of the individual peoples of our country as well as those of the world has greatly increased. Indology also received a new impetus in its progress. It has been gradually divided into separate branches: Indian philology, history, economics and study of art. Indian ethnography, i.e., social and cultural anthropology of India, has also become a separate branch of study. Indian Ethnographic Studies in the Soviet Union have inherited from the earlier Russian indology its humane traditions of sincerity and unselfishness with regard to the object of investigation, namely, the population of India.

Research and museum work on the ethnography of India at the Academy of Sciences were stimulated during the twenties, when on the basis of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, the Institute of Ethnography, the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, was established in Leningrad and the Meerwarths couple became its leading experts.

Both had spent about eight months in Ceylon and then for over three years (till 1918) entirely devoted themselves to India, its people and languages. The Meerwarthses travelled all over the country from Cape Comorin to Kashmir and from Gujarat to Assam, exploring the population and collecting ethnographical exhibits for the Museum. They acquainted themselves with prominent Indian scientists of the time and were recognized in India as experts in social and cultural anthropology. This is proved, for instance, by the appointment of A.M. Meerwarths in 1917 as the Head of the Department of Anthropology of the Indian Museum at Calcutta, the biggest in the country. He also actively participated in the work of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The Meerwarthses returned to their native land in the twenties and brought more than 5,000 exhibits, about 2,500 photographs and negatives, nearly 800 volumes of books on the culture and life of the various classes of people of India and Ceylon. The material thus collected enabled them to establish at the Museum an Indian Department and to open in 1924 a permanent exhibition on the ethnography of India. The books brought by them became part of the library of the Institute of Ethnography and comprised the best collection in our country of literature on demography, ethnography and material culture of India.

The Second World War and its consequences hindered for a long time the activity of the Institute. Many scientists went to the front, some others were evacuated into the depths of the country and only a small group

heroically strove to conserve the Museum collections in the city blockaded by the Germans. Many workers of the Institute died at the front and of hunger during the blockade, for instance the talented Indologist V.E. Krasnodembsky.

During the war the core of the Institute of Ethnography was transferred to Moscow, whereas the Leningrad Section of the Institute and the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography under it remained in Leningrad.

After the war was over, the Institute of Ethnography, the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, has become a leading research centre in the Soviet Union in the field of ethnography and physical anthropology. The Institute is engaged in many-sided investigation of various peoples of the U.S.S.R. as well as most of the peoples of the world. Nowadays the Institute is headed by the corresponding member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Prof Y V. Bromley. Both the Moscow and the Leningrad sections of the Institute have groups of ethnographer-Indologists, comprising the central research body occupied with the studies of the ethnography of India, Pakistan, Nepal and Ceylon. The Moscow group includes N.R. Guseva, V.I. Kochnev, J.M. Semashko, Z.A. Listvinova and A.N. Sedlovskaya; in Leningrad are M.K. Kudryavtsev, S.A. Maretina, B.Ya. Volchok and N.G. Krasnodembskaya. All the Indologists of the Institute are members of the Department of Foreign Asia, Australia and Oceania headed by Prof N.N. Cheboksarov.

After India became free from the yoke of colonialism, the Soviet people's interest in the inhabitants of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal, their culture, literature, art, mode of life, morals and customs, greatly increased. The ethnographers studied the problems of the ethnic composition of the subcontinent's population, the history of the different ethnic groups, and the social order of both the highly developed people, creators of the glorious Indian culture, and the formerly backward tribes. They described and explained to the Soviet people the peculiarities of the material culture of India — the food, clothing, dwelling of the people, their beliefs, family and matrimonial relations and so on. Interest in India was enlarged and deepened owing to the publication of a number of translations of books from the classical and modern Indian literature, in particular, books by Jawaharlal Nehru like *The Discovery of India* and *An Autobiography*. The Soviet reader's demands on the ethnographers were constantly growing.

To a great extent an answer to these demands was the book *The Peoples of South Asia*, published by the Institute of Ethnography in 1963. It was a part of an encyclopaedic series *The Peoples of the World*, edited by the Institute. *The Peoples of South Asia* is devoted to a description of the peoples of India, Pakistan, Nepal and Ceylon. It contains about a thousand pages and has been written by a large number of authors.

The authors followed the research methods adopted in Soviet ethnography, namely, to consider each people, even a small individual tribe, as an ethnic unity with its specific traditions, language, peculiarities of economy, social order, beliefs and customs. The authors and compilers of the book wanted to display the ethnic variety and cultural distinctions among the individual groups of people of India against the background of common historic destiny and affinity in respect of some fundamental features of the entire Indian culture.

To characterize these basic features, the introductory part is subdivided into the following sections: "The Main Stages of the History", "The Caste System", "Religions", "Ancient Indian Literature". The major part of the book is devoted to the description of particular groups of people. The biggest ones, like the Marathas, Bengalis, Tamils, Rajasthanis, Punjabis, are described in separate chapters. The other chapters deal with groups of people, for instance, "The Peoples of Jammu and Kashmir", "The Peoples of the Central Indian Upland", "The Small Peoples of South India", etc.

The principal sections and chapters of the book have been prepared by the ethnographers of the Institute. For example, N.R. Guseva has written the section on ancient Indian literature in the introductory part and the section on religion in co-authorship with V.I. Kochnev. To her as well belong the chapters on the peoples of South India, the Andamans, the Nicobars and other islands appertaining to India. As a co-author, she has also participated in writing some other chapters. M.K. Kudryavtsev has written the chapters on the peoples of Northern India — the Rajasthanis and Punjabis, the peoples of Jammu and Kashmir, and, in co-authorship with B.Ya. Volchok, the chapter on the population of Uttar Pradesh and Delhi. He is also an author of the chapters on several peoples of Pakistan. V.I. Kochnev together with N.R. Guseva has written the chapter on the Marathas and the whole section on the peoples of Ceylon. The small peoples and tribes of the Central Indian Upland have been dealt with by B.Ya. Volchok, and the Bhils by J.M. Semashko. S.A. Maretina (Boldiryeva) has written the chapter about the hill peoples of Assam in co-authorship with N.R. Guseva.

Indologists from other institutes have contributed to the book as well. Thus, Prof A.M. Dyakov of the Institute of Oriental Studies is the author of several sections and one of the editors of the book. Scientific workers of the same Institute, G.M. Bongard-Levin and K.Z. Ashrafyan, have also participated in writing this book. The late Prof G.N. Roerich, as an expert on Indian culture, was adviser to many authors of the collective work.

Soviet readers, especially teachers and students, thus have a summary work which is very informative about the country and its population. The book contains much data not available in the works of other Indologists,

especially on the everyday life of the Indian population. As conceived by the authors, the book should help a Soviet reader to understand Indian history, works of literature, art and the Indian mode of life in general. In carrying out this labour the authors were actuated by feelings of sincere respect and friendship towards the Indians and all the peoples of the subcontinent.

Soviet ethnographers are engaged in diverse research works. Everyone has his own sphere of interest regarding the choice of general scientific problems and any particular group of the population. Some of them study India and Pakistan; others study India and Ceylon; yet others investigate the ethnic problems along with religions, art, literature and languages. The ethnographers take an active part in the popularization of knowledge about India by means of the press, radio and television as well as by permanent or temporary exhibitions at the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in Leningrad.

The formation of the new independent States of India and Pakistan, the problems of their inner development, and the conflicts that have arisen between them, have prompted ethnographers to study the ethnic history, social systems and ideology of the two divided parts of the Indian subcontinent so as to explain to the Soviet people certain ethnic, religious, social and national problems thereof.

A number of works on the ethnic history have been written by M.K. Kudryavtsev, for example, a report for the Seventh International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences entitled "On the Role of the Jats in Northern India's Ethnic History". It was published in India and attracted the attention of Indian anthropologists.

Other topics of ethnographic research are religious beliefs, cultural peculiarities and rites, both purely folk ones and those relating to principal Indian religions. These themes have been dealt with in some articles and a larger number of papers read at various scientific conferences.

The most significant investigation on religion is the book *Jainism* by N.R. Guseva. The author reveals the historic roots of Jainism and traces the role of this religion through the centuries of its history. This book has been translated into English in India.

An interesting work on the interpretation of the Proto-Indian (Indus Civilization) pictures is carried out by B.Ya. Volchok. She ascertains the mythological and religious content of the scenes depicted on the seals and amulets.

Soviet ethnographers have also been attracted by the caste organization, its problems and role in the past and present of the Indian society. Several works have been written on caste by M.K. Kudryavtsev. A recent one was the book *Community and Caste in Hindustan*, 1971. The author maintains that in spite of the antiquity of the caste order, it characterizes not a primitive society but already an advanced one with

developed social stratification. He claims that the Indian community system is based on the combination and interaction of kin and neighbourly principles of the social structure. The village community, in his opinion, represents a kind of a cell of the social organism in which the fundamental principles of Indian society are realized. Without a clear notion of the essence of the caste community many problems pertaining to the social structure, social relations, culture and ideology are difficult to comprehend even for the Indians themselves.

Almost all the Indologists of the Institute of Ethnography are occupied with the problems of the numerous tribes and small peoples of India. The problems are investigated by the younger ethnographers, not to say about the older generation. Thus, J.M. Semashko has prepared a monograph on the Bhils, A.N. Sedlovskaya is carrying on a work on the tribes of Chota Nagpur. S.A. Maretina has done very extensive work in this respect. She has been studying the hill peoples of Assam for many years and has published a number of works on the Garos, Khasis, Naga tribes and other people of Assam including the population of NEFA. S.A. Maretina is chiefly concerned with the problems of social structure, community system and social relations among those groups of the population. She has devoted several works particularly to the matrilineal organization of the Garos and Khasis. Generally recognized among the Indologists are her works on the community of the hill peoples of Assam and her article of 1971 entitled "Interrelation between natural conditions of labour, economy and social order among the hill peoples of North-East India". S.A. Maretina is also interested in the spread of Indian culture abroad. For example, she has published several papers on the features of the Indian culture among the Balineses of Indonesia. The influence of Indian culture upon the Indonesians proper has been discussed in a paper by Y.V. Maretin.

As far as the influence of Indians outside India is concerned, the research work about those of the West Indies is carried on by a scientific worker of the Leningrad Section of the Institute, A.D. Dridzo.

The Laboratory of Ethnical Statistics and Cartography of the Institute under Dr S.I. Brook, deputy director, examines the demographic data of different countries including India. In particular, the Laboratory has published the ethnical map of India compiled by M.Ya. Berzina. The map was published separately as well as in the *Atlas of the People of the World* (1964).

For several years a group from the Leningrad Section of the Institute has been investigating the Proto-Indian texts using materials of the Ancient Indus Civilization obtained at Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa, Lothal and other centres of culture of that period. The group is headed by Dr Y.V. Knorozov who had previously been engaged in deciphering the script of the Ancient Maya of Central America. Ethnographers are

represented in the group by B.Ya. Volchok. The linguistic analysis is performed by the Dravidologist of the Leningrad University, N.V. Gurov. The first aim of the investigation was to determine the structure of the Proto-Indian language. It turned out to be close to the Dravidian language of India. The group has published three volumes of materials in the series *Proto Indica* and prepared the fourth one for publication.

These works are popular among experts in many countries. They are also known to our colleagues in India where the *Proto Indica* series is being translated into English. Not closely related to the problems of modern anthropology and ethnography, the works under consideration are of great scientific significance for understanding the genesis of the ancient Indian culture.

Soviet ethnographers co-ordinate their efforts and exchange ideas with other Institutes and scientists engaged in research on India, for instance, with the Indologists of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, headed by G.G. Kotovsky, with Prof P.I. Boriskovsky of the Institute of Archaeology, I.V. Sakharov of the Geographical Society and many others. This co-operation is helpful for the ethnographers themselves.

The activity of the ethnographers in popularizing knowledge about India among the Soviet people deserves special mention. N.G. Krasnodembskaya, for instance, has published about two dozen popular scientific articles and translations of modern literature, chiefly from the Marathi language. But pre-eminence in this field belongs to N.R. Guseva. She has also translated a number of works of literature from the Indian languages, has written articles on the artistic handicrafts of India and, besides, commented on the exhibitions of Indian art and performances of Indian actors which have taken place in Moscow. She often speaks over the radio and television about India. In 1971 she published two popular books, *India of Millenium and the Present Time* and *Multifaced India*. Earlier N.R. Guseva had adapted the Ramayana story for a children's theatre and it is mainly for this work that she was awarded the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Prize.

Of great importance for the investigation of the material culture of India is the Leningrad Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography. The Indian collection numbers 10,000 exhibits at present. In 1956 the Museum was enriched by a great number of exhibits from the exhibition of Indian handicrafts. The Punjab section of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society presented a number of articles in 1964. Later was added a collection from Maharashtra. The Museum is visited by artists, actors, teachers and students to study this or that problem of Indian culture, art, or custom. Tens of thousands of visitors every year see the exhibits of the Indian Department of the Museum. The registration and conservation of the collections, expositions, scientific data are all done by the

ethnographer-Indologists of the Leningrad Section of the Institute.

It is becoming more and more urgent for Soviet ethnographers to establish scientific contacts with their colleagues in India, where under conditions of independence various factors of cultural and national development have led to rapid progress in social and cultural anthropology. An Indian school of anthropology, with its own tasks, theoretical principles and methods of investigation, has evolved. Co-operation between Soviet and Indian scientists and exchange of experience in processes of study of a complex ethnic society will provide great possibilities for understanding and solving many problems.

Only a few ethnographers have visited India and have had practice of field work there. N.R. Guseva, however, has not only visited India but lived in Delhi for a long time. Her stay in India was helpful for her, in particular, for writing the afore-mentioned popular books. M.K. Kudryavtsev had the opportunity of travelling in India thrice and the assistance of the Indian anthropologists enabled him to see the life of various groups of people including tribes and to visit villages in diverse parts of the country. In 1964 Prof N.N. Cheboksarov and M.K. Kudryavtsev were invited by the Anthropological Survey of India and with the help of Indian anthropologist P. Gupta they collected some anthropological materials from among the Gonds, Asuras, Khasis and other groups of the Indian population. Later the head of the Indian Statistical Institute, Prof P.C. Mahalanobis, offered to conduct a joint Indo-Soviet anthropological investigation of some endogamous groups in India. In 1966, besides Prof N.N. Cheboksarov and M.K. Kudryavtsev, the Soviet anthropologist A.A. Zubov and an anthropologist of the Indian Statistical Institute took part in this experimental work. The objects of the investigation were some high and low castes in Bengal and Mysore, the tribes of Santals, Mundas, Oraons, as well as the Jats and Gujars near Delhi.

Substantial help was provided to the Soviet anthropologists by the head of the Department of Anthropology, Ranchi University, Dr L.P. Vidyarthi, and by the staff of the Registrar-General's Office in Delhi, especially by Dr B.K. Roy Burman.

The results of these researches were recorded in a paper prepared by Cheboksarov and Zubov for the 28th International Congress of Orientalists in Canberra (1971).

The collaboration of the Indian and Soviet anthropologists was continued in 1971 when the Soviet team was composed of M.G. Abdushelashvili, A.A. Voronov, I.M. Semashko and V.P. Volkov-Dubrovin. The programme was a complex one covering as it did serological and dermatoglyphic research and has been carried on among the Rajputs, Chamars, Gujars, Ahirs and Jats.

The joint work of the anthropologists of the two countries may be

very helpful in solving some problems of ethnic anthropology common to India and other countries of the Near East and Middle Asia.

The interests of science demand an increase in scientific exchange, intensified contacts and collaboration between the anthropological institutes of both countries. At present the conditions for our friendship and co-operation are becoming increasingly more favourable.

कालिदासवृत्तान्तः

(Text of the inscription referred to in the article "New Light on Kālidāsa" by S. V. Sohoni)

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कालिदासस्य पिता ब्राह्मणस्तस्य माता वैश्यान्यभवत् ।* कालिदासे चतुर्वर्षवयसि स्थिते तस्य पिता तस्य मातरम् विहाय गतः । कालिदासस्य माता तम् वर्धयित्वा कालिदासे सप्तवर्षवयसि स्थिते तस्य शिल्पान्यध्यापयितुं उज्जयिन्या संस्कृतपाठशालाया आचार्यं सम्मुखीभूत्वा प्राभूतं प्रदाय स्वपुत्रस्य संस्कृतभाषा अध्यापयितुं अयाचत । आचार्यः स्वपाठशालाया शिष्यास्सर्वे ब्राह्मणवटवो भवन्तीति च तेषां अन्तरे वैश्यवटुरागतश्चेत्तस्य महत्कष्टं भवितुं शक्यं इति च संस्कृतभाषां अधीत्य वैश्येन लब्धुं शक्यं भूतं लाभन्नास्तीति च तस्माद् वैश्यस्योचितानि शिल्पान्यध्यापयितुं स्वपुत्रो वैश्यपाठशालाया आचार्यस्य प्रतिपादयितव्य इति चाकथयत् । कालिदासस्य माता कालिदासं आदाय गत्वा वैश्यपाठशालाया आचार्यं सम्मुखीभूत्वा तस्य च प्राभूतं प्रदाय स्वपुत्रस्संस्कृतभाषा अधीतुं उत्सुकस्स्थित इति ख्यात्वा तस्य संस्कृतभाषा अध्यापयितुं शक्य इत्यपृच्छत् । वैश्यपाठशालाया आचार्यस्य च संस्कृतभाषायां महत्पाटवं अभवत् । तस्मात् कालिदासस्य संस्कृतभाषा अध्यापयितुं प्रभुत्वं आत्मनोऽस्तीति ख्यात्वा कालिदासं स्वशिष्य इति प्रत्यग्रहीत् ।

कालिदासोऽचिरेणैव संस्कृतभाषाञ्च संस्कृतव्याकरणशास्त्रञ्च निघण्टुञ्च भाषान्तराणि च पद्यरचनाशास्त्रञ्च काव्यशास्त्रञ्च नाट्यशास्त्रञ्च न्यायशास्त्रञ्च दर्शनानि च बहून्यन्यानि शास्त्राणि चाधीत्य महापण्डितो भूत्वा स्थितः ।

यौवनवयसि प्राप्ते कालिदासः स्ववृत्त्यर्थं कर्तुं शक्यं यत्किञ्चिद् अस्तीत्याचार्यं अपृच्छत् । आचार्यस्तु स्वमित्रं कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्य सूतप्रमुखं सम्मुखीभूत्वा कालिदासं प्रतिवध्य कथयित्वा तेन सूतस्थानं लब्धुं शक्य इत्यपृच्छत् । सूतप्रमुखः कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्य सम्मतं लब्ध्वा कालिदासं सूतनवकत्वे न्ययुञ्ज ।

सूतनवकत्वं प्राप्य सप्तमासे गते कालिदासेन सूतस्थानं लब्धम् । ततः परं प्रतिदिनं प्रभाते च रात्रौ च कालिदासेनान्यैः सूतैः सार्द्धं कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्य शयनागाराभिमुखे स्थित्वा पद्यानि पठितानि । पठितपद्यानि रमणीयानि न भवन्तीति कालिदासः स्वयमेव पद्यानि विरचय्य सूतप्रमुखस्य प्रादात् । सूतप्रमुखस्तानि पद्यानि पठित्वा रमणीयानीत्यवधार्य तानि पद्यानि पठितुं परिचयं कर्तुं अन्येषां सूतानां आदिश्य तैः परिचये लब्धे तानि पद्यानि कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्य श्रोतुं पठितानि । कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्तानि पद्यानि पठितानि श्रुत्वा तानि पद्यानि कुत उद्धृतानीति सूतप्रमुखः अपृच्छत् । कालिदासनाम्नाऽभिनवसूतेन स्वयमेव तानि पद्यानि रचितानीत्युक्ते तेन रचितान्यन्यान्यपि पद्यानि सन्ति चेत्तान्यपि पठितुं आज्ञापयत् । कालिदासस्त्वन्यान्यपि पद्यानि विरचय्य सूतप्रमुखस्य प्रादात् । तानि पठितुं अन्यैः सूतैः परिचये लब्धे कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्य श्रोतुं तानि पद्यानि पठितानि । कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्तानि पद्यानि पठितानि श्रुत्वा कालिदासमात्मनः सकाशं प्रेषयितुं सूतप्रमुखः आज्ञापयत् । कालिदासे महाराजस्य सकाशं प्राप्याभिवन्द्य स्थिते कुमारगुप्तमहाराजः कालिदासेन रचितानि पद्यान्यतिरमणीयानीति प्रशंस्य नाटकं रचयितुं शक्यमित्यपृच्छत् । कालिदासस्तु शक्यं देवेति महाराजस्याज्ञां प्रतिगृह्य मालविकाग्निमित्रं नाम नाटकं रचयित्वा सूतप्रमुखस्य हस्तेन तन्नाटकं कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्य प्रेषयामास ।

कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्तु तन्नाटकं पठित्वा तं प्रतिवध्य तेषां मतं आत्मनः प्रकाशयितुं स्वसभायां कवीनाम् प्रादात् । ते कवयस्तन्नाटकं पठित्वा अतिशयरसावहनाटक इति प्रशंसां चक्रुः । कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्तथा चेत् तन्नाटकं प्रयोक्तव्यं इत्याज्ञां प्रादात् । नाट्यागाराध्यक्षेण तन्नाटकं प्रयुक्तम् । तस्य प्रयोगं दृष्ट्वा सर्वेस्तन्नाटकं अतिशयरसास्वादजनकं इति प्रशंसां चक्रुः । कालिदासो विक्रमोर्वशीयं नाम द्वितीयन्नाटकं विरचय्य कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्य प्रेषयामास । तस्य प्रयोगं अपि सफलं अभवत् ।

कालिदासस्त्वभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलनाम तृतीयन्नाटकं विरचय्य तेन प्रथमविरचितनाटकद्वयाद् विशिष्टतरमिति ख्यात्वा तमपि कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्य प्रेषयामास । कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्तमपि प्रयोक्तु आज्ञा प्रादात् । अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलस्य प्रयोगन् दृष्टैः सर्वैस्तथाविधं रमणीयन्नाटकं तैः कदाचिन्न दृष्ट इति च कालिदासस्य कवित्व अतिमहद् इति च प्रशसा चक्रुः । कुमारगुप्तमहाराजेन च सामन्तराजैश्च सेनापतिप्रभृतिभिर् अमात्यैश्च बहूनि महार्हाणि प्राभूतानि कालिदासस्य प्रदत्तानि । कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्तस्य स्वसभाया कविषु स्थानं प्रादात् । कालिदासो धनवान् भूत्वा स्वकुलोचिता युवती सम्बाह्य कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्य सभासदो भूत्वा स्थितः ।

सूतप्रमुखस्तु कालिदासस्याभिवृद्धिरात्मानं प्रतीत्याभवदपि सम्प्रति कालिदासोऽत्मन उच्चतरं स्थानं लब्ध्वा स्थित इतीर्ष्यपिरवशो भूत्वा तस्य पराभव कारयितुं उपायं विचिन्त्य कालिदासं दृष्ट्वा कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्योत्पत्तिं अन्यालापमुखेन वर्णयितुं स्कन्दकुमारस्योत्पत्तिं रामायणे प्रदत्ताकरं वस्तु कृत्वा महाकाव्यं विरचितञ्चेत् कुमारगुप्तमहाराजः सन्तुष्टो भविष्यतीत्यकथयत् । कालिदासश्च तस्मिन्नवसरे महाकाव्यस्य वस्तुं विचिन्व स्थितः । तस्मात् सूतप्रमुखस्य वचनं प्रतिगृह्य कुमारसम्भवनाम महाकाव्यं रचयितुं आरभ्य सप्तसर्गान् समाप्य सूतप्रमुखस्य प्रदर्शयामास । सूतप्रमुखस्तु तान् सप्तसर्गान् पठित्वाऽतिमात्ररमणीयं काव्यं इति कालिदासं प्रशस्य सर्गसप्तकेन काव्यं निष्ठित इत्यपृच्छत् । कालिदासस्तथा न भवतीति च सप्तमसर्गात् परं रामायणे प्रदत्तं कथं काव्ये प्रदातव्यं इति चिन्तयन् स्थित इत्यकथयत् । सूतप्रमुखस्तु कालिदासेन नवोढायां भार्याया स्वयं प्रवृत्ताकारेण शिवपार्वत्योः सम्भोगं वर्णितं चेद् रसपूर्णं भविष्यतीत्यकथयत् ।

कालिदासस्तु सूतप्रमुखेणोक्तं अङ्गीकुर्वन् नवोढायां भार्याया स्वयं प्रवृत्ताकारेण शिवपार्वत्योः सम्भोगं वर्णयित्वा अष्टमसर्गं विरचय्य सूतप्रमुखस्य प्रादात् । सूतप्रमुखस्तु अष्टमसर्गं पठित्वा तत्सर्गो रसपूर्ण इति सत्यं अपि कालिदासेन अकर्तव्यं कृतं इति सन्तुष्टः कुमारगुप्तमहाराजन्दृष्ट्वा कालिदासेन महाराजस्योत्पत्तिं अन्यालापमुखेन वर्णितुं स्कन्दकुमारस्योत्पत्तिं रामायणे प्रदत्ताकारं वस्तु कृत्वा महाकाव्यं कर्तुमारभ्याष्टसर्गास्समाप्ता इति च अष्टमे सर्गे शिवपार्वत्योः सम्भोगं नवोढायां स्वभार्यायां स्वयं प्रवृत्ताकारेण वर्णितं इति च तत्काव्यं अन्यालापेन महाराजस्योत्पत्तिं वर्णितुं विरचितञ्चेच्छिवपार्वत्योः सम्भोगं महाराजस्य पित्रोः सम्भोगं भवतीति च महाराजस्य पित्रोः सम्भोगं वर्णितं इत्यतिमात्रं अनुचितं इति च तथा कृतेन महाराजस्य मातरि च पितरि च जनस्य गौरवं प्रहीयत इति च महाराजस्य मातरि च पितरि च गौरवं प्रहीणे महाराजे च जनस्य गौरवं प्रहीणं भवितुं शक्यं इति च ख्यात्वा रोदितुं प्रस्थितः । कस्माद् रोदिसीति पृच्छिते महाराजस्य प्रेम्णा च कालिदासस्याविनयं प्रतिवध्य चिन्तनेन चाकस्मात् रुदित इति च ख्यात्वा महाराज एव अस्मिन् कर्तव्ये प्रमाणं इति च ख्यात्वा कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्यावसरं लब्ध्वा स्वगृहं गतः ।

कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्तु कालिदासं आहूय सूतप्रमुखेणोक्तं आरोच्य तथाविधं अनुचितं कृतं इति सत्यं इत्यपृच्छत् । कालिदासस्तथेति प्रतिगृह्य अष्टमस्सर्गोऽनुचित इति पश्चादात्मनैवावबुद्ध इति च तस्मात् तत्सर्गं सूतप्रमुखात्प्रतिलभ्याग्निसात्कर्तुं निश्चित्य स्थित इति चाकथयत् । कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्तु तथा न कर्तव्यं इति च कुमारसम्भवकाव्यस्याष्टमं सर्गोऽस्तः परं कामशास्त्रे अधीतुं पाठ्यं भवितुं शक्यं इति तस्मात् कुमारसम्भवकाव्यं आत्मनः पुस्तकभाण्डागारे स्थापयितुं आज्ञां प्रदत्तेति च किन्तु रामायणे प्रदत्ताकारेण स्कन्दकुमारस्योत्पत्तिं प्रतिवध्य वृत्तान्तः काव्यस्य वस्तुं भवितुं नोचितं इति च तस्मात् कुमारसम्भवकाव्यस्य विरचनं निवर्त्तयितव्यं इति च ख्यात्वा कालिदासेनानुचितं कृतं इत्यात्मनः प्रापणा कृतेति च कालिदासेनैव तथा प्रतिगृहीतं इति च अनुचितस्य कर्तुं राजसभां प्रवेष्टुं न प्रदातव्यं इति च किन्तु कालिदासेन प्रथमं विरचितं नाटकत्रये

यत्किञ्चिद् अनुचितज्ञास्तीति च तस्माद् एकवर्षकालं राजसभाप्रवेशनं प्रतिषिद्धं प्रमाणभूतदण्डनं भवतीति च तस्मिन् कालपरिच्छेदे कालिदासेन देशाटनं कृत्वा ज्ञानं पृथुलं कर्तुं शक्यं इति च ख्यात्वा कालिदासस्य दक्षिणापथं प्रयातुं आदिशत् ।

कालिदासः कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्य धर्मपरवशतां प्रशंस्य स्वगृहं आगम्य स्वभार्या तस्याः पितुर्गृहे स्थापयित्वा स्वयं दक्षिणापथं प्राप्य रामगिरिपर्वतसमीपे निवासं गृहीत्वा स्थित्वा सप्तमासेऽस्तीतेऽन्यं पञ्चमासं कथं व्यपनेतव्यं इति चिन्तयन् स्थित्वा वर्षाकालस्यारम्भे पर्वतमूर्धनि स्थितं मेघं दृष्ट्वा मेघस्य मार्गेण स्वभार्यायास्सन्देशं प्रेषिताकारेण मेघदूतं नाम काव्यं विरचय्य तस्य प्रतीकं कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्य प्रेषयामास । कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्त्वात्मना कालिदासेन महार्हं काव्यं कारयितुं इति सन्तुष्टो भूत्वा स्थितः । कुमारसम्भवेऽष्टमः सर्गः कालिदासेन सूतप्रमुखस्य वचनेन कृतः इति चारमुखेन ज्ञात्वा सूतप्रमुखः स्वस्थानाच्छावयित्वा तस्य स्थानं कालिदासस्य प्रदत्तं इति च सम्प्रति कालिदासस्य उज्जयिनीपुरं प्राप्तुं च राजसभां प्रवेष्टुञ्चावसरं अस्तीति च ख्यात्वा सन्देशं प्राहिणोत् ।

कालिदासस्तत्सन्देशं लब्ध्वाऽस्तीव सन्तुष्टो भूत्वोज्जयिनीपुरं प्राप्य स्वभार्यायाः पितुर्गृहं गत्वा स्वभार्या आश्वस्य कुमारगुप्तमहाराजं दृष्ट्वा पुनस्स्वयं महाराजस्य सेवायां नियुक्तः इति सन्तुष्टः इत्यवदत् । कुमारगुप्तमहाराजस्तस्य स्ववशस्य वृत्तान्तान् प्रदाय महाकाव्यं रचयितुं समादिशत् । कालिदासस्तु तदादेशं मूर्ध्ना प्रतिगृह्य रघुवंशनाम पञ्चविंशतिसर्गात्मकं महाकाव्यं विरचय्य कुमारगुप्तमहाराजेन च स्कन्दगुप्तमहाराजेन च मानितः स्थितः ।

* There were many legends about Kālidāsa's childhood, all purporting to state that he was a complete dunce. The suggestion in this Kālidāsa Vṛttānta, that he had difficulties in obtaining education on account of his birth, might also be inspired by the object of stressing the big transformation of his intellect. The Kālidāsa Vṛttānta need not be taken to be correct in every respect, although many parts of it can be separated independently.

Section II

The Nationalist Struggle

The Growth of Indian Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century

S. R. Mehrotra

In 1884 Sir John Strachey, who had recently retired from the Indian Civil Service after a long and distinguished career, delivered a series of lectures on India in the University of Cambridge. He began by telling his audience: "This is the first and most essential thing to learn about India — that there is not, and never was, an India. . . ." Nor need it be feared, Strachey added, that the bonds of union fashioned by British rule could ever "in any way lead to the growth of a single Indian nationality." "However long may be the duration of our dominion," he remarked, "however powerful may be the centralizing attraction of our government, or the influence of the common interests which grow up, no such issue can follow." To Strachey it seemed impossible "that men of Bombay, the Punjab, Bengal and Madras should ever feel that they belong to one great Indian nation".¹

Strachey testified to the truth contained in Lord Palmerston's famous epigram that if one wished to be misinformed about a country, one should ask the man who had lived there for thirty years. History has proved Strachey wrong. In fact, even while Strachey was speaking at Cambridge in 1884, there were thousands of "men of Bombay, the Punjab, Bengal and Madras" who had already started feeling that they belonged to "one great Indian nation". And the next year, in 1885, the growing spirit of Indian nationalism found a body in the Indian National Congress. Strachey lacked sympathy and understanding. He was blind to the significant changes taking place before his very eyes in India. But let us not be too hard on Strachey. He was not alone in thinking that India could never be a nation, and he apparently had good reasons for believing that the idea of a united Indian nation was an impossibility.

If ever there was a country in the nineteenth century where the prospect of a united nationhood seemed hopeless, it was India. It was a vast country. Its huge population was divided by almost every conceivable division — linguistic, political, racial, and religious. The British were able to overpower India because it was divided. The ease with which the British could conquer and govern India encouraged them to have many illusions regarding the Indian people. For example, the British generally believed and publicly asserted that the people of India had no sense of patriotism, that they did not mind being ruled by foreigners, and that they had no capacity for self-government. All this was absurd. A country of the size of India could not become a nation before the development of the modern means of communication in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But India was not lacking in the essentials of nationalism, and the vastness and diversity of the country did not rule out the possibility of its becoming a nation.

Nature has made the peninsula of India the most compact territory in Asia. It has given India a distinct geographical unity and well-defined frontiers. And from very early times the people of India have been

conscious of this fact.² Communication between different parts of India was frequent. Pilgrims travelled great distances to visit shrines distributed throughout the country. So did merchants and scholars. The physical and administrative barriers within the country never impeded the free flow of men or goods or ideas. The two major communities in India — the Hindus and the Muslims — were dispersed all over the subcontinent. The sense of belonging to an all-India community cut across regional and linguistic loyalties. The web of Indian life was woven of diverse but interlocking patterns. Nor was the ideal of Indian political unity entirely absent. From very ancient times the Hindu ideal of a *chakravartin* had been that of a monarch who ruled over the entire subcontinent.³ India was thus not lacking in some of those basic elements which are essential for the making of any nation, and given favourable circumstances it could become a nation. Some of these favourable circumstances were provided by British rule.

The British once again sowed the seeds of political unity of India. They recreated a sort of all-India state. Common subjection, common laws and institutions began to shape the people of India in a common mould. Indian patriotism could now fix upon a single state system. Regional, communal and linguistic loyalties did not disappear. In fact, they were reinforced and reinvigorated in many ways. But pan-Indianism also grew and it acquired a new meaning and a new content. British rule also gave India a long period of security against foreign aggression. The integrative process had now full operation within India. To borrow Edwyn Bevan's famous analogy, the British *raj* was like a steel frame which held the injured body of India together till the gradual process of internal growth joined the dislocated bones, knit up the torn fibres, and enabled the patient to gain inner coherence and unity.⁴ The press, the new postal system, the telegraphs and the railways, which came in the wake of British rule, linked the towns with the *mofussil* and one region with another in a closer, more intimate and living unity.

History is replete with examples of common subjection to a foreign rule having welded together people of different races, regions and religions into one nation. A common subjection to British rule produced the same result in India. The people of India had known many foreign rulers, but none so foreign and determined to remain foreign as the British. With all their differences, the people of India had more in common with each other than with their foreign rulers, and occasions were not wanting when the *natives* were united in common opposition to the *Feringhees*. Moreover, the ordinary Briton in India behaved as if he were a demigod. He resented travelling in the same railway carriage with an Indian or being tried by an Indian magistrate. He went about cuffing and kicking Indians. Those who were thus abused and insulted naturally united in their common humiliation. The British went to India not only as traders

and rulers, but also as bearers of an alien culture and religion.

Repeatedly during the nineteenth century various parts of India were thrown into a state of great alarm because of some action of Christian missionaries or of the British Government which was interpreted by the Indian people as an attack on their ancient religions and customs. It was the great fear of forcible conversion to Christianity which united Hindus and Muslims and precipitated the revolt of 1857. Reaction to British economic and fiscal policies provided an economic edge to Indian nationalism and led to the birth of a Swadeshi movement in the 1870s. The highly centralized character of British rule in India, especially after the Charter Act of 1833, also aided the growth of a pan-Indian nationalism. Centralization meant not only the subordination of the governments of the various provinces and princely states to the central government in Calcutta, it also meant uniform, and sometimes even common, laws, institutions and taxes for the whole country. The people of India were thus provided with a common centre for their political thoughts and a rallying point for their political action. British rule had another peculiarity which served to unite the people of India in common opposition to it. Probably no other foreign rule in India ever excluded the sons of the soil so completely from high offices in the state — both civil and military — as did the British in the nineteenth century. Here was a common grievance which united Indians of all creeds and provinces against their alien masters.

In 1838 an enlightened British civilian, Sir Charles E. Trevelyan, wrote a small book entitled *On the Education of the People of India*. In this book Trevelyan pointed out that there were two models of political change current in India. One was the indigenous model, according to which both Hindus and Muslims looked upon the British as infidel usurpers who were to be swept off the face of India some day by force. Those who wanted to gain independence according to this original indigenous model were continually hatching plots and conspiracies with that object. The other model of political change was that introduced by British rule and European learning. In the presidency towns, where Western education had been introduced, an entirely new turn was being given to the Indian mind. Those Indians who had been educated in English schools ceased to strive for independence according to the indigenous model. Instead, they wanted gradually to improve and regenerate their country with British help and with the ultimate aim of gaining constitutional self-government.⁵ The revolt of 1857 can be looked upon as an attempt on the part of Indians to get rid of British rule according to the original indigenous model. It was patriotism old style. An example of patriotism new style was provided by a letter from "A Loyal Bengali" which appeared in the Anglo-Indian *Friend of India*, of June 4, 1857, when the revolt was in full swing. The letter said that though the young Bengali was by no means satisfied with British rule, he had no desire to exchange it for "the horrors of

the house of Tamerlane" or "the barbarism of the Russian autocracy". "He would rather have done with it, and become free (and what man will blame another man for wishing to be free?), but the gods have not decreed so, at least in our days. The load must be endured, and it is Young Bengal's wish to make it as light as possible. . . . Though as a patriotic native I cannot accord the Indian Government in the language of Father Paul to his country *Esto perpetua*, yet, fully appreciating the blessings (such as they are) of British rule I can wish for its stability up to the time when we are able to govern ourselves without any fear of foreign invasion."⁶

This new patriotism had been growing in India since the introduction of English education early in the nineteenth century. The English-educated class was familiar with European history and literature. It knew about the Magna Carta, the English Civil War, the War of American Independence, and the French Revolution. It followed closely the struggle of European nationalities to be free and the progress of responsible government in the British Empire. It was nurtured on the writings of Milton, Mill and Mazzini. By the end of the 1870s this class numbered no less than 400,000. In relation to the teeming millions of the country it was undoubtedly "a microscopic minority", but as a rising social group, concentrated mostly in towns, controlling the professions, educational institutions and newspapers, imbued with common ideas and aspirations, and capable of concerted action, it wielded an influence out of all proportion to its numerical strength.⁷

Debating and literary societies where young English-educated Indians talked patriotism began to grow at the metropolitan centres in the 1820s and 1830s. Following the example of resident Britons, Indians began to organize pressure groups. The first such pressure group was the Calcutta Landholders' Society of 1838, which claimed to speak on behalf of the landed interests throughout the country and aimed at establishing branches all over India. Then in 1851-52 came the local associations of Calcutta, Bombay, Poona and Madras, consisting of landlords, merchants and professional men. By the 1870s the English-educated professional men — lawyers, teachers, journalists and doctors — feeling that their interests and aspirations were no longer being adequately served by the existing associations, began to form separate associations which they could shape nearer to their heart's desire. These new associations had a wider outlook, their demands were more far-reaching, and instead of appealing to the government they began to appeal to the people. The ideal of a united and independent India began to be openly preached in the press and on the streets. The need for some sort of concert and co-ordination between the activities of these various associations also came to be widely felt and expressed. By the mid-seventies the Indian nationalist movement had clearly reached the take-off stage.

In 1876 Queen Victoria assumed the title of Kaiser-i-Hind or Empress

of India. In order to mark the occasion, the then Viceroy of India, Lord Lytton, announced a grand *darbar* to be held in Delhi on January 1, 1877. It was to be a unique event. For the first time in the history of British rule in India, distinguished men from all walks of life and from all parts of the country were to assemble in the old imperial city of Delhi. While the British rulers of India looked upon the forthcoming Delhi Durbar as a grand imperial demonstration, patriotic Indians regarded it as a symbol of the growing unity of their country as a nation. Sensing the significance of the coming event and anxious to turn it to some national advantage, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha addressed, on December 5, 1876, a circular letter to all the princes, chiefs and gentlemen who had been invited to attend the Delhi Durbar. The letter commenced thus: "The honour that has been paid to you in your personal or representative capacity in being invited to the proposed gathering is regarded by us as an honour to the nation to which you belong, and we have no doubt that the gathering of so many representative men from all parts of India is an event of national importance, and that it will be regarded, in all future history, as the commencement of that fusion of races and creeds, the second birth of the great Indian nation, for which we have so long prayed and dreamed, and which has been so wonderfully brought about by Providence through strange agencies. On such an occasion, it behoves you to sink the individual and the temporary in the national and permanent concern of the event. . . . You should not be dazzled by the gaieties of the gathering, but learn the great moral lesson of healthy, self-sustained, and joint political action, which such an event is so well calculated to teach. You are the great notables of the land, the first Parliament of the united Indian nation, the first Congress of the representatives of the divers states and nationalities which make up the body politic of India. We pray that you will make it a point of duty to see each other individually during your stay in Delhi, and bid welcome to each other, forgoing all reserve and petty misunderstandings, which have separated us long enough to our ruin. We propose further that you will meet together in private gatherings and discuss with each other our present situation and future prospects."⁸

It was at Delhi in late December 1876 on the occasion of the imperial assemblage that Indian nationalists took the first practical steps to draw together the various scattered forces of the growing national life in the country, which ultimately resulted, nine years later, in the establishment of the Indian National Congress.⁹ They began very modestly, which shows how politically mature they had become. All that they attempted to do was to bring together once a year in a conference in some important place representatives of the press and political associations in order to exchange ideas and focus public opinion on demands which represented the highest common factor in the programme of the politically alert Indians.

They aimed at an indirect, federal sort of national organization. A different kind of attempt was being made almost at the same time by a more idealistic group in Bengal, namely, to have a central national association in Calcutta with its branches all over the country, but it failed. The organization of the Indian National Congress in 1885 foreshadowed, in a way, the kind of nation India was going to be. The Congress became both the symbol and the instrument of a nation in the making.

¹ J. Strachey, *India* (London, 1888), pp 5, 8

² See R. K. Mookerji, *The Fundamental Unity of India* (London, 1914), p. 14 ff.

³ *Ibid*, p 70 ff

⁴ E. Bevan, *Indian Nationalism* (London, 1913), pp 45-46

⁵ C. E. Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India* (London, 1838), p. 187 ff.

⁶ *Friend of India*, June 4, 1857.

⁷ See S. R. Mehrotra, *The Emergence of the Indian National Congress* (Delhi, 1971), p. 140.

⁸ *Poona Observer*, December 7, 1876.

⁹ See Mehrotra, *op. cit*, pp. 201-5.

Sikhs in the 1857 Uprising

Dolores Domin

The Uprising of 1857-59 was of great importance for the later course of modern Indian history. Although discussion is still going on as to whether or not it was already a national rebellion under the then prevailing socio-economic conditions, there exists a considerable degree of consensus among historians that the resistance against the British rule took new and wider dimensions in 1857-59 for the first time inasmuch as political and religious differences and regional barriers were overcome to a remarkable extent.¹ While the sepoys of the Bengal Army were the first to start the anti-British struggle, the decisive role of the civil population is now hardly questioned. This is proved also by the fact that large areas of British India were not involved in the movement, though the sepoys stationed there were very much active in their attempts to overthrow the British power. But without the necessary support from the people, their actions could be suppressed in a short time. The major reason why broad sections of the people kept aloof from the anti-British rising was the different impact the colonial rule produced on the socio-economic relations in the various areas of the Indian subcontinent. Among the provinces in which the attempts of the sepoys to remove the British rule failed to get any remarkable response from the people, the Punjab was destined to play a significant part in the Uprising. While the Sikhs were foremost in the heroic and fierce defence of their state against British aggression up to 1849,² they abstained from making use of the good chance to get rid of the British supremacy in 1857. This involves a very complex problem which demands a thorough study and is beyond the scope of this paper.³ A few relevant records, however, will shed new light on some aspects of that vexed question and will, therefore, be introduced in this article.⁴

The reasons for this attitude of the Sikhs during the Uprising accepted by various historians can be summed up thus: the political animosity between the Sikhs and the Mughal Empire, the representative of which was brought again to real power by the insurgent sepoys in May 1857; the Sikh animosity towards the Hindustanis in general and the Hindustani sepoys in particular as a result of the British wars waged against the Sikh state with the actual help rendered by the Bengal army regiments; the differences in religion and social habits which separated the Sikhs from the other communities, especially from the Muslims; and lastly the fact that the Sikhs by 1857 were leaderless for making use of the chance of recovering power.⁵

Certainly, many sentiments of that kind made their influence felt with the Sikhs in general. At the same time, available records reveal that the Sikh sepoys participated in the Uprising in spite of the animosities and differences summarized above. This problem has not attracted the interest of historians so far.⁶ It is, therefore, proposed in this paper to acquaint the reader with several documents relating to the participation of Sikh sepoys in the Uprising, which may offer a deeper insight into the whole subject.

Punjabis and Sikhs were for the first time given permission to enlist themselves in the regular native army in February 1851. The decision was taken by the Government of India after a thorough discussion among the top-ranking officials and after the receipt of consent from the Court of Directors. In his letter of July 4, 1850, Dalhousie pleaded for the recruitment of the Sikhs as a political measure. He intended to utilize their high military qualities and pointed out that a "still further advantage would be secured by the mixture of men of those sects with the sepoys now in our service, and by a departure from the system which at present prevails, I venture to think, too exclusively, of recruiting from one class of persons in these territories". The Governor-General was eager to see the principle of "divide and rule" observed in the Bengal army to a larger extent. A still more urgent problem was to be solved which had been raised by the disbandment of the Khalsa army. "Thus there is now scattered," Dalhousie explained in his letter, "chiefly in the districts within the Manjha, a very large body of men trained to army, but now without any employment, and thrown for support on the different villages beyond the usual number of their inhabitants".⁷ After considering the proposals made by the "Memo on the amalgamation of Sikhs and Punjaubees with the regular native arms",⁸ the Government of India directed the commanding officers to enlist Punjabis to a total of two hundred soldiers per regiment, of whom not more than one hundred were to be Sikhs. It was expressly stated that the Sikhs should not be formed into distinct companies but distributed over the whole regiment and that a strict control was to be maintained as regards freedom in the observation of their religious duties and social habits.⁹

Only a few figures are available which show that by 1857 the envisaged number of Punjabis and Sikhs had generally not been included into the Bengal native army.¹⁰ A major reason for this was the resistance offered by the high-caste sepoys against the enlistment of recruits from the Punjab and the prejudices of their officers sticking to the traditional recruiting centres.¹¹ On the eve of the Uprising the Sikh sepoys in particular were at times in a somewhat isolated position, a fact which the British officials tried to utilize for their purpose. Nevertheless, during the memorable years of 1857-59 the British military officers were confronted with the fact that even Sikh sepoys participated to a large extent in the rebellion of their regiments. The Punjab Mutiny Report summarizes this as follows: "Many Sikhs, however, on service with their regiment in the North-West Provinces, failed their country and their masters. Many were drawn into the vortex of revolt, and after the fall of Delhi tried to steal home."¹² The British officers in their evidence before the commissioners appointed to inquire into the organization of the Indian Army came to the conclusion that "many hundreds of Sikhs employed with the Poorbees sepoys threw in their lot with them in the mutiny."¹³ It was stressed that the Sikhs

in their regiments had little influence and, "though utterly distinct in feelings from Hindoostanees, yet, from having been placed in the same corps, became amalgamated and joined in the rebellion with the Hindoostanee."¹⁴ The British officers came to the conclusion that the Sikhs were too few, too isolated and; therefore, had to submit to their more numerous Hindustani-fellows.¹⁵

Several documents, however, prove the fact that the Sikhs were in a position to play an active part in the anti-British risings of their regiments. For instance, when the 12th regiment N.I. rose on June 3, 1857, at Jhansi and on June 10 at Nowgong, the evidence given by Lt. Scott confirms that the lead was taken by several Sikh sepoy shooting the Havildar Major and rushing to the guns.¹⁶ In a memorandum written by Lt. Browne it was stated that the "12th Regiment N.I. . . . contained a good number of Sikhs of all ranks. At Jhansee no man of any caste or creed remained faithful."¹⁷ Two rolls of Sikhs belonging to that regiment provide information about their names, villages, *parganas* and districts where they were coming from. Altogether one hundred Sikhs are listed, all hailing from the Cis-Sutlej states and the native states respectively.¹⁸ The two rolls were the enclosures of a circular directed to the divisional heads of the Punjab from the judicial commissioner of the province. Montgomery wrote in his circular dated January 11, 1858, as follows:

"Sir, I have the honour to forward to you the Rolls, marginally noted, of the Sikh sepoy of the late 12th Regiment Native Infantry which mutinied at Jhansi, as also a Memo and Extract from a letter from officers who were at Jhansi at the time and to request that you will instruct your District officers to make every effort to apprehend the men of this corps who may have returned to Punjab, and bring them to trial, and if proved to have been present with their corps at the time of the Mutiny, they should be sentenced to death."¹⁹

These documents suggest three conclusions. First, the rolls prove that at the time of the Uprising there were regiments in which the proposed number of Sikhs had actually been enlisted. It may be expected that further research will trace the figures relating to the regiments with a similar proportion of Sikhs in their ranks. Secondly, the general assumption that it was their weakness in numbers which caused the Sikhs to be "drawn into the vortex of revolt"²⁰ must be revised, at least for this recorded case. The Sikhs as a minority of hardly ten per cent in their regiment were strong enough to carry the day. On the contrary, one is rather inclined to think that, had this proportion been prevailing all over the Bengal army, the leading part of the Sikhs might have been even stronger. Thirdly, many Sikhs of the 12th Regiment N.I. were residents of the native states,²¹ the chiefs of which offered readily to help the Britishers. This shows that the Sikh sepoy, even without the guidance of their feudal chiefs, could act fully on their own.

Out of the hundred Sikhs of the 12th Regiment N.I. some sixteen were on furlough when the rising took place and were re-enlisted later by Ricketts.²² After the fall of Delhi, twenty-five Sikhs of this regiment were apprehended and twenty-one of them hanged at Ludhiana on February 5, 1858, in the presence of the Chief Commissioner John Lawrence.²³

The documents relating to the rising of the 23rd Regiment N.I. at Mhow on July 1, 1857, provide another proof of the active participation of the Sikh sepoys. "The roll of sepoys of the late 23rd Regiment N.I. residents of the Punjab" moreover furnishes very interesting details of the composition of a Bengal native regiment, which could be taken as typical at that time. On July 1, 1857, the muster roll consisted of 124 Punjabis, 68 of them were Sikhs, and again 50 of these number were residents of the Manjha, most of them belonging to villages of *parganas* Amritsar and Tarn Taran. An overwhelming majority of the Sikhs were present when the rising took place, only a few having been on furlough.²⁴ The Maharaja of Gwalior was successful in preventing the sepoys of this regiment from marching to Delhi in time. Together with men of the Gwalior contingent and other sepoys they attacked a British Indian corps on October 10, 1857, near Agra but were defeated.²⁵

In order to complete the picture, mention should be made of the rising of the Ludhiana Regiment, which was composed mainly of Sikhs, on June 4, 1857, in Banaras.²⁶ In an unsuccessful attempt to disband the 37th Regiment N.I. the Sikhs joined in the general insurrection.²⁷ In spite of all guess-work about the reasons why the Sikhs decided to fight the Britishers, there is a statement of the judicial commissioner of the Punjab which leaves no doubt about the active role the Sikhs played on this remarkable occasion. Five Sikhs of the Ludhiana Regiment had returned to their villages in the Jullundur district and were apprehended. The district officer refrained from sentencing them to death "on the ground that if all similarly placed were hanged, the number would be fearful."²⁸ The judicial commissioner enforced a revision of the sentence by writing: "Doubtless a few Sikhs in a Hindustanee regiment might be carried away and find it difficult to resist the strong influence brought to bear against them. But in the present case the regiment was composed of Sikhs, and no excuse can be made for them. They mutinied in a body, fired on the European soldiers, and charged them. Their just fate is death, and whoever acts thus — be he Sikh, or be he Hindostanee — deserves to die, and I cannot remit the punishment they justly have incurred."²⁹ In the beginning of December 1857, five Sikhs of the Ludhiana Regiment and somewhat later another two were hanged in Jullundur.³⁰

On July 3, 1857, thirty-five Sikhs of this regiment had come to Delhi, "bringing the cheering assurance that the mutiny had triumphed even to the borders of Bengal."³¹ On August 6, the arrival of 300 Ludhiana

Sikhs in Delhi was reported by a British spy.³² According to an undated document among the Mutiny Papers, another 125 Sikhs from Banaras were mentioned as having reached Delhi.³³

This leads to another significant aspect of the Sikhs' participation in the Uprising of 1857-59. Several documents not yet published or assessed reveal the fact that the Sikh sepoys were fighting in the ranks of the Delhi insurgents with distinction. The phenomenon of an insurgent Delhi is a very complex problem and demands a thorough study of all the records concerned. This has been done only partly so far.³⁴ Without a necessary general assessment of the material available it will not be possible to define the role of the Sikhs in Delhi definitely. Therefore, the following statement can only offer preliminary results of research.

Exact figures are not available about the proportion of Punjabis and Sikhs in the Bengal army for that time.³⁵ References in the Mutiny Papers only allow a rough estimation of the number of Sikhs fighting in Delhi. In 1855, Henry Lawrence had estimated that some 3,000 Sikhs were then enlisted in the 74 regiments N.I. of the Bengal army,³⁶ twenty-three of which were stationed in the Punjab in May 1857.³⁷ Not all of those who participated in the Uprising reached Delhi in time, whereas others went to Lucknow.³⁸ In the middle of July the Sikhs in Delhi were estimated at about six hundred.³⁹ They entered the city in small groups belonging to various regiments and were only incidentally mentioned in spies' reports. In the middle of August one may estimate their number at some 1,000 to 1,200. The total strength of the sepoys in Delhi at that time must have come to about thirty thousand.⁴⁰ Bearing in mind that the Sikhs were distributed all over the regiments present, it is natural to think and it is also confirmed by documents that even 1,200 Sikhs could not play a prominent part in the military as well as the administrative field. Nevertheless, and this is to be underlined, they played a most important role far out of proportion to their number. Their support to the anti-British fight in Delhi had a great political weight. They were then representing the most militant community of India which had gained victory in conflict with the feudal forces of the Mughal Empire in Punjab.⁴¹ Moreover, they had heroically fought against the British colonial expansion.⁴² On the other hand, the Punjab served as a military base for the weak British camp on the Ridge, and members of the Sikh community were fighting also on the British side. Under these circumstances, the steady and consistent part the Sikhs played in the defence of Delhi was of great political significance. It is all the more important, as their decision proved, that political and religious differences could be overcome and a joint struggle against a colonial power could be launched. This provided one of the most valuable experiences gathered in 1857 which was a great inspiration to the freedom movement in India later on. Besides, the British officials were eager to

get the Sikhs over, and it is a remarkable but not yet duly appreciated fact that they did not respond.⁴³

One of the most decisive factors preventing a military victory over the British in Delhi was the lack of co-ordinated action and group feelings among the insurgents.⁴⁴ It is therefore in line with the general trend of events that the Sikhs in Delhi decided to gather their small numbers together in order to get a better chance of fighting the British. They petitioned Bahadur Shah II for permission to form a separate Sikh regiment. Jiwan Lal reported on August 5, 1857, that the Sikhs were missing a proper support from the side of the other soldiers when they attacked the enemy. "They prayed to the king to form a regiment of Sikhs from amongst the regiments of Delhi, and to entrust them with two field guns, that they might attack the English with some chance of success."⁴⁵ Another spy reported about this application next day and mentioned that General Bakht Khan had agreed to this.⁴⁶ Under date August 21, 1857, it is noted in the Mutiny Papers that Mirza Mughal informed the Emperor's Court of the petition of the Sikhs applying to be separated from other Paltons and Risalas in order to form a separate Sikh battalion. Mirza Mughal further stated that the "Sikhs are willing to take an oath on their religion to remain loyal and faithful to the king". He went on to say: ". . . if they wished to escape they had means to do so and now also no one can stop them but they are fighting for their religion and faith. Therefore, it is their request to separate them from the rest of the army. In case this suggestion is not acceptable, they should be disbanded."⁴⁷ This petition of the Sikhs was agreed to promptly. It clearly indicates how much their contribution was appreciated among the leaders in Delhi. On August 22, the Shah requested the commander-in-chief to conciliate the Sikh sepoys.⁴⁸ Already the next day, "an order from a colonel, name not known, to the officers of a Sikh Regiment of infantry" was directed with contents: "Just now His Majesty sent for me and told me that he was fully convinced that men of the Sikh regiment will perform their duty with courage and show themselves as true soldiers and has then graciously spoken in your praise. You are, therefore, directed that immediately after the receipt of this mandate you will make ready five companies of your regiment and send them to the Sham Gar Morcha or battery and that you will make no delay. . ." The officers of the Sikh regiment replied that they had carried out the order properly.⁴⁹

In an undated document written from Kan Sing, colonel of the Sikh regiment, to Mirza Mughal it is stated that the "officers of the Sikh regiment have taken an oath to carry your Highness's orders into effect with their heart and soul. Moreover all the Sikh Sepoys are your faithful servants."⁵⁰ The letter was signed by Shuhja Sing, Bahadur Sing, Khuruk Singh, Muhtag Singh and Bhugwan Singh, Sobadars. It was

most probably written at the time of forming a Sikh regiment. Only afterwards were the Sikhs more frequently mentioned in the documents. Now with a regiment of their own, they were sharing the everyday military life in Delhi, receiving orders and carrying them out like other corps present in the city.⁵¹ On August 23, the Sikh officers were told that the king had praised the Sikhs and directed them to send six companies to Shamgarh.⁵² This can be taken as an indication that at that time one Sikh regiment must have existed on an average strength.

At the end of August the hopes of dislodging the troops on the Ridge in a short time began to dwindle among the insurgents. The many attacks on the British camp did not result in victory, mainly because of the inadequate military command. Despite this disheartening course of events, the Sikhs kept their promise and remained loyal. This is all the more important, as the British officers intensified their attempts to weaken the defence of Delhi by getting them over. Any remarkable success would have produced significant consequences discouraging the insurgents and encouraging the Indian soldiers in the ranks of the Britons. But all these efforts were of no avail. In a letter dated August 27, 1857, Nicholson wrote to the chief commissioner: "We have been trying to get over the Sikhs, but without success. They have been formed into a battalion at their own request and seem inclined to stand their chance."⁵³ On the contrary, several spies reported that the Sikhs had left the British camp and joined their countrymen in the city.⁵⁴ When the British prepared the assault of Delhi, the ranks of the sepoys closed up. They offered the most fierce defence, which made the British think of retreat. In a letter to the Government of India dated September 16, 1857, at a time when it was still highly uncertain whether the British-Indian forces would be strong enough to reconquer and keep Delhi, it was stated that "it is much to be regretted, the Chief Commissioner thinks, that the Sikhs could not be prevailed on to secede from the cause."⁵⁵ In his statement laid before the Commission appointed to inquire into the organization of the Indian Army, Colonel Burn gave evidence "that the Sikhs belonging to the mutinous corps in Delhi went with them, and that nothing would induce them to break this unnatural alliance and join their countrymen, who were fighting in our ranks. They remained with the rebels throughout the siege. Colonel Burn advances the conduct of the Goorkhas, who have always been kept distinct, as a contrast to that of the Sikhs during the mutiny, and as proving with what advantage this distinction of races may be worked upon for the maintenance of our authority."⁵⁶

The most stubborn resistance the insurgents offered, with a forcefulness completely unexpected by the Britishers, changed the *coup de main* of Delhi, planned in June, into a street battle lasting for seven days. The part which the Sikhs played in the fierce fighting is hinted at by a remark which

Greathed, the political agent of the Governor-General, noted down in his diary on September 19. He recorded that the most obstinate resistance was now offered by former Sikh prisoners of the jail in Agra.⁵⁷ It has not been possible so far to verify this conjecture. But one document could be traced relating to that fact. Accordingly, on July 4, 1957, British officials of that town resolved to strengthen their very weak position by releasing the imprisoned Punjabis and Sikhs in the Agra jail. They were released under the condition that they would fight for the British for half a year and on a pay corresponding to that of regular sepoys. As they were not permitted to enter the Fort in which the British had sought shelter, they disappeared next day.⁵⁸ It is probable that these men had been participants in the anti-British rising 1848-49 in the Punjab, in which case their flight to Delhi and their most stubborn resistance would have been a matter of course.

The various unpublished documents introduced in this paper permit the following concluding remarks:

First, the active participation of Sikh sepoys in the Uprising was confined to areas in North-Western and Central India. In these parts the distress and unrest of the people as a result of the colonial exploitation was the most important motivating force which acted as a strong impetus to the sepoys including the Sikhs. Under the pressure of this overwhelming anti-British feeling which enforced strong action, the Sikh sepoys actively joined the insurgents and fought the British troops besieging Delhi with their outstanding military skill and stubbornness for which they were well known. Further research may unearth more documents proving the active and perhaps leading part of the Sikhs in the rising of other Bengal regiments. This would be a significant contribution to a general assessment of the Uprising and repudiate the attempts made by British contemporaries to understate the participation of the Sikhs with the assertion that they were "drawn into the vortex of revolt".⁵⁹

Secondly, this active position the Sikh sepoys had generally taken up in areas strongly affected by the unrest of the people is in contrast to their action within the borders of Punjab. Under the peculiar conditions then prevailing in the province, the people and especially the peasantry had not yet been reduced to that state of social disintegration and poverty which in other parts of British India had induced the predominantly agricultural classes to attempt at the overthrow of the colonial power.⁶⁰ Not exposed to the stress of acute grievances on the part of the people, the Punjabi and Sikh sepoys abstained from joining their fellow sepoy insurgents and could be even prevailed upon for acting against them.⁶¹

Moreover, the British executive remained in power and used it most efficiently to counteract the slightest indication of a common action, as the rising of the 55th Regiment N.I. on May 21, 1857, at Mardan and Naushera convincingly demonstrated.⁶² Under such circumstances,

the British officials in the Punjab were in a position fully to exploit the traditional differences among the various regions and communities and to pursue their policy of "divide and rule" with much success also in the Punjab.

Thirdly, the Sikh sepoys who took an active part in the Uprising strikingly prove that it was possible even under the then undeveloped and contradictory social relations to overcome strongly felt political and religious differences. By setting them aside and launching a joint action against the colonial power, uniting the Muslims, Hindus, and a small but determined group of Sikhs, it was possible for the first time to challenge the British rule and shake it to the core. It was this common fight climaxing in the defence of Delhi which made the British realize that, in case the policy of exploiting internal diversities and social contradictions had to be given up, British paramountcy would end. At the same time, it was this very event which furthered the emergence of national consciousness amongst the Indian people in a great measure. In the twentieth century, when the freedom movement in India developed into a broad anti-imperialistic struggle under basically changed historical conditions, the inspiring experience of joint action by the Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs marking the Uprising of 1857-59 provided a great impetus to the national cause.

¹ cf. H. Chattopadhyaya, *The Sepoy Mutiny 1857, A Social Study and Analysis*, Calcutta, 1957; S. B. Chaudhuri, *Civil Disturbances during the British Rule in India (1766-1857)*, Calcutta, 1955; the same, *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies 1857-1859*, Calcutta, 1957; the same, *Theories of the Indian Mutiny (1857-1859)*, Calcutta, 1965, K. K. Datta, *Reflections on the 'Mutiny'*, Calcutta, 1965; M. Husain, *Bahadur Shah II and the War of 1857 in Delhi*, Delhi, 1958, P. C. Joshi, *Rebellion 1857*, a symposium ed. by P. C. Joshi, New Delhi, 1957, R. C. Majumdar, *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1963, J. Raj, *The Mutiny and British Land Policy in North India 1856-1868*, Bombay etc., 1965; S. N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-Seven*, Delhi, 1957, E. Stokes, "Rural Revolt in the Great Rebellion of 1857 in India: A Study of the Saharanpur and Muzaffarnagar Districts," in: *The Historical Journal*, XII, 4 (1969), Cambridge University Press, pp. 606-627; K. Marx-F. Engels, *The First Indian War of Independence*, 2nd ed., Moscow n.d.; *Narodnoe Vostanie v Indii 1857-1859* gg. (The People's Uprising in India 1857-1859), Moscow 1857 (Russian), T. R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of the Revolt, India, 1857-1870*, Princeton N. J. 1964.

² cf. *The Punjab Papers*. Selections from the Private Papers of Lord Auckland, Lord Ellenborough, Viscount Hardinge, and the Marquis of Dalhousie, 1836-1849, ed. and ann. by B. J. Hasrat, Hoshiarpur, 1970; *Private Correspondence Relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, ed. with Introduction by Ganda Singh, Amritsar-Patiala, 1955; *Punjab on the Eve of the First Sikh War*, A documentary study, edited with introduction by H. R. Gupta, Hoshiarpur, 1956; M. L. Ahluwalia-Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, Bombay etc., 1963; Fauja Singh Bajwa, *Military System of the Sikhs*, Delhi etc. 1964; Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, 2 Vols., Princeton N. J. 1963, 1966; V. I. Kocvnev, *Gosudarstvo Sikhov i Anglija (The Sikh State and England)*, Moscow 1968 (Russian); N. I. Semenova, *Gosudarstvo Sikhov (The Sikh State)*, Moscow, 1958 (Russian).

³ cf. D. Domin, *Die Rolle der Sikhs im Aufstand 1857-59 in Indien unter besonderer Beruecksichtigung der Grundzuege der Britischen Politik in Punjab . . .*, phil. Diss., Leipzig 1968 [The Role of the Sikhs During the Uprising of 1857-59 in India Under Special Consideration of the Major Trends of the British Policy in Punjab . . .], doctoral thesis (Ms. German)]

- 4 This article is based on records preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi (esp Mutiny Papers) and in the Panjab State Archives, Patiala (Mutiny Files).
- 5 of. Ganda Singh, *A Brief Account of the Sikh People*, Calcutta, 1959, pp 76/77; the same, *The Indian Mutiny of 1857 and the Sikhs*, Delhi, 1960, R C Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 404-408, Khushwant Singh, *op cit*, Vol II, pp 101-103, 109-110, G C Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, 5th rev ed, New Delhi, 1960, p. 191, M A Rahim, *Lord Dalhousie's Administration of the Conquered and Annexed States*, Delhi etc 1963, p. 69, S N. Sen, *op cit*, p. 334, T R Metcalf, *op. cit*, pp 49-50.
- 6 In books on the Uprising of 1857-59 published after 1947 insurgent Sikhs were mentioned cursorily by S N Sen, *op cit*, p 406, Khushwant Singh, *op. cit*, Vol II, p 109 (note no 33), M Husain, *op. cit*, pp 248-260, 269 (note).
- 7 Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, East India (Castes of Hindoos), 1 March 1858, No 129, pp 14-15
- 8 For Sec Cons 28 Febr. 1851, Nos 37-44, pp 9-13.
- 9 *Ibid*, p 17 seqq
- 10 of H Chattopadhyaya, "The Sepoy Army — Its Strength, Composition and Recruitment on the Eve of the Mutiny of 1857" in *Calcutta Review*, Vol 139 and 140, May to September 1956, p 36, G W Forrest, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol I, Edinburgh-London 1904, p. 177, Punjab Government Records (hereafter P.G.R.) Mutiny Reports, Lahore 1911, Vol VIII/1, p 154, Henry M Lawrence, *Essays, Military and Political, Written in India*, London, 1859, p 422 seqq (Exact figures about the composition of the Bengal army are available only from 1 April 1858 onwards).
- 11 of Chattopadhyaya, *The Sepoy Army*, *op cit*, pp 32, 35, 38, H Lawrence, *Essays, op cit*, p 423 seqq
- 12 P.G.R., Mutiny Reports, Vol VIII/2, p 236, para 66
- 13 Parl Papers connected with the Re-Organization of the Army in India, supplementary to the Report of the Army Commission C 2541, No 17, p 240 seqq (Papers received from William Muir)
- 14 *Ibid*, No. 22, p 278 seqq (Papers received from Brigadier Coke)
- 15 F G MacMunn, *The Armies of India*, London, 1911, pp. 84/85
- 16 Punjab State Archives, Patiala (hereafter P.S.A.), Mutiny Files (hereafter M.F.), R/269, p. 305 seqq
- 17 *Ibid*, p 299
- 18 *Ibid*, p 302 seqq
- 19 *Ibid*, p 297
- 20 of. note No 12
- 21 of P.S.A./M.F., R/258, p 17 seqq.
- 22 P.S.A./M.F., R/269, pp. 303/304
- 23 P.G.R., Mutiny Correspondence, Vol VII/2, pp. 266/267. "From enquiry it was ascertained that the Sikh soldiers had taken a prominent part in the mutiny Out of 25 therefore who were seized only 4 were sentenced to imprisonment, the rest being hanged" *Ibid*, p 267
- 24 P.S.A./M.F., R/257, p. 336 seqq
- 25 Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh, Source Material, Vol III, Lucknow, 1959, p 191 seqq
- 26 G F MacMunn, *The Martial Races of India*, London n.d.p 251.
- 27 of. Parl Papers, Further Papers Relative to the Mutinies in the East Indies, C 2266, p 57 (Inclosure No. 111-Report of General Neill dated 6 June 1857), Sen, *op. cit*, pp 153/154; J.R.J. Jocelyn, *The History of the Royal and Indian Artillery in the Mutiny of 1857*, London, 1915, pp. 56/57; Keith Young, *Delhi-1857*, London-Edinburgh, 1902, p. 105
- 28 *cit.* in J. Cave-Browne, *The Punjab and Delhi in 1857*, Edinburgh-London 1861, Vol II, pp. 278-279.
- 29 Letter from M. Montgomery to the offct. Dy.-Comm. at Jullundhur, dated Lahore, 28 November 1857, *cit.*, in Cave-Browne, *ibid*, p. 279.

- 30 P.G.R., Mutiny Correspondence. Vol. VII/2. p. 225.
- 31 Cave-Browne. *op. cit.*, Vol. II. p. 10.
- 32 P.G.R., Mutiny Correspondence. Vol. VII/1, p. 431.
- 33 National Archives of India (hereafter : N.A.I.) Mutiny Papers (hereafter: M.P.). Bundle 16, fol. No. 32.
- 34 Mutiny Papers preserved in N.A.I. were dealt with in the following works : M. Husain, *op. cit.*; T. Khaldun, "The Great Rebellion", in *Rebellion 1857*: symposium, *op. cit.*, p. 1 seqq.; Sen, *op. cit.*; K.C. Yadav. *Rao Tula Ram, A Hero of 1857*, Rewari, 1965.
- 35 *of. note* No. 10.
- 36 H. Lawrence. *op. cit.*, pp. 422/423.
- 37 Jocelyn, *op. cit.*, p. 21 seqq.
- 38 e.g. the 2nd company of the Ludhiana Sikhs, stationed at Jaunpur, which rose on June 5, 1857, went with the treasure to Lucknow. *of. C. Ball, The History of the Indian Mutiny, 1857-58*, London, 1858-1859, Vol. I, pp. 244/245; R. Hilton, *The Indian Mutiny*, London, 1957, pp. 73/74.
- 39 W. Muir, *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India . . . 1857*, Edinburgh, 1902, Vol. I, p. 42.
- 40 Jocelyn, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
- 41 For the anti-feudal struggle of the peasants under the leadership of the Sikhs and its impact on the further development of Punjab, *of. Ganda Singh, Life of Banda Singh Bahadur*, Amritsar 1935, pp. 85/86, 241/242; Khushwant Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I. p. 103 seqq.; I.M. Reisner, *Krestjanskoe dvizzenije Sikchov v etroi polovinie XVII i v nachale XVIII veka* ('The peasants' movement of the Sikhs in the second half of the 17th and at the beginning of the 18th century'), in: Learned Communications of the Institute of Oriental Studies, part III, Moscow 1951 (Russian).
- 42 *cf. note* No. 2.
- 43 *of. R. Bosworth Smith, Life of Lord Lawrence*, New York, 1883, Vol. II, p. 203; L.J. Trotter. *Life of John Nicholson*, London, 1898, p. 273; P.G.R. Mutiny Correspondence. Vol. VII/2, p. 54.
- 44 *cf. M. Husain, op. cit.*, esp., p. 253 seqq., Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 93/94.
- 45 C.T. Metcalfe, *Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi*, Westminster, 1898, p. 183.
- 46 N.A.I./M.F. Bundle 19, fol. No. 3.
- 47 *Ibid.*, Bundle 70, fol. No. 224.
- 48 *Ibid.*, Bundle 73, fol. No. 146.
- 49 *Ibid.*, Bundle 199, fol. No. 308.
- 50 *Ibid.*, Bundle 57, fol. No. 12.
- 51 *Ibid.*, Bundle 57, fol. Nos. 370, 471. Bundle 60, fol. Nos. 640, 820, Bundle 70, fol. Nos. 248, 254, Bundle 72, fol. No. 173; Bundle 76, fol. Nos. 34, 35.
- 52 *Ibid.*, Bundle 152, fol. Nos. 35, a.b.
- 53 Trotter, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
- 54 *cf. M. P.*, Bundle 19, fol. No. 11; P.G.R. Mutiny Correspondence. Vol. VII/1, pp. 383, 418; Metcalfe, *op. cit.*, p. 183.
- 55 P.G.R., Mutiny Correspondence, Vol. VII, 2. p. 54.
- 56 Parl. Papers. Papers laid before the Commission appointed to inquire into the Organization of the Indian Army. Appendix. C. 2515, p. 185.
- 57 H.H. Greathed, *Letters Written During the Siege of Delhi*, London, 1858, pp. 296/297.
- 58 P.S.A./M.F.R. 259, pp. 20/21, R 257, pp. 269, 270.
- 59 *cf. note* No. 12.
- 60 *cf. D. Domin op. cit.*, p. VII seqq., 126 seqq.; N. I. Semenova, "Pendvab i period narodnogo vosstaniia v Indii. 1857-1859 gg.", in *Indija. Stat'i po istorii* (The Punjab in the period of the people's uprising in India, 1857-1859, in *India. Articles or History*), Moscow 1959 (Russian); T.R. Metcalf, *op. cit.*, esp. p. 61, seqq., 197 seqq.

- ⁶¹ During the months of June and July, 1857, British officers successfully tried to separate the Punjabi and Sikh sepoys from the bulk of the respective Bengal regiments stationed in Punjab and made them the nucleus of new regiments filled up with fresh recruits. *cf.* For. Sec. Cons., 25 Sept. 1857, Nos. 46-49; P G.R. Mutiny Reports. Vol. VIII/1, p. 154, *ibid.*, Vol. VII/1, p. 123.
- ⁶² *cf.* The correspondence between Lt.-Col. Edwardes, Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, and the Chief Commissioner, John Lawrence, about measures to deliberately privilege the Sikh sepoys who had been involved in the rising of the 55th Regiment N.I. It was intended to pardon and re-enlist them on the ground as Edwardes put it in his letter of June 2, 1857, that "we have an immediate political object at stake in saving from being slain in this mutiny the very military tribe to whom we must now look for fresh Native Soliders" In his letter of June 29, 1857, the Governor-General sanctioned all measures taken in order to win the support of the Sikhs and expressed his full satisfaction For. Sec. Cons., July 31, 1857, Nos 5-13.

Our Cultural Renaissance and Nationalism

K. K. Datta

For renaissance or revolution in a country, a renaissance among its people, that is, a rise of self-consciousness, is an indispensable prerequisite. In fact, the growth of nationalism in our land is but an aspect of a general renaissance which influenced all spheres of life, religion, society and culture, producing highly significant results in each. Jadunath Sarkar wrote that it "was truly a Renaissance wider, deeper and more revolutionary than that of Europe after the fall of Constantinople."¹ C. F. Andrews, who had genuine love for India and profound admiration for her culture, observed in the early years of the present century: "In the East today English literature and western science have brought about a new Renaissance wider in its range than that which awakened medieval Europe more than four centuries ago."² The inner spirit of this renaissance penetrated into our political life and generated a tremendously powerful force which boldly challenged the very basis of alien domination and imperialism.

There is no doubt that, with the spread of western education in India from the thirties of the nineteenth century, some of our countrymen were acquainted with the progressive political ideas of the west and with the ideas of nationalism, democracy and civic freedom as a result of the stirring achievements of the French Revolution of 1789 and the other revolutions of the nineteenth century. But this alone could not have helped the development of a truly Indian national movement if there had not been at the same time an irresistible urge from within and a spirit of renaissance arising for the revival of all that was noble and lofty in India's past and for the eradication of the vices and follies which had become deep-rooted as a result of unreason, social vices and political servitude. This spirit of revival and regeneration spread from sphere to sphere of national life. Besides deeply affecting religion and literature, it entered the field of politics and produced a commotion there as well.

Indeed, the rediscovery of India's past, through the dedication and unceasing efforts of scholars, poets and social or religious reformers, proved to be a highly inspiring force. It generated in the minds of many a feeling of regard for the motherland. As Ramsay MacDonald truly remarked, Indian nationalism has been "the revival of her historical tradition and the liberation of the soul of a people."³ In the words of Annie Besant, it is "not a plant of mushroom growth but a giant of the forest with millennia behind it."

The valuable researches of many devoted antiquarians, Indian as well as European, "revealed to India herself scarcely less than to the western world, the majesty and wealth of the Sanskrit language and the historical as well as literary value of the great body of Hindu literature which is the key to India's civilization."⁴ The establishment of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, in January 1784, was a significant landmark in the history of cultural renaissance in modern India. Sir William Jones, a distinguished

scholar and linguist, who came to India as a puisne judge of the Supreme Court in September-October 1783, and became the founder-president of the Asiatic Society, described India as “a noble amphitheatre which has ever been esteemed the nurse of sciences, the inventress of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs and languages, as well as in the features and complexions of men.” The Bombay Literary Society was started on November 26, 1804, under the guidance of Sir James Mackintosh, one of the most “philosophic lawyers and one of the most eloquent thinkers that England had known,”⁵ and had come to Bombay as the chief judge in 1803. This Society, transformed into the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, was also an important institution contributing to India’s cultural renaissance in various ways.

No doubt the pioneer workers in rediscovering India’s past were a number of European scholars, Wilkins, Jones, Prinsep, Wilson, Colebrooke, Rosen, Roth, Burnouf, Schlegel, Bopp, Max Müller, Monier Williams and some others. But, for this supremely important task of rediscovering and re-interpreting India’s past we also owe a heavy debt to our eminent countrymen like Rammohun Roy, Radhakanta Dev, Rajendra Lal Mitra, Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik, Mani Shankar Jatashankar, Bhau Daji, Bhagwan Lal Indrajī, M.G. Ranade, B.G. Tilak, R.G. Bhandarkar, K.T. Telang, R.C. Dutt, Manamohan Chakravarty, Haraprasad Shastri, and some others.

Max Müller made an estimate of the progress of learning in India, particularly Indological studies, in the following eloquent terms: “The intellectual life of India is at the present moment full of interesting problems. It is too much the fashion to look only at its darker sides, and to forget that such intellectual regenerations, as we are witnessing in India, are impossible without convulsions or failures. A new race of men is growing up in India who have stepped, as it were, over a thousand years, and have entered at once on the intellectual horizon of Europe. They carry off prizes at English schools, take their degrees in English universities, and are in every respect our equals. . . . With regard to what is of the greatest interest to us, their scholarship, it is true that the old school of Sanskrit scholars is dying out and much will die with it which we shall never recover; but a new and most promising school of Sanskrit students, educated by European professors, is springing up, and they will, nay, to judge from recent controversies, they have already become more formidable rivals to our own scholars. The essays of Bhau Daji, whom, I regret to say, we have lately lost by death, on disputed points in Indian archaeology and literature, are most valuable. The indefatigable Rajendra Lal Mitra is rendering most excellent service in the publications of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and he discusses the theories of European

orientalists with all the ease and grace of an English reviewer. The Raja of Besmah, Girija Prasad Sinha, has just finished his magnificent edition of the White *Yajurveda*. The Sanskrit books published at Calcutta by Taranath and others form a complete library, and Taranath's new dictionary of the Sanskrit language will prove most useful and valuable. The editions of Sanskrit texts published at Bombay by Professor Bhandarkar, Shankar Pandurang Pandit, and others, need not fear comparison with the best works of European scholars."⁶

The first impact of "the new wine of Western learning" on the youth of Bengal produced "denationalizing tendencies"⁷ in the minds of many of those who tasted it, particularly those who were members of the Young Bengal group. But the Indian reform movements since the middle of the nineteenth century did much to arrest the evil effects of the blind imitation of what was apparently glittering in an imposing foreign civilization and to maintain the dignity of our national culture. Raj Narain Bose, maternal grandfather of Sri Aurobindo, a progressive Brahmo who had drunk deep of western education, stood undauntedly to uphold the superiority of our culture at a time when some of our countrymen, receiving new education, were growing prejudiced against it. In 1866 he issued a prospectus with a view to the establishment of a "society for the promotion of national feeling among the educated natives of Bengal". Bepin Chandra Pal writes that Raj Narain's lecture in Bengali on "Hindu Dharmer Shresthata" or "the superiority of Hinduism", delivered in 1872, was "really the first public protest of the age-long nation-spirit of India against the threatened domination of our thought and life by the aggressive and colour-proud civilization of Europe".⁸ In concluding his lecture Raj Narain quoted the following lines of Milton: "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day heaven." He then remarked: "Similarly, I may say that I see in my mind the noble and puissant Hindu nation rousing herself after sleep and rushing headlong towards progress with divine powers. I see this rejuvenated nation again illumining the world by her knowledge, spirituality and culture, and the glory of Hindu nation again spreading over the whole world. In this hope I bring this discourse to a close after reciting the panegyric of India's triumph."

India's glorious historical past was subsequently upheld with much emphasis by men like Justice Ranade and Swami Vivekananda. "Out of the past," remarked Swami Vivekananda, "is built the future. Look back, therefore, as far as you can, drink deep of the eternal fountains that are behind, and after that, look forward, march forward and make India brighter, greater, much higher than she ever was. Our ancestors were great. We must recall that. We must learn the elements of our being, the

blood that courses in our veins, we must have faith in that blood and what it did in the past; and out of that faith and consciousness of past greatness, we must build an India yet greater than what she has been.”⁹

A galaxy of inspired writers produced literature of a highly creative nature, marked by a marvellous fusion of the old and the new, a grand intermingling of the best literary traditions of old India with the good features of the culture of the modern world outside, by feelings of deep adoration for the motherland, and by profound emphasis on the virtue of patriotism. The influence of literature of this kind in stimulating dormant souls has always been great. R.W. Frazer very significantly observes: “Men such as Rammohun Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Michael Madhusudan Datta, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Kashinath Trimbak Telang, are no bastard bantlings of a western civilization; they were creative geniuses worthy to be reckoned in the history of India with such men of old as Kalidas, Chaitanya, Jayadeva, Tulsidas and Shankaracharya and destined in the future to shine clear as the first glowing sparks sent out in the fiery turmoil where old and new were fusing.”¹⁰

In 1860, Dinabandhu Mitra produced in his work *Nil-Darpan* (Mirror of Indigo) a scathing satire on the indigo-planters of Bengal whose dealings with the local ryots form a tale of unspeakable tyrannies. Hem Chandra Banerjee (1838-1903) “voiced in his national lyrics the sense of importance of his people to assert their legitimate rights and self-respect against their British master”.¹¹ Hem Chandra expressed in one stanza of his “Bharat Sangeet” or the “Song of India”:

Sing, O my clarionet! Sing to these words:
Everyone is free in this wide world.
Everyone is awake in the glory of prestige,
India alone lieth asleep.

He also wrote in the same song:

China and Burma, and uncivilized Japan,
Even they are independent, they are superior,
India alone knoweth no waking.

Another national song contained the following pathetic note:

O, India, weep, weep thou,
As long as the polluted atoms have not been washed into the
water of the ocean,
So long weep thou, so long weep.

Bepin Chandra Pal thus describes Hem Chandra’s influence upon him: “Hem Chandra was, however, our special favourite. The intense patriotic passion that breathed through his poems captured our youthful minds in a way which no other Bengali poems had done.”¹²

Govinda Chandra Roy, a nineteenth century Bengali student of Agra, gave expression to his feelings of patriotism in some of his most touching songs. In one of these he wrote:

How long will it take thee, O Bharat, to swim across this
ocean of misery?

Or, sinking and sinking in depression,

Wilt thou enter the nether regions for ever?

Having gladly offered thy jewels to the stranger,

Thou carriest now only an iron chain on thy
breast!

There are rows of light in thy cities (owned by the
stranger)

But thou art in darkness all the same.

In another song he pathetically wrote:

O India, gloomy is thy face, that once was beautiful as the
moon;

Day and night tears flow from thy eyes.

The writings of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee revealed remarkably the "inward spirit of Indian life and thought."¹³ Their influence penetrated deep into the hearts of our countrymen and stirred them to their very depths. He was not only a "prophet" of Indian cultural renaissance, but also, as Sri Aurobindo puts it, "a seer and a national builder" and one of the "makers of Modern India."¹⁴ It is well known how profoundly stimulating has been the influence of the famous song "Bande Mataram" which first figured in his classic work *Ananda Math*. The *Bangadarshan*, which began to be published as a weekly paper in Calcutta from April 1872, proved to be a very effective vehicle in Bengal for the expression of thoughts of her educated youth on the varied problems of life and society, and it facilitated the growth of our early nationalism. We read as follows in the Hindi work *Bharat-Durdasha*, written by Harish Chandra in 1880:

O Brother Indians, come and let all of us weep;

Alas, alas, the misery of India is not to be borne.

To one whom God granted first of all wealth and power,

The one who was made civilized by the Creator first of all,

The one who bathed first of all in beauty, colour or *rasa*

And the one who first of all caught the fruits of learning,

Is now seen as the last of all.

Alas, alas, the misery of India is not to be borne.

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The British Government has arranged all big comforts;

But that this wealth goes away to foreign lands is pricking;

And even then dearth, famine and diseases are spreading.

Oh, oh! God gives troubles doubly day by day;

And over all the catastrophe of taxation is come.

Alas, alas, the misery of India is not to be borne.

Thought-provoking dramatic literature coming out of the pen of

D.L. Roy and some others also contributed to the growth of national consciousness. For more than half a century Rabindranath's works interpreted in a unique way the true spirit of Indian culture and civilization. "Tagore's poetry," remarks Ramsay MacDonald very significantly, "is India. It is the product of his devotion to Indian culture. It is the soul of a people, not merely the emotion of a man; a systematic view of life, not merely a poetic mood; a culture, not merely a tune."¹⁵ A mighty stream of inspiration also flowed out of the stirring speeches and writings of Sarojini Naidu, Sarala Devi, and some other highly gifted women of India.

¹ *History of Bengal*, Vol II, p 498.

² C F. Andrews, *The Renaissance in India*, p. 10.

³ MacDonald, *The Government of India*, p 27.

⁴ Valentine Chirol, *India*, p 80.

⁵ *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1905.

⁶ *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1879, XLI-XLII.

⁷ Ronaldshay, *The Heart of Aryavarta*, p. 47

⁸ Bepin Pal, *Memories of My Life and Times*, Vol. I, p. 262.

⁹ *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. III, pp. 285-286.

¹⁰ Frazer, *Literary History of India*, pp 416-417.

¹¹ Frazer, *op cit*, p 420.

¹² Bepin Pal, *Memories of My Life and Times*, Vol. I, p. 252

¹³ Bepin Pal, *Memories of My Life and Times*, Vol. I, p. 226.

¹⁴ Sri Aurobindo, *Bankim, Tilak and Dayananda*, p 9.

¹⁵ Ramsay MacDonald, *Government of India*, p. 245.

The Role of Peasants and Workers in Our Struggle for Freedom [1905-1908]

Bimal Prasad

The period 1905-1908 constitutes one of the most significant epochs in the history of our struggle for freedom. Yet the nature of the various movements which took place during that period is not yet properly understood. There is, of course, a general awareness of the intensity of the anti-partition agitation in Bengal, the widespread wave of unrest in other parts of the country, particularly in the Punjab and Maharashtra, the so-called extremists and their differences with the Moderates, and the contribution of the revolutionaries. But our history text-books hardly show any awareness of the most significant aspect of the upsurge of 1905-08: participation by the peasants and industrial workers in the nationalist struggle.

That participation, it may be true, was not noticeable in equal measure in all parts of the country, but it will also be true that it was fairly widespread and by no means confined to any one part. In Bengal itself, while for the most part the anti-partition agitation was carried on by people belonging to the middle class, there were several manifestations of labour unrest not entirely unconnected with the political movement. During 1906-07, for instance, a number of strikes took place in Bengal involving workers in the railways, jute mills and Government printing presses.¹ That these strikes were inspired and led by extremist leaders is clearly borne out by the comments in the contemporary British press. Referring, to the strike in the Bengal section of the East Indian Railway in July 1906, for instance, *The Times* (London) commented that it "was directly and avowedly due to political agitation."² Again, referring to the growth of trade union activity in the jute mills (owned by Englishmen) in and around Calcutta, *The Englishman* (Calcutta) commented in July 1906: "Certain Bengal lawyers and others, who have taken a prominent part in preaching a boycott of British goods, are now employing their leisure hours in forming what they are pleased to call trade unions amongst the employees in large concerns managed by Europeans."³ This was not accidental, as the extremist leaders had made it a part of their programme to work among the industrial workers and bring them into the ranks of the nationalist movement. The *Bande Mataram* wrote in September 1907:

"Strikes have now come to be very common. It is very significant that they synchronized with the birth of the Swadeshi spirit in the country, and have since then come to stay. The people that have learnt to be self-respecting are bound to be some day or another alive to the supreme necessity of freedom for the well-being of a nation. And once they have realized this necessity, the struggle for freedom will cease to be sectional and isolated. It, therefore, behoves the nationalist to take the strikes in hand and turn them to account."⁴

II

A much stronger indication that the day was not far off when the struggle

for freedom would cease to be sectional and isolated came from the Punjab. As Valentine Chirol noted in one of his articles in *The Times*, it was in that province that "the first serious disturbances occurred in 1907 which aroused public opinion at home (in Britain) to the reality of Indian unrest and stirred the Government of India to such strong repressive measures as the deportation of two prominent agitators under an ancient Ordinance of 1818 never before applied in such connection."⁵

Apart from the general atmosphere of unrest prevailing, in varying degrees, in almost all parts of the country at that time, the atmosphere in the Punjab was particularly surcharged with tension because of widespread unrest among the peasantry. The ground for it had been prepared by an increase in land revenue in Marri and Rawalpindi districts, a similar increase in water rates in the Bari Doab Canal area and certain restrictions on the rights of ownership of holders of land in the newly settled canal-irrigated areas sought to be imposed by the Colonization of Government Lands Bill of 1907. The province was at the same time visited by plague which took a heavy toll of life, killing thousands of persons each week. It was, however, the campaign carried on among the peasantry by the political workers from the towns which fanned the flames of discontent and made the situation extremely dangerous for the Government. Meetings and processions became a regular feature in the countryside. They were attended not only by the relatives of Jat and Sikh soldiers, who formed the bulk of the peasantry in the canal areas, particularly in the Chenab colony, but also, in some cases, by the soldiers themselves. As Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, wrote in his minutes dated April 30, 1907:

"One striking and exceedingly dangerous feature which has been observable everywhere is that special attention has been paid to the Sikhs and, in the case of Lyallpur, to the military pensioners; and that special efforts have been made to procure their attendance at meetings, to enlist their sympathies, and to influence their passions. So far the active agitation has been virtually confined to districts in which the Sikh element is important and which furnish numerous recruits of the native army; printed invitations and leaflets have been principally addressed to villages held by Sikhs; and at a public meeting held at Ferozepore, at which disaffection was openly preached, the men of the Sikh regiments stationed there were openly invited to attend, and several hundred of them acted upon the invitation."⁶

The most prominent figure among the political workers who were moving among the peasants and addressing public meetings at that time was, of course, Lajpat Rai. In an article analysing the causes of discontent in the Punjab, written on May 9, 1907, on the eve of his arrest and deportation, and published in *The Panjabee*, dated May 11, 1907, he laid the responsibility for it at the door of the Government officials who were

bent on pushing through unpopular measures in spite of universal opposition, but he did not by any means deny the part played in it by political workers. On the other hand, he eloquently justified it by bringing out the significance of the joining together of the general political movement in the country with the struggle of the masses for securing their economic demands. As he put it:

“Are the agitators to be blamed for having pointed out the Government’s mistakes and identified themselves with popular grievances? . . . Should they have stood aloof from the people and refused to take up their cause and articulate the same? Had they done so they would have been unworthy of their education and guilty of treason to their own people. Why should they then be blamed for espousing the popular cause? A year before they were incomprehensible to the masses. The masses did not and could not be expected to follow them in their cry for self-government. As for the demand for an increased employment of Indians in higher offices under Government, the people were not quite certain if that could immediately help them very much. They said that it made no difference in their lot whether they were governed by a Mister or a Lala or a Maulvi. The recent legislation, however, made them think differently.”⁷

The most active role in articulating the grievances of the peasants and fostering the growth of political consciousness among them was played by two young men, Sardar Ajit Singh and Syed Hyder Raza, who had hardly any position in the public life of the province earlier. Although the Government thought differently, they were not working under the guidance of Lajpat Rai.⁸ Yet the latter did not make any secret of his admiration for them. “They had something in them,” he wrote in his statement mentioned above, “which appealed to the people and which brought them appreciation and encouragement.” Proceeding further he warned the Government that the two young leaders represented a “solid bulk of public opinion” which it would be sheer madness to ignore. “The fact is, and it cannot be honestly ignored,” he stressed, “that the propaganda carried on by these gentlemen has met with popular approval; it meets the fancy of the masses, and their utterances find a ready and appreciative response from the thousands whom they address, and from tens of thousands more who devour their speeches or writings as reported or published in the vernacular press.”⁹

Against this background it is not surprising that the masses in the Punjab began to take an active interest in political struggles. The first notable demonstration of such interest was witnessed at Lahore on February 15, 1907. The occasion was provided by the prosecution of *The Panjabee* in February 1907 for publishing an article accusing an English officer of murdering an Indian on a very trivial provocation. The proprietor of the paper, Lal Jaswant Rai, and its editor, K.K. Athavale,

were charged with promoting enmity between Englishmen and Indians, and sentenced by the district magistrate to rigorous imprisonment for two years and six months, respectively. As the prisoners were being taken to jail, they were followed by a large crowd which had assembled in the court compound. The young men in the crowd were so excited that they not only cheered the prisoners lustily and showered flowers on them, but also caused damage to the district magistrate's bungalow, hurled abuse at the Englishmen who passed by, threw mud on their carriages and even man-handled some of them.¹⁰

The demonstration in Lahore was followed by meetings all over the Punjab. The speakers at these meetings made fiery speeches denouncing the Government for tampering with the rights of peasants and exhorting them to stand firm and fight back. Ajit Singh's speeches were particularly notable for this quality. One of the meetings addressed by him was held at Rawalpindi. Among those who took part in it either as conveners or speakers were five lawyers. They were afterwards served with a notice by the deputy commissioner asking them to show cause why they should not be debarred from legal practice for their role in that meeting. This action of the Government caused a stir throughout the Punjab and the people decided to give a suitable reply. The date was May 2, 1907, and the place Rawalpindi. As Lajpat Rai, along with others, arrived in the court of the deputy commissioner to witness the proceedings of the hearing on the notice he found "a vast concourse filling the entire court compound, so much so that it was not possible to move about freely."¹¹ According to his estimate, about twenty thousand persons or perhaps more were present that day in the court compound. Even half of it would be a very large number indeed for those days. Much more remarkable was the composition of the crowd. For there were in it not only students, representing the urban middle class, but also workers from the railways and the local factories, and peasants from the surrounding countryside. The Government was apparently impressed by this demonstration of public sympathy with the accused lawyers. The deputy commissioner announced that under instructions from the Punjab Government further proceedings in the case had been stayed. Emboldened by this announcement the crowd marched through the streets of Rawalpindi attacking Englishmen whom it met on the way and damaging government offices and residences of high officials. Troops had to be called in to restore order. There were rumours that a Pathan regiment had shown some unwillingness in playing this role. "A Pathan came to me," recalled Lajpat Rai later, "saying such and such regiment was awaiting my orders. I laughed and put him off. I suspected that man to be a spy."¹² Whatever that might have been, the situation was really growing serious from the point of view of the government. A Russian consular official in India, Chirkin, reported to his Government: "The outburst in the Punjab is by its character more

dangerous than the Bengal unrest. . . . This outburst has roused all India.”¹³

The British authorities in India would not have disagreed with this estimate. As the fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the rebellion of 1857 (May 10) drew near, they became more and more apprehensive of the shape of things to come. “My own feeling,” wrote Minto to Morley, “is that a great deal of unrest in India is due to the anniversary of the Mutiny. We have been told to expect trouble between the 8th and 11th. . . . I feel pretty convinced that, putting political causes aside, recollections of 1857 are making the present year an exceptional one.”¹⁴

Minto certainly adopted exceptional measures to deal with the situation. Forty-five persons were arrested in Rawalpindi alone, and Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were deported to Burma. On the other hand, Minto vetoed the Colonization Bill, after it had been passed by the Punjab Legislative Council and received the Lieutenant-Governor’s assent, on the ground that it was “a very faulty piece of legislation.”¹⁵ These measures did succeed in restoring calm to the Punjab. In fact, the situation soon improved so appreciably from the point of view of the government that both Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were released from prison before the year was out.

Yet it would not be correct to dismiss the events of 1907 in the Punjab as having no long-term significance. They showed not only the readiness of the masses, if approached in a proper way, to play their due part in the nationalist struggle, but also the transformation which would take place in the nature of that struggle itself once the masses came to join it.

III

Nor did these events constitute an isolated occurrence. A few hours before he was arrested on May 9, 1907, Lajpat Rai had written: “Repressive measures may cow down the people for a time, but that they are bound to fail in the end, if it is intended to crush the spirit of the people thereby, is certain so long as the people believe that their interests and those of the government clash. And so long as these two are in conflict, the popular feeling is sure to burst out from time to time; do what you may to crush or kill it by force.”¹⁶ The next such outburst of popular feeling took place in the Madras Presidency.

The ground there had been prepared by the Swadeshi movement. The most notable concrete achievement of that movement had been the foundation in August 1906 of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company which had begun to operate regular steamer service between Tuticorin and Colombo, till then the monopoly of the British India Steam Navigation Company. Thus had ensued direct commercial competition between an Indian-owned company and its British counterpart. This commercial competition naturally sharpened the edge of political contest. One of

the founders of the Swadeshi Company, V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, belonging to the extremist section of the Congress, was also the most popular political leader of Tuticorin. With the co-operation of his two associates, Subramania Shiva and Padmanabha Iyengar, he soon succeeded in spreading the message of Swaraj, Swadeshi, National Education and Boycott among all sections of the people in Tuticorin and the neighbouring town of Tinnevely. Bepin Chandra Pal's lecture tour in the Madras Presidency in 1907, just at a time when the stir in the Punjab was reaching its climax, helped to create a wave of excitement and further facilitated the task of Chidambaram Pillai and his associates. They did not confine their propaganda to the men of the middle classes and students, but carried their message also to the industrial workers. They were particularly active among the workers of the British-owned Coral Mills of Tuticorin. The burden of their speeches was that since the lot of the workers could improve fundamentally only with the achievement of Swaraj, the latter should actively participate in the struggle for attaining it.

All this helped to spread awakening and militancy among the workers, who were a thousand strong. They went on a strike for the redress of their grievances on February 27, 1908. This strike, led by Pillai and his associates, was warmly supported by the men of the middle classes as well as the common people as they looked upon it as a part of the general anti-imperialist struggle. "From the time of the Coral Mill strikes," reported the (then British-owned) *Times of India* on March 21, 1908, "deep and extraordinary sympathy was evidenced towards the strikers by the people all over this district and the public mind was in a very unsettled state." In fact, such was the general sympathy for the strikers that people arranged to distribute food among them. On the other hand, the Indian merchants refused to sell food to the British residents of Tinnevely and Tuticorin and the latter had to bring their supplies from Ceylon. Many Indian servants stopped serving their British masters. Whenever a Briton was seen moving on the road he was surrounded by hostile crowds and forced to join in the common cry: *Vande Mataram*.¹⁷ The strike was a great success and the workers were able to secure all their demands.

The most telling commentary on this strike came from Aurobindo. The great theoretician of passive resistance saw in the success of the strike not merely a confirmation of the main assumptions and postulates of passive resistance, but also a source for drawing valuable lessons for the future. As he put it: "The success of passive resistance at Tuticorin ought to be an encouragement to those who have begun to distrust the power of the new weapon which is so eminently suited to the Asiatic temperament . . . For passive resistance to succeed, unity, perseverance and thoroughness are the first requisites. Because this unity, perseverance and thoroughness existed in Tuticorin, the great battle fought over the Coral Mill has ended in a great and indeed sweeping victory for the

people.” Proceeding, he particularly underlined the significance of the joining together of the middle classes and the masses in a common struggle: “When men like Chidambaram, Padmanabha and Shiva are ready to undergo exile or imprisonment so that a handful of mill coolies may get justice and easier conditions of livelihood, a bond has been created between the educated class and the masses, which is the first great step towards Swaraj.”¹⁸

The British authorities too recognized the significance of this development and decided to act before it was too late. They were particularly incensed by the defiant tone of a speech delivered by Chidambaram Pillai at Tinnevely on March 9, 1908, on the occasion of the release from prison of Bepin Chandra Pal after serving a sentence of six months for refusing to give evidence in a case against Aurobindo, as editor of *Bande Mataram*.

Pillai had not only eulogized Pal, but also called upon the people to boycott everything foreign and declared that Swaraj was round the corner and would be achieved in three months. Pillai and Shiva were arrested on March 12. On March 13 the people of Tuticorin and Tinnevely rose to protest against this measure. The demonstration of popular wrath was particularly strong at Tinnevely. In the words of a Government report: “It was marked by wholesale and deliberate destruction of Government property in open defiance to constituted authority. Every public building in Tinnevely town except the sub-registrar’s office was attacked. The furniture and records of these buildings were set on fire as well as portions of the buildings themselves; the municipal office was gutted.”¹⁹ Troops had to be called in to restore order. More than sixty persons were put under arrest. Twenty-six of them were sentenced to one year’s rigorous imprisonment. Five others were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment, ranging from one week to six months. The harshest punishments were, of course, reserved for Shiva and Pillai, the former being sentenced to imprisonment for ten years and the latter to imprisonment for life.

Calm returned to Tinnevely and Tuticorin just as it had earlier returned to Lahore and Rawalpindi. But that did not mean the end of the era of people’s uprisings. Again, it was given to Aurobindo to draw the right conclusion. “The outbreak at Tinnevely,” he wrote immediately after its occurrence, “is significant as a warning both to the authorities and to the leaders of the popular party. For the bureaucracy, if they have eyes to see or ears to hear, it should be an index of the fierceness of the fire which is burning underneath a thin crust of patience and sufferance and may at any moment lead to a general conflagration. . . . This is no light fire of straw, but a jet of volcanic fire from the depths, and that has never in the world’s history been conquered by repression. Cover it up, trample it down, it may seem to sink for a moment, but that is only because

part of the imprisoned flame has escaped; every day of repression gives it a greater volume and prepares a mightier explosion.’²⁰

IV

The explosion which took place in Bombay in July 1908 in the wake of Tilak's trial and conviction partially confirmed the accuracy of this assertion. With about a million inhabitants, Bombay at that time was the second largest city in India and the principal industrial centre in the country. The bulk of the Indian textile industry was located there. The industrial labour force exceeded two hundred thousand, of which roughly fifty per cent consisted of workers engaged in the textile industry. These workers lived under extremely deplorable conditions: low wages, making imperative large-scale employment of women and children and dependence on money-lenders; long hours of work, extending from twelve to sixteen per day; excessive overcrowding and utter lack of sanitation in housing; no provision for medical care, etc. Yet the concentration of such a large labour force in one city gradually made them conscious of their importance and power. The fact that the overwhelming majority of them — over eighty per cent — came from Maharashtra and spoke the same language facilitated the task of those who wanted to prepare them for organized action for the redress of their grievances.

Efforts at organization had begun in the 1880s. Even earlier, spontaneous strikes against reduction in wages had taken place on several occasions. In the 1890s such strikes became more frequent and also secured wider participation. The strike wave in 1901 embraced twenty textile mills. In September-October 1905, almost all the textile mills were by turn affected by strikes which began as a protest against the increase of the working hours to fifteen or sixteen per day. Most of these strikes were successful and the workers were able to get some of the most flagrant of their grievances removed. In 1905, for instance, the employers generally reduced the working day to thirteen or fourteen hours. The great significance of these early struggles, however, lay not in the removal of immediate grievances, but in the experience and confidence gained by the workers and in their understanding of the intimate connection between the economic system which was responsible for oppressing and exploiting them and the system of government prevailing in the country. For when on strike they saw the forces of the government being freely used to suppress them. Thus was born among them a feeling of discontent not only against their employers, but also against the Government.²¹

This feeling was further fanned by Tilak and his followers who actively worked among the industrial workers of Bombay in 1907-08. The temperance movement particularly gave them an opportunity which they fully utilized to establish close contact with the labourers as well as

with the jobbers, belonging to the lower middle class, who were largely responsible for recruiting the labourers and supervising their work. There is no doubt that Tilak was drawn towards the labourers by the stories about the wretched conditions under which they lived and by the desire to work for the amelioration of these conditions. Even his bitterest British critic recognized this. "In this, as in many other cases," noted Chirol, "politics were closely mixed up with philanthropy, for the conditions of labour in India are by no means wholly satisfactory, and it would be unfair to deny to many of Tilak's followers a genuine desire to mitigate the evils and hardships to which their humbler fellow-creatures were exposed."²² Yet there can equally be no doubt that Tilak's main purpose in moving among the mill-hands was to spread the gospel of Swadeshi and Swaraj among them and thus prepare them to play their full part in the struggle for freedom. Chirol was not wrong in remarking that Tilak "subordinated all things to his ruling anti-British passion."²³ It was certainly his ruling passion to see India free as soon as possible and he was conscious of the important role an awakened working class was capable of playing in bringing this about.

The magnificent demonstration of the Bombay working class in June-July 1908 during Tilak's trial and after²⁴ showed that he had not laboured in vain. On June 29, when the first hearing of Tilak's case came up in the court of the chief presidency magistrate, large crowds gathered in the premises of the court and the police had to use force to disperse them. While being dispersed the crowd pelted stones on the police and Europeans. When the court rose for the day the crowd reassembled and again stoned Europeans. This was a foretaste of what was to come.

During the interval between the committal of the case to the High Court and the commencement of the trial there, a large number of Tilak's followers came from all over Maharashtra and joined those who were already working among the industrial workers in Bombay. The authorities apprehended trouble on a large scale. According to the commissioner of police, Bombay, it was pretty clear that "either at the trial or after it large bodies of mill-hands would attempt to make demonstrations at or near the High Court, and that, if allowed to assemble in any great masses, they might become disorderly and cause a great deal of damage not only to property but also to life."²⁵

In view of this assessment of the situation the police commissioner thought it prudent to alert the military authorities for assistance. As the military garrison stationed in Bombay was considered insufficient for this purpose additional troops were brought to the city from other areas. The Government issued a notice under section 23(3) of the Indian Penal Code prohibiting the assembling of people throughout the city during a certain period. Two leaders of the industrial workers were called by the police commissioner and warned that they would be in trouble if there

were disturbances in the factories. He also talked to almost all the millowners in Bombay and asked them to use all their influence to maintain peace and order among their labourers and prevent them from taking part in strikes and demonstrations in support of Tilak.

As a further measure of precaution it was decided to create a special prison in the High Court itself to lodge Tilak during the period of the trial, thus avoiding the necessity of his being daily taken through the crowded parts of the city on his way from the common prison to the High Court and back. This temporary prison was guarded by twelve European officers, twenty-four unarmed Indian officers and men, and ten armed Indian officers and men. Similar arrangements were made to guard the High Court when it was in session. For this purpose twenty European police officers, eleven armed, a hundred and ninety unarmed and thirty mounted Indian officers and men were put on duty in and around the court. In addition, a military detachment, consisting of one commissioned officer and fifty rank and file, was posted in the University Hall.

These precautions were really impressive. But they failed to secure their chief objective. It was clear from the very first day of the trial, July 13, that the people of Bombay were not going to be cowed down into silence by the massive show of force. On that day a number of industrial workers and others tried to assemble near the High Court. Though the police and the cavalry prevented them from assembling at one place and kept them moving, they managed to remain in that area till the evening. The next two days were comparatively quiet, but on July 16, labourers of six mills absented themselves from work and proceeded towards the High Court. Next day the number of mills not working rose to twenty-eight, putting on the roads not less than thirty-five thousand workers. Troops were called in and posted at strategic points. The crowd attacked a number of Europeans and pelted stones at policemen, who opened fire. Similar occurrences took place with varying degrees of intensity on almost all working days till the trial continued.

The sentence was pronounced on the night of July 22 and became known to the people on the next day. Demonstrations of a much more serious nature began now. They lasted for six days corresponding to six years during which Tilak was to be in prison. On the very first day nine mills struck work. The bourgeoisie of Bombay joined with workers in expressing sympathy with Tilak, leading to the closure of the cloth market, the grain market, the freight and share market, and the cotton exchange. Almost all shops remained closed that day.

On the second day, seventy mills struck work. The workers paraded the streets in mammoth processions and stoned policemen and Europeans. Troops were rushed to various places and resorted to firing on a number of occasions. Similar occurrences took place on the next four days also. When some persons tried to open their shops or go to work in the

factories, they were attacked by the striking workers. During these six days the whole of Bombay was like a battlefield and clashes between the demonstrators on the one hand and the police and the Europeans on the other took place with increasing frequency and intensity. What the situation was even on the last day, July 28, can be easily understood from this passage in the police commissioner's report covering that day:

During the day Europeans in different parts of the town, proceeding to their ordinary avocations, were stoned and though but few complaints were made, there is no doubt but that the feeling against Europeans was most hostile. Much trouble would have ensued had not the military been posted at different points throughout the Island."²⁶

The reference to the military here is not incidental. For, the Bombay demonstrations clearly showed that the Indian policemen could no longer be fully relied upon to enthusiastically join in suppressing their own people. Though the Bombay police commissioner ascribed this lack of enthusiasm to most of the policemen hailing from the same district from which the majority of the workers came, the attitude exhibited by the Bombay police was a matter of much wider significance. For it showed the weakening of one of the main instruments for maintaining the British rule in India. To quote the police commissioner: "A great number of the police have relations amongst the mill-hands, male and female, and though this might be expected to work in favour of the police being able to obtain information regarding their movements, it worked in a contrary direction in the recent troubles, and the opposition the mill-hands met with was not so great as might have been the case had they belonged to different districts, the great majority of the mill-hands belonging to Ratnagiri."²⁷

Bombay had not been the only city to express protest against the savage sentence passed on Tilak. Demonstrations took place in numerous places not only in Maharashtra but also outside. The whole nation was in grief. The demonstrations in Bombay, however, were in a class by themselves and had no parallel elsewhere. They can indeed be described as an uprising. Even though localized, they represented the high-water mark of the great upsurge of 1905-08. Their greatest significance lies in the fact that they showed that the Indian struggle for freedom was no longer going to remain confined to the educated and the semi-educated elite, but would increasingly include in its sweep the vast masses of the country. Once this happened on a national scale, India could not be kept under foreign rule.

Perhaps this was also realized by the British. That alone can explain their severity in suppressing the demonstrators. The Russian consul in Bombay reported to his Government: "Some two hundred Indians have been killed in these riots. The English, who are so considerate of human life in England, here had no scruples of using firearms when there really was yet no

need for this extreme measure. The excessive severity was a sign of weakness.”²⁸ In fact, the consul referred to the Government’s reprisal against the strikers and demonstrators as “the Bombay massacre.”²⁹

It was, however, given to the great Lenin, with his unique insight into the nature of revolutionary movements, to underscore the real significance of the Bombay uprising. “In India, too,” he wrote with reference to the events in Bombay after Tilak’s arrest, “the proletariat has already developed to conscious political mass struggle and, that being the case, the Russian-style British regime in India is doomed!”³⁰

- ¹ E. N. Komarov, “Social Thought in Bengal in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries,” I. M. Reisner and N. M. Goldberg, eds., *Tilak and the Struggle for Indian Freedom* (New Delhi, 1966), pp. 275-280.
- ² *Ibid.*, p. 275
- ³ Quoted in A. I. Levkovsky, “The Labour Movement and the Development of the Freedom Struggle (1905-08),” *Ibid.*, p. 421
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 425-426
- ⁵ Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest* (London, 1910), p. 107.
- ⁶ Government of India, Home Proceedings, 7590, No. 1, 30th April 1907; also in V. C. Joshi, ed., *Lajpat Rai Autobiographical Writings* (Delhi, 1965), Appendix II, p. 231
- ⁷ V. C. Joshi, *Ibid.*, Appendix I, pp. 224-225
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 225-226; also pp. 118-119.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 226.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 116.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-124
- ¹² *Ibid.*, p. 124.
- ¹³ I. M. Reisner, “Social and Political Contribution of Bal Gangadhar Tilak,” Reisner and Goldberg, *op. cit.*, p. 643
- ¹⁴ Minto to Morley, May 8, 1907, Minto Papers.
- ¹⁵ For details regarding the background of this decision, unique in the history of British India, see Sri Ram Sharma, ed., *Punjab in Ferment* (New Delhi, 1971) pp. 115-435.
- ¹⁶ V. C. Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227.
- ¹⁷ Reisner, *op. cit.*, pp. 647-648.
- ¹⁸ *Bande Mataram*, March 13, 1908, Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee, ed., *Sri Aurobindo and the New Thought in Indian Politics*, (Calcutta, 1964), pp. 286-287.
- ¹⁹ *Sedition Committee Report*, (Calcutta, 1918), p. 163.
- ²⁰ *Bande Mataram*, March 17, 1908, Mukherjee and Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 293
- ²¹ For a detailed account of the condition of industrial workers in Bombay around 1908 see L. A. Gordon “Social and Economic Condition of Bombay Workers on the eve of the 1908 Strike,” Reisner and Goldberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 471-544
- ²² Chirol, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, p. 53.
- ²⁴ The account of this demonstration which follows is based largely on the report of H. G. Gell, Commissioner of Police, Bombay, dated the 27th August, 1908, Government of Bombay, *Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India*, II, (Bombay, 1958), pp. 256-275
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

²⁸ A. I. Chicherov, "Tilak's Trial and the Bombay Political Strike of 1908", Reisner and Goldberg, *op. cit.*, p. 620.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 622.

³⁰ Lenin, *The National Liberation Movement in the East*, (Moscow, 1957), p. 15.

Three Generations of Political Leadership

Sundarlal

India's struggle for freedom from foreign domination started almost simultaneously with the beginning of such domination in the eighteenth century. The first to try to turn the British intruders out of India was Nawab Sirajuddowla of Bengal in 1757 at the well-known Battle of Plassey. The effort failed mainly because Mir Jaffar and some members of the then Hindu aristocracy, such as Amin Chand and Jagat Seth, sided with the British against Sirajuddowla.

Then followed the valiant efforts of Hyder Ali and of his son Tippu Sultan of Mysore, towards the end of the same century, to turn the British out of India. These efforts also failed for similar reasons. In the beginning of the nineteenth century occurred the unsuccessful Mutiny of Indian soldiers at Vellore.

The Indian War of Independence of 1857-1859 marked a high point in the anti-British feeling in the nineteenth century. We need not go here into the causes of the failure of that great national movement. That the British could not entirely crush nationalist sentiment is evident in the small and not widely known risings under men like Shah Wali Ullah and Shah Abdul Aziz of Delhi.

We now come to the first non-violent effort under the Sikh Guru Ram Singh of Punjab, which also could not succeed in its ultimate objective. It is worth remembering that Guru Ram Singh asked the people, primarily of the Punjab and secondarily of the whole of India, to boycott British schools and colleges, British services, both civil and military, British courts and even British railways, posts and telegraphs. He started a postal system of his own in the Punjab and asked people to travel by any other means than the railways. Guru Ram Singh's openly and clearly declared objective was thus to turn the British out of India through non-violent non-co-operation. The movement was evidently the precursor of Gandhiji's non-violent non-co-operation, nearly fifty years later. The movement found unexpectedly good response. Guru Ram Singh was arrested along with thousands of others from various parts of the country. He died a political prisoner in Mandalay, just as the last Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah of Delhi had done a few years earlier. The movement was then ruthlessly suppressed.

The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 by an astute British statesman, Allan Octavian Hume, with the active co-operation of some Indian leaders. The declared object of the Indian National Congress at the time was to secure an increasingly greater share in Indian administration for educated Indians within the British Raj. During the first twenty-one years of its life the first resolution passed at every annual session of the Congress was that of "India's Loyalty to the British Crown". Wherever possible, the British governor of the province in which the Congress session was held was invited to be present when the loyalty resolution was passed "by acclamation".

The year 1905 was important from the point of view of the struggle against foreign rule. The movement of 1905 started from Bengal. Very soon it became especially notable for its demonstrations of Hindu-Muslim unity for the cause of India's freedom. The whole of Bengal was till then, and had been throughout the British period, a united Bengal. Calcutta was the capital of Bengal as well as of the whole of British India. This fact added to the importance of Bengal for the movement for India's freedom.

As rulers and administrators, the British were past masters in the art of "divide and rule". The Secretary of State for India openly declared in the British Parliament: 'Divide et Impera' ('Divide and Rule') had been the Roman motto and so it must be ours." Lord Curzon was the Viceroy of India. In order to crush the freedom movement, the British decided to partition Bengal into two separate administrative provinces, one East Bengal, predominantly Muslim with its capital in Dacca, and the other West Bengal, predominantly Hindu, with its capital in Calcutta. It is a well-known fact that Nawab Saleemullah Khan of Dacca was given a cheque for fourteen lakh rupees on the Bank of Bengal for making the partition of Bengal palatable to the Muslims of East Bengal. That partition was announced by the Viceroy on the fateful October 16, 1905.

Instead of injuring the movement for freedom, the partition of Bengal gave it a new and strong impetus. Huge public meetings were held all over Bengal and also all over the country at which thousands of people pledged themselves to get the partition annulled as well as to free India from foreign British domination. At these meetings thousands of Hindus and Muslims embraced each other and tied *rakhi* round each other's wrists, uttering the words: "*Bhai Bhai Ek Hain, Bhed Nahin Bhed Nahin*" ("We are united as brothers, there is no difference between us").

The movement spread all over India under three dedicated and eloquent leaders — Lal, Bal, Pal — Lala Lajpat Rai, Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Babu Bepin Chandra Pal. The three declared objectives of the movement were: (1) to get the partition of Bengal annulled, (2) to establish national schools and colleges all over the country for the education of the young free from Government control, and (3) to win independence for India. The methods preached and adopted were boycott of government schools and colleges, boycott of British goods and especially British-made cloth, which India then imported from England at an annual cost of more than sixty crore rupees, and also boycott of British posts and services.

At the invitation of the writer of these lines, Lokmanya Tilak, Babu Bepin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai visited Allahabad and addressed huge public meetings in 1906 and 1907. These meetings helped in laying firm foundations of the freedom movement in U.P.

After the Congress session of 1905, held at Banaras, the leaders of the Congress became sharply divided into two sections or parties, the

Extremists and the Moderates, the Garam Dal and the Naram Dal. The Extremist group was also called the Nationalist Party and the Moderate was also called the Liberal Party. The first openly proclaimed its goal of freeing India from British domination, through boycott of government schools and colleges, boycott of British services and British posts and boycott of British goods, especially British cloth. The leaders of the Moderate group, on the other hand, thought that it was neither possible nor advisable for Indians to try to turn the British out of India. Instead they advised that Indians should agitate for a greater share in the administration of the country through purely constitutional methods.

I was present at the twenty-first annual session of the Congress which was held at Banaras in 1905 under the presidentship of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, where the difference between the two parties first came into prominence. Lokmanya Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai emerged as the leaders of the Extremist party, while Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya came out as the leaders of the Moderate Party. It was about this time that the Nehru family began to take part in the country's political life. Since then the Nehru family has had the unique distinction of giving three generations of political leadership to the country, covering a period of more than sixty-five years up to the present. The present writer has been intimately connected with the family as well as with the political movement during all those years.

Motilal Nehru: The first in the Nehru family to enter politics was Pandit Motilal. By 1905 he had come to be recognized as one of the topmost advocates at the Allahabad High Court. He had not bothered himself with politics until then. But after the Congress session of 1905 he thought it necessary to lend his support to the Moderate party.

In 1907 a U.P. Provincial Political Conference was held in Allahabad over which Pandit Motilal Nehru presided. That was his first major public appearance. The writer, who attended the Conference, remembers how in his presidential speech Pandit Motilal compared those Indians who aimed at "driving the British out of India" to "a dwarf, with broom in his hand, who tries to drive a giant out of the house."

About this time the Extremist party also developed a terrorist wing within itself, under Lokmanya Tilak's inspiration, and Aurobindo Ghose's direct leadership. The writer joined this terrorist group early in 1907.

Strange as it may appear, Pandit Motilal Nehru, while being a staunch supporter of the Moderate party, had at the same time a soft corner in his heart for those who were ready to sacrifice their all by joining the terrorist group. During those momentous years the writer of these lines must have visited the Anand Bhawan, the residence of Pandit Motilal, hundreds of times to meet sympathetic friends and co-workers.

Anand Bhawan was then more or less the abode of the undivided Nehru family. Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru and Shrimati Uma Nehru,

wives of Pandit Motilal's nephews, held socially advanced views. Rameshwari Nehru edited and published a women's journal, the *Stri Darpan*, in Hindi. At Anand Bhawan also lived Sheikh Mubarak Ali, a member of the deposed ruling family of Badayun, along with his son Manzarali Sokhta. Manzarali had lost his mother in his infancy. Pandit Motilal treated him and his father as members of his own family. The younger Nehrus used to address Manzarali as Manna Bhai. Manzarali and myself were both students of Allahabad University. Both of us also belonged to the Extremist group in politics. Manzarali helped me in organizing the meetings of Lokmanyā Tilak, Bepin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai at Allahabad. The University authorities were alarmed. Both of us were expelled from the University, Manzarali from his final MA class and myself from the final LLB class.

After my expulsion I was followed by CID men wherever I went. On one occasion, when I went to see Manzarali at Anand Bhawan, Pandit Motilal came to know of it and also came to know that some CID men in plain clothes were at the gate. Pandit Motilal at once called Manzarali to his room and told him that if he wanted to talk to Sundarlal he should do it somewhere else, as the British CID were dogging Sundarlal and "the Government might cancel the licence for firearms granted to the Anand Bhawan for its protection." The advice was followed as far as possible. Yet I cannot recall a single occasion, out of the hundreds when I met Pandit Motilal at public functions, or Congress meetings, or even in Anand Bhawan, on which he did not greet me in the most affectionate terms. He had always some words of praise and even encouragement for my spirit of adventure and for the efforts of our group.

In 1909 after consulting Aurobindo Ghose I started a Hindi weekly, the *Karmayogi*, from Allahabad. It was a revolutionary paper. It became so popular that 10,000 copies of each of the first three issues had to be reprinted to meet the demand of the fast increasing subscribers. The office of the *Karmayogi* soon became the headquarters of revolutionary activities in Allahabad. Well-known revolutionaries like Sardar Ajeet Singh, Sufi Amba Prasad, Raja Mahendra Pratap and Maulana Hasrat Mohani came and even stayed at the office at Chowk Gangadas. Narendra Dev, Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi and Parmanand of Jhansi were initiated into revolutionary activities at the *Karmayogi* office. The notorious Hunter Committee Report described the *Karmayogi* as the "centre for spreading revolutionary activities in the United Provinces". The British Government demanded a heavy security of Rs 14,000 from the press and both the press and the paper had to be closed down towards the end of 1910.

In 1911 I transferred myself and my activities to Delhi. Master Amir Chand, Master Avadh Bihari, Lala Hanumant Sahai, Bhai Balmukand and Dr Tara Chand, the well-known educationist and later Indian Ambassador to Iran, were some of the members of the new revolutionary group in

Delhi. The group was then busy planning the Lord Hardinge bomb affair. When the entire planning was complete and it was decided who would do what, I was advised by my co-workers to leave Delhi as I was followed by the CID and my presence in Delhi at the time might endanger the success of the plan.

I secretly retired to the Himalayas and concealed my identity there by donning a sadhu's attire and adopting the name of Swami Someshwaranand. The disguise could only succeed for a short time. After a few months of the bomb incident my residence in Solan in Simla Hills was searched by the Delhi police. But as I had received intimation I had removed all material evidence and could not be implicated in that case. I remained in Solan, or wandered in the Himalayas from 1911 to 1916. During all that period there were three persons who took care to see that I did not suffer for any want of funds for my ordinary needs. One of these persons was a member of the Nehru family, Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru. The other two were Lala Lajpat Rai and Raja Mahendra Pratap. In 1917 on the advice of Gandhiji I resumed my old name Sundarlal and again settled in Allahabad to take an active part in Gandhiji's freedom movement.

Jawaharlal had by then returned from England and had joined the Bar of the Allahabad High Court as a junior to his father. But his restless and wide-awake mind could hardly be satisfied with legal practice. He felt eager to plunge into politics. The agrarian situation, especially in the districts of Oudh, was soon to give him an opportunity. He went to see for himself the pitiable condition of the peasantry in those districts. He took up the cause of the peasants and toured extensively in the districts of Pratapgarh and Rai Bareilly. The kisans rallied round him with hopes of deliverance.

Meanwhile events had moved fast in 1917-19. Mrs Annie Besant launched her Home Rule movement. She was arrested and interned. Then followed the agitation against the Rowlatt Act. Gandhiji announced his scheme of Satyagraha against the Black Act. He nominated a Satyagraha Committee for U.P. with myself, Manzarali Sokhta and Jawaharlal as its secretaries. The Jallianwala Bagh tragedy further roused the soul of the nation. The Khilafat wrong also embittered the feelings of the Indian people, especially the Muslims, against the British.

The special session of the Congress held in Calcutta in September 1920 under the presidentship of Lala Lajpat Rai adopted Gandhiji's programme of non-violent non-co-operation by a narrow majority. The same programme was placed before the regular session of the Congress at Nagpur in December 1920. Dr Moonje, president of the Central Provinces Marathi Provincial Congress Committee, and his friends were opposed to the non-co-operation movement. I was at that time publishing a Hindi Daily, *Bhavishya*, from Allahabad. I owned the printing press also. The *Bhavishya* fully supported Gandhiji's movement. Gandhiji asked me to

proceed to the Central Provinces and try to win over the Congress Committees and the people there to the programme of non-violent non-co-operation. Gandhiji was so insistent on my going to the Central Provinces for this purpose that he advised me to hand over the daily newspaper and the printing press over to Pandit Motilal Nehru without any compensation. I did what Gandhiji wanted me to do. I transferred my activities to Jabalpur and did what I could to bring round the Jabalpur Provincial Congress Committee to Gandhiji's views.

The Nagpur Congress passed Gandhiji's resolution on non-violent non-co-operation by an overwhelming majority. At Nagpur Pandit Motilal Nehru succeeded in persuading even Deshbandhu C.R. Das and Lala Lajpat Rai to lend their support to Gandhiji's programme.

I was arrested in March 1921 and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment. After my release in March 1922 I found that two sections had emerged in the Congress in the Central Provinces — one in favour of Gandhiji's non-co-operation programme and the other opposed to it. Gandhiji was then in jail. In April 1922 election took place to the C.P. Hindi Provincial Congress Committee with headquarters at Jabalpur. There was keen contest between No-Changers (those supporting Gandhiji's programme) and Pro-Changers (those favouring council entry) for provincial presidentship. The pro-Gandhian party set me up as their candidate. I won the election. The other party appealed to the Congress Working Committee against the election. The Working Committee was then controlled by C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru who were both then Pro-Changers as they thought it was impossible and unwise to continue Gandhiji's programme in his absence. The Working Committee asked Motilal Nehru to go to Jabalpur, hear both sides and give his decision on the election of the Provincial President. Motilal went from Allahabad to Jabalpur for the purpose. Representatives of both parties went to receive him. Even at the railway station, it was clear from the remarks of Motilal, put in his usual jocular style, that he had come to Jabalpur with the clear intention of declaring my election invalid and handing over the Provincial Congress Committee to the other party. From the railway station we all went to Seth Govind Das's bungalow where Pandit Motilal was to stay. When leaving the bungalow, Pandit Durga Shankar Mehta, who was one of our vice-presidents and who later became Finance Minister of C.P., told me that as Pandit Motilal had already made up his mind there was no use our taking part in the sham enquiry. I asked him to go home and leave the matter to me.

When all others had left I again entered Pandit Motilal's room. He was about to go for his bath. I told him that I wanted to talk to him alone. He understood what I meant and appeared pleased. He knew that if I could be made somehow to join his party I could be more useful than any other member in that party. We both sat down and had a face-to-face

chat. I told him that I was prepared to join his party but that I had some difficulties. One of these difficulties, as I told him, was that our Muslim friends had already given a *fatwa* that it was a sin to study in government educational institutions or to remain in or join Government service. I told him that I could not understand how those people could be made to go against their own *fatwa*. At this Pandit Motilal laughed most heartily and replied in Hindustani, "*Tumne bhi achchha kaha, yar, ek quormen ki dawat*" It means, "What do you think, friend! One good rich feast will make them change their *fatwa*." I came out, leaving the impression in his mind that at the public meeting which was going to be held soon after the enquiry I might announce my decision to join the party headed by C.R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru.

After that Pandit Motilal was busy with the enquiry for about three days. During the enquiry itself he made it clear to all that he would give his decision in my favour. On the third day he did give his decision in my favour.

The same evening a public meeting was held at which I presided and Pandit Motilal spoke. Pandit Motilal expected me to announce my decision of joining his Pro-Change group. In my remarks I made it clear that I still believed that Gandhiji's programme alone could save the country.

On returning from the public meeting Pandit Motilal, again in his usual jocular style, addressed me as follows: "*Wah yar tumne to hamare bhi choona laga diya*", that is, "Well, friend! you have successfully cheated even me!"

Although I had tricked him into deciding the election petition in my favour, he did not entertain the slightest ill-will or malice towards me. He took the whole affair in the most sportsmanlike manner. It did not in the least affect our affectionate relationship.

The years 1924-26 were years of rather violent communal strife in the country. Many staunch Congressmen turned overnight into communalists. The Shuddhi and Sangathan movements were started by Hindu communalists with great fanfare. Swami Shraddhanand, Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya were at the helm of the Hindu movement. Some Muslim leaders were similarly busy in organizing the Tableegh and Tanzeem movements. Gandhiji took political furlough for a year and retired to his Sabarmati Ashram. Deshbandhu C.R. Das died in 1925, leaving Pandit Motilal alone to lead the crusade against communalism. Pandit Motilal gave a tough and valiant fight to the communalists. During the 1926 election, he undertook strenuous tours all over the country and fell ill. From his sick-bed in Mussoorie he sent me the following telegram:

"The communal forces in the country are out to destroy unity and harmony of the country. The General Election has become the battle-

ground between the forces of concord and those of discord. Please help me in fighting the communal reactionaries. Hope you will not disregard this appeal from my sick-bed.”

Although Pandit Motilal's party lost in the Assembly elections in U.P., it won in many other provinces and also secured a narrow majority in the Central Assembly. This enabled the Congress party to have Vithalbhai Patel elected as the Speaker of the Central Assembly.

To go back a few years, when Pandit Motilal visited Jabalpur in 1922 as head of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee, the Municipal Board presented an address of welcome to him and to the other members of the committee. The Board also hoisted the Tricolour on the municipal building. This irritated some members of the British Parliament. The Under Secretary of State for India, Earl Winterton, assured the members that such a thing would not be allowed a second time.

In December 1922 the Gaya Congress again appointed a committee to investigate the possibilities of offering Satyagraha against the British Government anywhere on regional or local scale. When this committee, headed by C. Rajagopalachari, visited Jabalpur in February 1923, the Municipal Board again decided to present an address of welcome to the members of the committee. The deputy commissioner of Jabalpur asked the chairman of the Board to give an undertaking that the National Flag would not be hoisted on the municipal building. The chairman refused to give any such undertaking. On this the deputy commissioner sealed the municipal premises and thus prevented the Municipal Board from presenting the address of welcome.

The Jabalpur Provincial Congress Committee at once took up the challenge. As President of the Provincial Congress Committee, I appealed to the district units to enrol five thousand Satyagrahis and raise funds to launch the Flag Satyagraha from April 13, 1923. Nearly ten thousand Satyagrahis were enrolled in a short time from amongst Hindi-speaking districts of C.P., the Balaghat district heading the list with almost two thousand volunteers. But before the appointed date I was arrested and sentenced to six months' imprisonment on April 6, 1923. Just before my arrest I appointed Mahatma Bhagwandeem to lead the Flag Satyagraha in my absence. Many members of the Provincial Congress Committee and several hundred other Satyagrahis were arrested in Jabalpur and other districts. Then suddenly Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, in consultation with other friends, persuaded Bhagwandeem to transfer the venue of the Satyagraha from Jabalpur to Nagpur as Nagpur was then the capital of the whole of C.P.

In August 1923, after more than 1,600 Satyagrahis from all over India had courted arrest, the C.P. Government and Sardar Patel arrived at a compromise by which the British Government completely yielded on the Flag issue and the use of the Tricolour was allowed freely in all public

processions. It could also be flown on the municipal buildings. But while all Satyagrahis arrested at Nagpur were released under the compromise, hundreds of others, including myself, D.K. Mehta and P.D. Jatar, who had been arrested at Jabalpur and other places, were not released. Pandit Motilal Nehru most vehemently criticized Sardar Patel for not insisting on the immediate release of myself and hundreds of others arrested at Jabalpur and other places in Hindi C.P. We were all released only on the completion of our terms.

It was the beginning of 1930. Gandhiji had decided upon his Salt Satyagraha movement. Pandit Motilal and I happened to meet in Bombay just before the movement. He took me aside and tried to impress upon me that the Salt Satyagraha was bound to prove a fruitless affair. His main argument ran like this: "You may take hundreds of people to the seaside or to any such place. They might waste their time in boiling sea water. They might spend eight annas or one rupee worth of fuel in boiling the water and then get a few pice worth of salt and return home. No Government in the world was going to take notice of it. You might go on wasting your time, money and energy for years "

I put before him my own views on the matter. I told him that if the spirit of disobedience of laws caught the mind of hundreds of thousands of people, no Government could withstand it for long. He did not seem to be convinced.

I then suggested that he might talk to Gandhiji. He did so. When he came out after finishing his talk with Gandhiji, I asked him if he could impress Gandhiji with his arguments. I still remember his words in reply. He said: "*Kya kahun bhai! Is admi se jab bat karta hun soch kar jata hun yun samjhaunga, yun samjhaunga, par usse thori der bat karke hi sithi gum ho jati hai!*" ("Whenever I go to this man with the intention of convincing him with my arguments, I find myself altogether lost after only a few minutes' talk!")

It may be added that throughout Gandhiji's unique movement for freedom whenever he visited Allahabad, he always stayed at Anand Bhawan and was always treated as an honoured and dearly loved member of the family.

As I have already said, it was an admirable trait in Pandit Motilal's character that while he personally did not believe that Indians could ever free themselves from British rule, there was always a soft corner in his heart for all those who were then trying to free India from British rule, whether with the use of bombs and revolvers or with the help of non-violent non-co-operation. Motilal always treated such people with genuine affection.

Pandit Motilal, like practically the entire Nehru family, was absolutely above all caste, communal, religious, regional or other narrowness. In his thoughts, his feelings, his behaviour and his entire life, he was Indian first and Indian last.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Jawaharlal had all the good qualities of his

father. Like his father he was absolutely above all considerations of caste, community, creed, religion and region. He too was Indian first and Indian last. In his broader outlook he was a believer in a common humanity, and if occasion arose, he would have preferred to call himself a citizen of the world. He was a firm and enthusiastic believer in the political freedom of all nations, big or small. His heart yearned to work for, live for and, if necessary, make all possible sacrifices for, the freedom of his own country and other countries from foreign domination. In this respect evidently Jawaharlal was a worthy advance upon his worthy father.

Yet, in the beginning, Jawaharlal was not quite clear as to the methods by which India could obtain freedom from British rule.

He saw that Mahatma Gandhi had very great and growing influence upon millions of people in India and Mahatma Gandhi's method had caught the imagination of the nation. For this he often called Mahatma Gandhi a magician. It was thus that Jawaharlal decided to follow Mahatma Gandhi and give his whole-hearted support to Gandhiji's unique fight for India's freedom.

A small incident of 1933 comes to my mind. Gandhiji was recouping his health at Mahabaleshwar. One night Manzarali Sokhta, Jawaharlal and myself met Gandhiji and discussed some details of his programme until late in the night. Manzarali and I were whole-hearted believers in Gandhiji's method. But at the end of the talk Gandhiji looked towards Jawaharlal and most pathetically remarked: "*Jawaharlal! terah baras sath kaam karne ke bad tum mujhe nahin samjhe to mujhe kon samjhega?*" ("Jawaharlal! If even after thirteen years of working together, you have not yet understood me, who then will understand me?")

On the evening of that fateful January 30, 1948, half an hour or so after Gandhiji was shot by Godse and was lying dead in his room in Birla House, Jawaharlal, on getting the news, rushed to Birla House. I can never forget the painful and pathetic way in which Jawaharlal entered and literally fell on Gandhiji's body, crying like a child who had lost his father. I was sitting close to Gandhiji's head. Vallabhbhai, who sat next to me, tried to console Jawaharlal. He pulled him and made him sit by his side.

In 1947 when India achieved Independence and the parliamentary system of government was established in the country, Gandhiji cried out, as if in agony, "*Yeh to bala agai, isse to mujhe larna parega.*" ("It is a serious calamity which has befallen the country. I shall have to fight against it.")

Prominent Congress leaders like Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru did not agree with Gandhiji in this matter. I was present at one of the discussions which Jawaharlal had on this question with Gandhiji. After Gandhiji had explained his position to Jawaharlal I remember Jawaharlal replying in the following words:

"Ap kahte to hain government chhordo, meri samajh men nahin ata, bari

zimmewari ham par ai hai, yeh kis par chhor den? Agar kal ko koi tang nazar firqewarana party, jaise . . . power men agayi, to mulk ka kya hoga?" ("You are asking us to come out of the Government. I cannot understand it. Such a serious responsibility has come upon us. On whom shall we throw it? If tomorrow any narrow-minded communal party like . . . comes into power, then what will happen to the country?")

I remember Gandhiji's reply: "*Tum bilkul parwah na karo, kale chor ke hath men government ane do. Agar ham janta ko samjha denge aur mazboot karenge, to jo ham janta ki taraf se kahenge woh jo bhi government men hoga use karna parega. Janta ki taqat barhni chahiye, sarkar ki taqat ghatni chahiye. Sari taqat janta ke hath men aani chahiye.*" (You should not worry about it at all. Let the government go into the hands of the worst men. If we go to the people, educate them and strengthen them, then, whoever may be in the government, he will have to act in the way in which we may ask him to act on behalf of the people")

Gandhiji's arguments or his point of view could not appeal to Jawaharlal and his colleagues in Government.

A date in February 1948 had been fixed for a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee and Gandhiji actually drafted his resolution on the subject, sent for the secretary of the All-India Congress Committee and handed over the resolution to him saying that he would move it at the AICC meeting.

But Gandhiji was murdered before the date. And things remained where they were.

With all these differences of approach, there was a special emotional attraction between Gandhiji and Jawaharlal. This was due partly at least to Jawaharlal's frankness. He was absolutely free from all communal narrowness. This did make an appeal to Gandhiji's heart.

Jawaharlal very much wanted me to be in Parliament and also in the Central Cabinet, but I excused myself by pleading that parliamentary activity was not in my line as in the prevailing conditions Gandhiji did not favour such activities. Yet we had love and respect for each other. We had one special bond between us — our strong anti-communal, secular outlook. The way Jawaharlal fought with the demon of communalism in the initial years of his Prime Ministership was remarkable. He had to work against odds, because some of his Cabinet colleagues had evidently succumbed to the communal poison.

Jawaharlal sent me on many delicate missions on behalf of communal harmony. For example, after the Police Action in Hyderabad, it was rumoured that atrocities were being committed by some Hindus on some innocent Muslims. Jawaharlal asked me to proceed to Hyderabad, try to create good relations between the two communities and also, after a thorough on-the-spot enquiry, submit a report to him. I went to Hyderabad along with Kazi Abdul Ghaffar and Maulana Abdulla Misri.

Vallabhbhai did not very much relish the idea of our holding such an enquiry. It took us nearly three weeks in Hyderabad. Our efforts had indeed a very good effect upon communal relations in that state. We submitted our report to the Government. Vallabhbhai wanted us to discuss the report with him before submission to Government. I did meet him and hear his point of view, but the report was submitted without being shown to him.

After some time Jawaharlal sent me to Nagaland to make a study of the Naga problem. I went into the interior and met many Naga leaders and their chief at Kohima. I heard their grievances. On my return to Delhi I submitted a report to Jawaharlal.

Strange as it may appear, I found that at least one of the main causes of the Naga unrest was that while the British had freely mixed with the Nagas before Independence, Indian officials did not do so after Independence. The Hindus disliked the Nagas because the Nagas took beef and the Muslims did not mix with them because the Nagas took pork also. In my report I advised that no official, Hindu or Muslim, should be sent to Nagaland in future who observed such untouchability. I know that Jawaharlal valued my advice in this matter and tried to act up to it.

I feel inclined to add here two small but significant incidents connected with my visit to Nagaland.

One day, I had to meet the Naga chief at Kohima. The district magistrate of Kohima and an interpreter were with me. Inside the main hall of the house, many pieces of uncooked meat of various sizes and weights, all salted and dried, were hanging from a number of bamboos, about six feet above the floor. The Nagas hunt in summer months, salt and dry the meat and cook it and consume it in winter. The Nagas make no distinction between the flesh of one animal and that of another.

After talking for some time at the centre of the hall, I moved towards some of the pieces of flesh. Touching one of them I asked the Naga chief what animal it was. He said that it was deer. I touched another piece with my other hand and repeated the question. This time he told me that it was a wild cow. I again did the same with a third piece and put the same question. This time the Naga chief replied that it was wild boar. Naturally in this process some grease and some particles of salt stuck to my fingers and even to my palms. I rubbed off my hands against each other, but deliberately did not ask for water to wash my hands.

Yet another trial awaited me. The Naga chief soon went inside his room, and returned with a glass of wine and affectionately held it out to me. The Nagas prepare their own wine in their houses from the plants which grow in abundance in their forests.

Being a strict vegetarian and teetotaler, I asked the interpreter to tell the Naga chief that I had religious objections to taking wine and should be excused. The interpreter explained it to the Naga chief. He looked

greatly crestfallen. I could not understand why he should be so sad and I asked the district magistrate the reason. He told me that among the Nagas if a guest refused wine, it was regarded as a bad omen. I at once took the glass from the hands of the Naga chief, poured about ten drops of the liquor on the palm of my left hand, sipped it and returned the glass to the Naga chief. He appeared very happy and grateful. He took the glass to his room and left it there, thanking me repeatedly with smiles and bows. We talked for a long time after that on various topics in a most cordial mood.

Evidently with the few drops of the red liquor, some particles of salt as well as of the previous moisture must also have reached my stomach. Yet I am sure my vows of vegetarianism and abstinence were not in the least violated. I did it all with a full sense of my duty as a man dealing with brother man.

I should like to narrate another incident of Nagaland. I was invited to speak one morning to the students and teachers of the Kohima High School. I went there and as I was about to begin my speech, I saw that there were two separate water pots kept in two corners. On enquiry I was told that one of the pots was for the Naga students and teachers and the other for students and teachers of other communities, because the latter would not take water touched by a Naga.

I declared rather animatedly that I wanted water from the pot meant for the Nagas. At once a Naga student ran towards the said pot, filled a glass with water from it, came and gave it to me. I drank the water and returned the glass.

I well remember that this little gesture of mine was vociferously cheered from the Naga benches, both students and teachers.

The next day a good number of educated Nagas came to me at the guest house and told me that these small acts of mine had reached the ears of most of the Nagas. They also told me that in their opinion if the Nagas had been treated like that from the beginning there would have been no Naga problem. They also explained to me that while the way the Nagas were treated in such small matters estranged their hearts, some foreigners, especially American missionaries, took advantage of it and gave the whole thing a political colour.

On my return to Delhi I put all this before Jawaharlal Nehru and noticed that he fully endorsed my point of view.

Visits to China and Soviet Union: In 1951 I went to China as leader of the Indian goodwill mission. Mahatma Gandhi had said a few years before: "I long for the day when a free China and a free India will work together in co-operation and friendship for their own good, for the good of Asia and for the good of the world."

Jawaharlal Nehru shared these sentiments of Gandhiji. He suggested

my leading a delegation to China. The two of us sat together and decided upon the names of other members of the mission.

At the Peking aerodrome we were warmly received by both the Indian Ambassador and representatives of the Chinese Government. Our delegation spent nearly six weeks in China, and visited many important places and studied life in that newly awakened country. As a result of the visit, India-China Friendship Associations were established in India under my chairmanship and in China with Dr Tin Shi Lin as president.

On our return to India I wrote and published a rather voluminous book *China Today*, which was widely read and appreciated. Both the Friendship Associations did useful work for a number of years. I can safely assert that Jawaharlal Nehru was very pleased with our work and its impact on relations between our two great countries. We received full support from the Government of India in all our activities.

It was again at Jawaharlal's request that I visited Soviet Russia thrice after Independence. The last time I visited the Soviet Union was with my esteemed friend Bishambarnath Pande in 1962.

After living in Moscow for two and a half months, both of us decided to leave for India. Just before doing so, I was invited by Mr Brezhnev, who was then President of the USSR, to meet him. We talked for nearly two hours and a half in the most frank and friendly way. I give below, in my words, as faithfully as possible, the substance of Mr. Brezhnev's talk to me on that day in December 1962.

"You want to advance both industrially and militarily. We are your sincere friends and wish you to advance in both these fields. Therefore, whatever you ask us to do for you in any of these fields we shall most gladly do as best as we can. For example, you asked us to start a steel factory for you in India. We at once did it. We sent our best machines and our best experts for the purpose. Similarly, in future, we shall continue to give you all the help you want of us in both these fields. But suppose at any time we feel that the thing that you ask us to do for you will not really be useful to you or will not really help you in your advancement, in that case we are not going to tell you that. We shall simply do what you ask us to do and do it to our best ability. The reason is plain; we know under what country's advice you prepare your plans and we are friends of that country also. So we are not going to criticize directly or indirectly the plans which you form under the advice of that country. We are not going to criticize our friends. But, I may tell you one thing, which is quite possible, that the country with whose advice you form your plans may not so much like you to advance in any of these fields. On the other hand we do really wish you to advance in both these fields. Therefore, if you really want to make progress in any of these fields, you have to choose your advisers."

Brezhnev also asked me to convey his views frankly to Jawaharlal Nehru

on my return to India. I did so most faithfully. But Jawaharlal was a believer in what he called first increasing the total wealth of the country through free enterprise. For him removal of economic disparities was a thing to be tackled later. Naturally he could not give that importance to Brezhnev's words which I think they deserved.

A year earlier, in 1961, when the India-China border dispute assumed a dangerous shape, I addressed the following letter to Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchov:

Personal & Confidential

40 Hanuman Lane,
New Delhi-1 (India)

April 28, 1961

"Dear Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchov,

"After giving long and serious thought to the question involved, I have decided to approach you with this letter.

"The India-China border dispute has developed almost like a sinus in my country, poisoning all political life, rendering it more and more difficult to maintain friendly relations between our two great peace-loving peoples, damaging Europe-Asian or even Asian solidarity, and, in the ultimate analysis, at least as a remote contingency, even endangering world peace. I say this on the basis of an intimate knowledge of conditions in my own country as well as on the basis of some idea of conditions in the broader world outside.

"I have carefully gone through the voluminous report jointly and laboriously prepared by Indian and Chinese officials on the subject. My view is firstly that the officials on both sides have gone beyond their assignment. Their actual assignment, as they have admitted in the Report, was simply to prepare a faithful record of the evidence — traditional, customary, documentary, juridical, political or other — which either side may advance in support of its claim. It was not their business to 'argue' on the basis of such recording or to appear to 'adjudicate.' The fact that officials on both sides have gone beyond their assignment and done all this shows, to some extent, the temper of the people on this question in the two countries.

"I may now tell you what impression was produced upon my mind from a perusal of this report. I tried to read it as objectively and with as unbiased a mind as possible. In the Indian Government publication the Indian case has been given first and the Chinese after that. As I went through the Indian case, the conviction began to grow upon me that the Indian case was correct. When I finished the Indian case I felt that,

broadly speaking, the Indian case was unanswerable. After that I began to read the Chinese case. The first few pages gave me an impression of what may be called hollow reasoning. As I proceeded, however, the weight of the evidence recorded and the cogency of the arguments advanced began to influence my opinion. By the time I finished the Chinese case I felt that it was not so weak after all on the issues involved.

"I have said all this just to give you an idea of the complexity of the question as I view it.

"It must also be understood that there is a widespread feeling among the Indian people that the People's Republic of China is the aggressor in this matter and that it has unjustly occupied 12,000 square miles of Indian territory and is laying claim to another 38,000 square miles. Even those who stand for India-China friendship and believe in its importance for both countries — and vast masses of the people of India still do so — share this feeling and are sad at heart on account of it. In every country today the press plays a very great part in shaping public opinion and the press in India today is mostly financed and run by vested interests not very friendly to communism or to communist countries. The Government of the country, in the interest of its own stability, has to take public feeling into consideration.

"While the world is passing through a sort of a crisis, India appears to stand just now at the crossing of roads, and one of the important factors which may determine its future is the India-China border question. A timely settlement of this unfortunate question may yet help the forces of progress, while all avoidable delay in such a settlement can only strengthen the forces of reaction.

"The question remains: What can and should be done for the peaceful and timely settlement of the India-China border dispute? Fortunately for the two countries, the present Governments of both India and China are peace-loving. Both want a peaceful settlement of the dispute. No sane person can think of any but a peaceful solution of the present border question.

"Now it appears to me that there can be only three ways of a peaceful settlement of such a dispute or question.

"The first is that the two Prime Ministers should again meet as early as possible and, on the basis of the joint official reports published, come to some agreement between themselves. The two-sided nature of the report makes it not an easy job. Then, after such an agreement, both the Prime Ministers must be able to get the agreement accepted and implemented by their respective parliaments and peoples. Fortunately both sides entertain hopes of a settlement this way, and with wisdom and goodwill a settlement cannot be ruled out.

"The second way is the way of arbitration. I do not know how far it can fit in the present case.

"The third way of settling this dispute between these two friendly

nations is, for me at least, simpler than either of the two mentioned above and, at the same time, more graceful. It is this — let any of the two parties to the dispute make a wholesale surrender of its entire claim to the other irrespective of the apparent justness or otherwise of that claim. I, for one, am absolutely clear that sweet, friendly relations between two great countries like China and India are of much greater value for either than any part of territory or even the 50,000 square miles of the territory that is involved. . . .

“I also admit, with a sense of humiliation, that circumstanced as India is today, internally as well as externally, it is impossible for any Indian Government to act in that way, without serious risk to its very existence and what is worse, to the country at large. Then the question arises, can the People’s Republic of China agree to act in this way? I do not find myself competent to answer that question. I can only say I presume that the risks which any Chinese Government may have to face in taking up that attitude cannot be anything like so serious as those which an Indian Government will have to face in a similar contingency. I also feel confident that the prestige of the People’s Republic of China will, by such an act, greatly rise in the eyes of the countries and the peoples of the world, India-China friendship will get further cemented and all efforts of those who cannot look kindly upon India-China co-operation in matters international and for world peace, will be foiled at least for generations to come.

“I need not say more. I cannot say which way is more feasible or more practicable. To me personally the third appeals the most. I also know that there are political forces working in my own country which believe that an early settlement of this dispute may not be advantageous to them. Such forces may feel interested in keeping the matter hanging as long as possible. I know too that any avoidable delay in the much desired settlement of this dispute endangers not only the cause of India-China friendship and co-operation, but also much else which we all hold dear to our hearts, nationally as well as internationally.

“I know you are a sincere friend of both and also a pillar of world peace. You have great influence in both countries. . . .

“I leave it to you to take my submission into consideration and decide what steps you can take to help a settlement.

“With all good wishes and high and affectionate regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sundarlal”

I also added that I was absolutely sure that if Mahatma Gandhi had been living at the time, he would have left the decision of the entire border dispute absolutely to China and would have advised India to content

itself with any part of the disputed territory which the Chinese Government, in its wisdom and its goodness, allowed as Indian territory. I further added that Mahatma Gandhi was no more and that the Government of India, on account of internal as well as external pressures, could not make any such offer to China. I further asked Prime Minister Khrushchov if he could persuade China to make such an offer to India, that is, to leave the decision of the entire border dispute to the Indian Government and content itself with any part of the 50,000 square miles of the disputed territory which the Indian Government would allow as Chinese territory. I told Khrushchov that if he could persuade China to take that step, he would save India-China friendship, frustrate the designs of imperialist countries against us and save world peace.

In due course I got a reply from Prime Minister Khrushchov through official channels. I give below the substance of the reply, in my own words, as faithfully and as correctly as possible.

Khrushchov suggested that he, as a third party, might propose and put the following compromise agreement before both the countries concerned. Out of the 50,000 square miles of disputed territory, the 18,000 square miles, which were then and are still under Indian occupation, might be accepted by both as Indian territory for ever. Besides this, the 20,000 square miles which were then and are still lying as no man's land should also be treated as Indian territory for ever. The remaining 12,000 square miles which were then and are now in Chinese occupation might be regarded as Chinese territory in view of the strategic value that territory had for China. At the same time, China should transfer to India out of its own territory, contiguous to the border line thus created, an area equal to 12,000 square miles in lieu of the 12,000 square miles allowed to China, by mutual agreement, so that, in the ultimate analysis, India would have retained 50,000 square miles.

Prime Minister Khrushchov finally said in his reply that he had actually sounded the Chinese side in this connection and that if such a proposal were made by a third party, China would agree to it, provided India also agreed. I was then asked to sound Jawaharlal in this connection. And if I could write to Mr Khrushchov that Jawaharlal Nehru was also agreeable to such a proposal, then he would himself put the whole proposal before both the countries, have it signed by the representatives of the two Governments and thus help in ending the dispute.

I approached Jawaharlal in this connection, placed the whole thing before him and waited for his reaction.

We had a talk lasting more than two hours. Jawaharlal carefully read the copy of my letter to Khrushchov. He greatly appreciated and admired my letter and kept a copy. Then he acquainted himself with Khrushchov's reply and appeared very pleased. We went on talking for some time. Then in a lighter mood he asked me as to where they would give

us territory equal to that of Aksai Chin? I told him that it would probably be left to our choice and that I for one believed that territory leading to Mansarovar and its adjoining area would be much more useful to us than Aksai Chin, where according to Jawaharlal himself "not a blade of grass grows." For some time Jawaharlal appeared satisfied and pleased. At this I asked him as to what reply I should give to Khrushchov. He then suddenly became a little pensive. He appeared slightly doubtful of the reaction and attitude of some of his important colleagues in Government. He advised me to wait for two or three days more to give him time to secure the consent of some of his colleagues before sending the reply to Khrushchov. We parted for the moment.

After a few days I was informed that Jawaharlal had put the whole thing before an important colleague of his. I am omitting the name in this article, and the reaction of that colleague was exactly what Jawaharlal anticipated and was afraid of. Thus things remained where they were and are still up to this day.

The writer has with him copies of a number of letters from him to Jawaharlal on this matter and connected questions and Jawaharlal's detailed replies which make Jawaharlal's views on many important points crystal clear, but this article should not become too long. After Jawaharlal, Lal Bahadur Shastri became the Prime Minister. His tenure was rather uneventful but for the still-born Tashkent Declaration.

Then comes our present Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi.

Indira Gandhi: It is not easy to comment on the achievements of a living person. Yet the fact remains that a vast majority of thinking people in the country are clearly and rightly of the opinion that as a political leader Indira Gandhi has far surpassed both her father and her grandfather. It is especially true in India's relations with other countries. Indira Gandhi has acted in a way that has won the admiration of an overwhelming majority of the people of the world. Her performance at the Simla Summit has been a cause of pride for the country. The world has been made to appreciate the fact that India wants to live on friendly terms with all countries, is an enemy of none, and takes pride in serving as a supporter of world peace.

The same farsightedness and sureness of touch were evident in the conclusion of the Indo-Soviet Treaty as also in the successful termination of the war with Pakistan, and in securing the freedom of Bangladesh and the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

In domestic matters, Indira Gandhi's actions in abolishing the privy purses and age-old privileges of the one-time ruling princes of India, nationalizing major banks and some other large-scale industries, and her placing the goal of socialism before the country, have in a way prepared a bridge between our failures of the past and our hopes for the future.

Probably the most valuable service which Indira Gandhi has rendered is the set-back she has given to almost all narrow communal and reactionary forces in the country, thus putting the country on the road to real secularism and democracy.

I knew Jawaharlal intimately. I would say that there were occasions in Jawaharlal's life on which if he had shown as much courage and sagacity as Indira Gandhi has done on similar occasions, the recent history of India would have been differently written. I shall give only one important instance.

Immediately after Independence, each of the five hundred and more so-called native states of India was given the option of joining India or Pakistan or declaring itself independent. Most of the states chose the first two courses. Hyderabad and Kashmir, two of the biggest states, took time to decide. The problem of Hyderabad was settled through police action by India. The case of Kashmir was more complicated. It had a long border contiguous with India and also a very long border contiguous with Pakistan. The majority of its population was Muslim, and the Maharaja was a Hindu. Besides, Kashmir's boundary touched the boundaries of five sovereign countries: Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India.

The Maharaja asked Lord Mountbatten as to which country Kashmir should accede to. Lord Mountbatten advised the Maharaja to accede to Pakistan. The Maharaja then referred his difficulty to Mahatma Gandhi and sought Gandhiji's advice. Mahatma Gandhi advised the Maharaja to consult his people and act according to their wishes. It must be added that both the Maharaja and his prime minister, Sheikh Abdullah, were strong opponents of the "two-nation theory" and of the partition of India itself into India and Pakistan.

The Maharaja was still undecided, when Pakistan tried to take unfair advantage of the situation and invaded Kashmir from its side, thus trying to annex Kashmir militarily. It is a fact that neither the Maharaja nor Sheikh Abdullah, not to mention the people of Kashmir, liked this aggression from Pakistan.

The Maharaja at once wrote to the Government of India requesting it to send the Indian army to help him in turning out the invading Pakistani army from his state.

Jawaharlal and Vallabhbhai took the position that India could not send its army to drive out the invading Pakistani army so long as Kashmir did not accede to India. The Maharaja was informed accordingly. The Maharaja at once agreed to accede to India. V.P. Menon was immediately flown to Srinagar and the Maharaja wrote out and signed the instrument of accession to India at dead of night. It was accepted by both Jawaharlal and Vallabhbhai. The Indian army was then immediately sent to Kashmir to drive the Pakistani intruders out of Kashmir as desired

by the Maharaja, by Sheikh Abdullah and also by the people of Kashmir.

Just at the critical moment the United States of America intervened and advised Jawaharlal not to wage war against Pakistan but to remain on this side of the then fighting line and then go to the International Court or the United Nations to get Kashmir vacated by the intruding army. Jawaharlal very wrongly and unfortunately accepted the U.S. advice in this matter. Pakistan thus took up the position of defendant at the International Court.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that if Jawaharlal Nehru had fought and turned out the intruders from Kashmir, which was so easy at the time and which the situation fully justified and demanded, the entire history of Delhi-Kashmir and India-Pakistan relations since then would have been differently written.

Indira Gandhi's proposal of putting a ceiling on rural and urban property is a step towards socialism. Even then real socialism is far off. I believe that the only solution of all of India's ills today, economic and political, lies in a practical and constructive synthesis between Marxism and Gandhism. Such a synthesis alone can really remove economic and other disparities and banish poverty from the land. Evidently we are yet far off from the goal. As I said above, Indira Gandhi has only prepared a bridge between our failures of the past and our hopes for the future. The country is still on this side of the bridge. It is not yet able to see the road ahead, which it can do only after the bridge has been crossed.

Indira Gandhi is still trying to remove (and to an extent has already removed) some of the serious obstacles from the path of India's progress.

Unfortunately there still are many reactionary and communal forces in the country which, in league with imperialist and semi-imperialist forces abroad, are trying to destroy the bridge itself and thus ruin the future of the country.

We have all to beware of such reactionary forces and do all we can to strengthen the hands of Indira Gandhi and her colleagues at this critical juncture. Our best wishes should therefore be with Indira Gandhi and her present government.

Satyagraha — Some Reflections

R.R. Diwakar

Satyagraha as a concept and a philosophy of life and action has been with us now for more than seven decades. It is almost synonymous with Gandhi. If Gandhi is to be spelt out in four pregnant words, they are Satya — Truth, Ahimsa — non-violence, Satyagraha — loveful insistence on truth, and Sarvodaya — equal progress of all in the human family.

The word Satyagraha itself was newly introduced by Gandhi while in South Africa. Though there were and are several Sanskrit compounds of the significant word Satya, such as Satyavaan, Satya-vrata, Satya-dharma Satya-dhriti and so on, the term Satyagraha was coined by Gandhi himself to convey fully the meaning of his concept and its full connotation.

If one wishes to trace the foundations of this concept, there are two important statements which may be said to be fundamental to the two current faiths in India. Sanatana Dharma or Hinduism declares “Satyannasti Paro Dharma” (there is no Law of Being greater than Truth). Jainism declares “Ahimsa Paramo Dharma” (Non-violence [non-injury] is the greatest Law of Being).

The expression coined by Gandhi, and the connotation now attached to it, is a synthesis of the above two statements. Or rather it may be said to be an integrated concept which stands for a whole philosophy and a new way of life. There is no end to Gandhi’s harping on the two words, Truth and Non-violence, and his emphasizing that these were his sheet-anchor.

If any question arises at all on the relationship between these two words, one can easily see that, to Gandhi, Truth is the “end” and Nonviolence is the “means.” But here again we must be aware that Gandhi attached the greatest importance to means and sometimes he asserted that means are ends. “As the means so the ends.” One may at the most be permitted to say that the concept as it developed in Gandhi’s life is “Truth through non-violence alone.” It must be understood here that the word Ahimsa or non-violence in Gandhi’s vocabulary does not mean only a negative or passive attitude but the positive approach of love. His statement “All life is one” is a significant enunciation of total identity of interest in a new dimension of harmonious unitive life.

In the present context, it may also be stated that Truth to Gandhi did not only mean the abstract Truth which is often designated as the Ultimate Reality. Truth, to Gandhi, is also the Truth of life, the Law of Being, the law of human life and living, the dynamics of evolving human species. It should be remembered that Gandhi was never satisfied with only perception of Truth or the Law of Life, but as a man of action par excellence, he endeavoured all his life to assert and establish Truth, or the law of human living through non-violent, loveful means and methods. That is how he called himself a seeker and a votary of Truth and one who believed that non-violence was the best and only means of knowing and bringing into action the Law of Life.

This was what he meant by his "Experiments with Truth." Since he was never dogmatic about his own perception of Truth, he called his life an experiment in the true scientific sense, and was willing and ready to suffer unto death for what he perceived as Truth. He did not want to impose his Truth on others by physical or any other force, but only through love and self-suffering.

Ultimately Satyagraha is to be interpreted today both as a way of life and as a method of establishing the Truth, or the law of human living, as one perceives it. This process of establishing Truth might sometimes take the form of resisting untruth, evil, injustice and so on by adopting non-violent and peaceful but nevertheless loveful means and methods without the least ill-will towards the opponent.

The principle of Satyagraha itself cannot be said to be new. Search for truth, belief in one's own truth, adherence to truth and to one's own conviction, suffering for the truth of one's own perception and even staking one's own life for religious, spiritual, mystic, or scientific truth have always been there. Mythology as well as history have recorded innumerable examples of such a search, mostly of individuals and occasionally of groups. The examples of Prahlad and Harishchandra which inspired Gandhi are from Indian mythology. The story of Socrates is well known. The crucifixion of Christ led to the start of a new religion. *The Quiet Battle* by Sibley narrates the story of a devout Christian who refused to be a soldier in the Roman army. He is believed to have said that his head would not bow to any but Christ, his body would not bear any symbol but the cross and he would not be a soldier because it involved killing.

Who would forget the 23,000-odd so-called Christian heretics who were tried individually during the Inquisition and burnt alive at the stake for their beliefs? (See *The Philosophy of Compassion*.)

In the hands of Gandhi, Satyagraha, while it continued to be an individual and personal remedy against all attacks and aggression on the faith and belief of an individual, developed into both an offensive and defensive weapon to fight against all evil and injustice, economic, social and political. With Gandhi and some of his very close followers it evolved into a definite way of life with love of God and Man as the basis.

Today, Satyagraha is both a way of life and a non-violent remedy for resolution of conflicts. Gandhi and next to him Vinoba Bhave could be said to embody to a very high degree both the theory and practice of the two aspects of Satyagraha mentioned above. It was but natural that the second aspect of Satyagraha, namely, non-violent remedy for resolution of conflicts, came into greater prominence as Gandhi successfully experimented with it in various fields of human activity. To name a few, he began with asserting the rights of the Indian immigrants in South Africa. After coming to India, he succeeded in securing the legitimate rights of the ryots of Champaran. The triumph of the Bardoli peasants in 1928

is well known. His non-violent campaigns for Swaraj and their ultimate role in winning independence for India are now a historic fact.

I have to sound a note of warning here on Gandhi's own use of these words and the clear distinction he made between what is known as Passive Resistance and Satyagraha. This distinction he made as early as his campaign in South Africa and he stuck to it to the end of his days. His attitude in this respect was not merely non-violent in the negative sense but full of positive love even for the bitterest of opponents. This naturally requires a very high type of inner discipline which can be attained only by the absorption of a philosophy of life entirely based on love and on the spiritual realization of the principle that "all life is one."

Here is an extract from *Satyagraha in South Africa* (first edition, pages 112-113.)

"I have no idea when the phrase 'passive resistance' was first used in English and by whom. But among the English people, whenever a small minority did not approve of some obnoxious piece of legislation, instead of rising in rebellion they took the passive or milder step of not submitting to the law and inviting the penalties of such non-submission upon their heads. When the British Parliament passed the Education Act some years ago, the Nonconformists offered passive resistance under the leadership of Dr Clifford. The great movement of the English women for the vote was also known as Passive Resistance. It was in view of these two cases that Mr Hosken described passive resistance as a weapon of the weak or the voteless. Dr Clifford and his friends had the vote, but as they were in a minority in Parliament, they could not prevent the passage of the Education Act. That is to say, they were weak in numbers. Not that they were averse to the use of arms for the attainment of their aims, but they had no hope of succeeding by force of arms. And in a well-regulated state, recourse to arms every now and then in order to secure popular rights would defeat its own purpose. Again some of the Nonconformists would generally object to taking up arms even if it was a practical proposition. The Suffragists had no franchise rights. They were weak in number as well as in physical force. Thus their case lent colour to Mr Hosken's observations. The Suffragist movement did not eschew the use of physical force. Some Suffragists fired buildings and even assaulted men. I do not think they ever intended to kill anyone. But they did intend to thrash people when an opportunity occurred, and even thus to make things hot for them.

"But brute force had absolutely no place in the Indian movement in any circumstances, and the reader will see, as we proceed, that no matter how badly they suffered, the Satyagrahis never used physical force, and that too, although there were occasions when they were in a position to use it effectively. Again, although the Indians had no franchise and were weak, these considerations had nothing to do with the organization of Satyagraha. This is not to say that the Indians would have taken to Satyagraha even if

they had possessed arms or the franchise. Probably there would not have been any scope for Satyagraha if they had the franchise. If they had arms, the opposite party would have thought twice before antagonizing them. One can therefore understand that people who possess arms would have fewer occasions for offering Satyagraha. My point is that I can definitely assert that in planning the Indian movement there never was the slightest thought given to the possibility or otherwise of offering armed resistance. Satyagraha is soul-force, pure and simple, and whenever and to whatever extent there is room for the use of arms or physical force or brute force, there and to that extent is there so much less possibility for soul-force. These are purely antagonistic forces in my view, and I had full realization of this antagonism even at the time of the advent of Satyagraha."

Gandhi called Satyagraha soul-force in contrast to the physical force of arms. He believed that ultimate success lay with Satya — Truth. Perhaps the Upanishadic Rishi had the same realization when he uttered, "Satyameva jayate, na anritam" (Truth alone will triumph and not untruth). Truth alone can persist to exist. The word Satya means that which is according to what exists eternally. Falsehood or untruth may seem to exist for a time but it has no permanent existence. It has to go.

Heinrich Zimmer in his *Philosophies of India*, written some time in 1941, has made some very pregnant remarks about Satyagraha. He says that for Gandhi, the British Raj in India was an "a-satya", a "non-truth", a falsehood. It had to go as the Satya or Truth or the Law of Human Life and Living required it to go. Zimmer further remarks that the soldiers of Gandhi were not trained in the Military Academy of Sandhurst but in the gymnasium of Brahma!

After the passing away of Gandhi in 1948, we have lived a quarter of a century. A few experiments of individual and mass Satyagraha have been recorded in India as well as elsewhere, notably in the United States of America. Outside India, Satyagraha as a way of life demonstrated itself in the great life of Dr Martin Luther King of Atlanta, USA. Vinoba in India is experimenting with the positive side of Satyagraha — not resolution of conflict so much as building up village life on the basis of love, friendliness and co-operation.

Perhaps Satyagraha as preached and practised by Gandhi and Vinoba is a new path, both as a way of life and as a civilized remedy for conflict resolution, and also as a sound and steady basis for building a new human society, which has today lost its equilibrium on account of built-in violence. This is a new humanism arising out of a spiritual experience of oneness of the whole of humanity and life, and capable of evoking the noblest instincts in man. For the pilgrim, the path may be long and arduous but the evolutionary urge in humanity seems to point that way and no other. Man, if he is to survive and progress, has to ally himself with love and not hate, with constructive forces and not with destructive ones.

Some Thoughts

K. D. Malaviya

I do not consider myself to be a literary man. Hence the following may not be as systematic a narrative as one would like it to be. All that I intend to do is to record my broken thoughts on the events connected with our Independence struggle from 1920. I am also weak on dates. Nevertheless, I venture to write as I remember the events of the last fifty years.

The Malaviya and the Nehru families had the privilege of living in Allahabad for more than three generations. Besides being a centuries-old centre of Hindu culture, Allahabad has also been a great educational and political centre for several generations. It was also the capital of the old United Provinces. Later, when Harcourt Butler became the British Governor, he moved to Lucknow. There was reluctance on the part of Englishmen to keep the seat of Government in a town like Allahabad given to independent thinking. The fourth session of the Indian National Congress was held in Allahabad in 1888. Ever since then the Saprus, the Kunzrus, the Nehrus and the Malaviyas have made their contribution to the richness of Allahabad — to its culture, education, politics and social service. Babu Purushottamdas Tandon came on the political scene of Allahabad later. By his force of character and idealism he drew respect from all parts of the country. He was indeed a true disciple of my grand-uncle, the great Madan Mohan Malaviya, about whom I need not write here. Pandit Sundarlal, another valiant freedom fighter and a great writer and philosopher of his time, also contributed to the richness of Allahabad. His book *Bharat Men Angrezi Raj* (British Rule in India) was a reminder of the great deeds of freedom fighters from 1757 to 1857. This is a book which influenced the minds of the youth a great deal. Pandit Sundarlal is still with us, leading an almost retired life in Delhi.

Before I write about the political life of Allahabad, I should like to recall my memories of Pandit Motilal Nehru. This great personality was known to Allahabad as “Bhaiji” and I came to know him when he allotted me work in connection with the programme for boycotting the visit of the Prince of Wales, who later became King Edward VIII of England. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian National Congress had organized a total boycott of the Prince’s visit in 1921. Official records will show that the boycott in Allahabad was so effective under the direction of Motilal Nehru, that the rich princes and Nawabs arriving in Allahabad from all over the province could not get porters at the railway station to lift their luggage. *The Leader*, the prominent daily of Allahabad, had to report that the Rajas and Nawabs had to carry their own luggage to reach their destinations.

The present generation of Congressmen do not know much about the great qualities of Indira Gandhi’s grandfather. His was a commanding personality. One of the most successful legal practitioners of his time, a radical amongst Liberal politicians, he had the qualities of leadership

which contributed greatly to the strength of the Indian National Congress of his time. He was a dynamic leader and an excellent judge of people. He was one of those who added to the rich heritage of Allahabad. He lived far ahead of his time. His sense of loyalty to his family, his great sense of humour, his great affection for his son and loyalty to his friends and to the people of his choice, and his general optimistic approach to life had made him one of the most lovable men of his age. His extremely handsome face and overpowering presence still stays in my memory. Indira Gandhi has many of the outstanding qualities of her grandfather and they go to make her the daring personality she is.

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Mahatma Gandhi had promised Swaraj within a year if his conditions were fulfilled. The suspension of the movement caused a wave of disappointment in the whole country. Nevertheless, Mahatma Gandhi continued to command the support and love of his people. If anything, they increased. But politically a period of sullenness and depression ensued. It took seven or eight years for the mass awakening to be revived again. In this period many like us went back to college to finish our education. But many never returned. The year 1929 saw Mahatma Gandhi again organizing tours, this time from district to district in the United Provinces

for making Khadi popular as a home industry and also for collecting funds to cherish the memory of Lala Lajpat Rai. In fact, it was a period of observation and learning for him. Wherever he went, he enjoined discipline upon the crowds, and exhorted them to remain hopeful of Swaraj and ready to make sacrifices for it. In fact, Gandhiji spent all these seven years in reviving the spirit of the people of India. A great debate went on in the nation in those years as to which way India should adopt in order to win freedom. Those years saw the electoral defeat of the Congress in U.P. led by Motilalji, the grouping of top leaders for and against radicalization of political steps, and the gradual articulation of the demand for complete independence. Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal had opposite views, but soon the father chose not to join issues with the son publicly. The ideological conflict ultimately ended in the Congress session of Lahore in 1929 when, on the banks of the Ravi, the national organization pledged India to the goal of complete independence.

In the years 1930-32 Allahabad was in the vanguard of the freedom struggle of the whole nation. Even Bombay was next to it. I say this not from any partiality for my birthplace but because we so intensively organized the movement that almost every house was systematically contacted and was ready for some item of work. When Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested off the Bombay mail train at Iradatganj station near Allahabad along with T.A.K. Sherwani, president of the Provincial Congress, the city was the first to declare a complete revolt against the then established authority, calling upon the people to boycott every unit and limb of the Government and whenever possible to wreck it. The City Congress Committee organized a mass procession. A sea of humanity swept aside all prohibitory orders, facing army and police squads. This famous confrontation, I learnt later, was witnessed by the Governor of United Provinces. The procession was broken up, hundreds of us were arrested, scores wounded and some killed in police firing. I remember even now how tense all were when we heard the sound of firing from our jail where we were hurriedly being locked up. Pandit Sundarlal, Manzar Ali Sokhta, Anadi Kumar Dutt, Feroze Gandhi and several others were forced into jail.

Once again in 1930, Motilal Nehru organized the Civil Disobedience movement in the district of Allahabad. This movement was meant to occupy Government lands situated in the district. It struck terror among the officials, although only about a hundred of us were arrested directly in this second movement.

Then followed the 1932 movement in which also we participated and many of our colleagues of Allahabad, including Muzaffar Husain, Bishamber Nath Pande and Baijnath Kapur, were put behind bars. The 1932 movement was again followed by a period of reaction and recession till the 1940 Civil Disobedience movement was launched by Mahatma

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Gandhi. This movement was on an individual and selective basis. Nevertheless, thousands went to jail in the whole country. Jawaharlal Nehru was, of course, always in jail as soon as a movement started, sometimes even before it started. The 1940 movement was interesting for Allahabad because Maulana Azad, Kailash Nath Katju, Balkrishna Sharma, and Srikrishna Dutt Paliwal were all put together in Naini Central Jail, a jail which was then keeping the most prominent figures of the Indian national struggle.

The 1942 "Quit India" struggle was the nation's third attempt to wrest freedom. When we remember that the first was the 1920-22 movement, the second the 1930-32 movement, one could say that Gandhiji's strategy involved the people once in ten years in a fight to liberate the country.

The movement was started on August 9, 1942, from Bombay. The offensive was launched by the British Government by declaring the Congress unlawful, arresting members of the Congress Working Committee and ordering the round-up of important Congress workers all over the country.

Gandhiji had referred to his intention to start a "Do or Die" movement and had also asked the British Government to quit India and leave us to our fate. He knew that he and his colleagues would not be left out of jail. I went to see Jawaharlal Nehru on the eve of his arrest, as he was preparing to go for a meeting of the Working Committee. Sri Prakasa was the President of U.P. Congress Committee. There were some heated exchanges among ourselves as to how the movement had to be conducted if the Working Committee was arrested. As expected, Jawaharlal Nehru supported my approach and I felt very happy about it. What happened in UP thereafter has been recorded in history. In Allahabad, students defied authority and were shot dead. The whole of Ballia district was taken over by a parallel government. Azamgarh, too, witnessed great scenes of sacrifice. Meerut was violently disturbed and the people put up praiseworthy resistance. I moved from district to district meeting workers, and exhorting them to do their best to paralyse the entire system of administration. Railway tracks were removed at hundreds of places. Police stations were occupied or raided. When on August 8, as general secretary of the UPCC, I took charge in Bombay of the final battle for freedom in my State, I never expected so tremendous a response. A broadcasting unit was organized by the UPCC to transmit news of the "Quit India" struggle, and we moved from place to place broadcasting news. Only people in a small radius could hear our news as the reception range was not very large. Rai Amarnath Aggarwal of Allahabad showed great courage and patriotism in allowing his residence to be used as the broadcasting station. Similarly, at Kanpur, the industrialist Ramrattan Gupta readily allowed me the use of one of his underground rooms for broadcasting. I functioned from Kanpur sending out instructions to district units and explaining to them how to carry out the movement in spite

of repression by the British. I visited Etawah and went to Allahabad to stay for two or three days. From Allahabad I went to Delhi on instructions from a higher source and met my underground colleagues, Aruna Asaf Ali, Keskar, E. Narayanan, and Bishamber Nath Pande. I also met the Frontier leader Abdul Qayyum Khan who was given Rs 5,000 to make a serious effort to dynamite one of the North-West Frontier bridges. From there I returned to Kanpur where I was arrested in very exciting circumstances and kept in jail until February 1945. As Jayaprakash Narayan escaped from Hazaribagh jail we, too, were making our preparations to escape from Unnao jail, but were caught. Ram Dulare Trivedi, an associate editor of the Kanpur Hindi paper *Pratap* was with me in the attempt. I was sent to Fatehgarh Central Jail from where we were transferred to Lucknow Central Jail. There I met many colleagues, like Algurai Shastri, R.S. Pandit, Gopinath Srivastava, C.B. Gupta and hundreds of others. The movement went on until October 1942, by which time most of us who had gone underground had been arrested.

Indira Gandhi had hastened to Allahabad from Bombay. She was arrested there, along with Feroze Gandhi and others, while defying the Government order. My younger brother, too, was in the group arrested there. Before her arrest, Indira Gandhi visited one of our broadcasting rooms at Elgin Road, Allahabad, where Feroze and myself were trying to repair our transmission set. We managed to smuggle Indira Gandhi out of Anand Bhawan without the police knowing where she went. She spent the pre-arrest night with the family of Tarachand Kharbanda at Zero Road. While Feroze and Indira Gandhi were arrested, I left Allahabad. I was moving from place to place, before being arrested in Kanpur.

Indira Gandhi was always a decisive person. Later, during her father's Prime Ministership, one could see how she grew in stature, wisdom, maturity of thought. It is because of these that the top leadership persuaded her to become President of the Indian National Congress. As head of the ruling party, she visited State after State trying to solve many of the knotty problems that had remained unsolved for a long time. Some were solved to her satisfaction; and others not. She and Lal Bahadur Shastri worked as a team to help Jawaharlal Nehru to solve the intricate problems of the party also. I kept myself aloof even where matters of U.P. were involved. Occasionally, however, I used to give my advice, but that is a separate, long story.

As we are still active in the struggle to achieve our social objectives, we might try to understand the new approach set forth by Indira Gandhi since 1969 when she undertook to transform the Congress. The new Congress seized the minds and hearts of the people because of the categorical declarations of Indira Gandhi to move as fast as possible without too much disturbance of the social order as it now prevails. However,

where the interests of the poor and the "have-nots" clash with those of the "haves", Indira Gandhi is clear that the interests of the "have-nots" should prevail. In my opinion her thoughts are still in the process of concretization, more especially when her first few steps succeeded in releasing a colossal amount of national energy so far dormant. This phenomenon creates its own problems. The responsibility on Indira Gandhi is therefore tremendous and she will have to keep on constantly in search of new solutions.

We are today locked in a battle for economic freedom and betterment, the grimness of which will be realized only after some more time. Gandhiji used to enable the nation to break out of depression every ten years. Perhaps events are shaping under Indira Gandhi's leadership in the same rhythmic way but with shorter intervals.

History of Freedom Movement in Allahabad: 1857–1947

Rajendra Kumari Bajpai

Late at night on May 30, 1857, the patriots of Allahabad received the following message from their compatriots at Delhi:

“Come, come, for there is no rose
Without the spring of your presence,
The opening bud with drought
Is an infant without milk.”

The message further ran:

“Brother patriots of Allahabad! If you are coming to Delhi, to help us in the defence of the Capital, it is incumbent on you and that if you eat your food there, you wash hands here, for here the fight is going on with the accursed foreigner, and by the goodness of God our troops are assembled here. We are looking out most anxiously for you, like fasters watching for the calls of the muezzin. Our ears are intent on the thunder of the cannon, and our eyes like the eyes of the *kasid* (messenger) are watching your road. It is incumbent on you that you consider this call as very urgent and come, for our house is yours.”

Allahabad's situation on the confluence of the two great rivers gave it a key position with regard to the lower provinces. Besides, in the fort was located one of the largest arsenals, having arms for about 40,000 men and numerous cannon. It enhanced the strategic position of the town. Inside the fort were posted 600 Indian troops of whom 500 were Sikhs. With the exception of the magazine staff, there was not a single British soldier inside.

On June 1, there were no European troops of any kind at Allahabad. The Cantonment was occupied by the 6 Native Infantry, which also had a detachment in the fort, though the principal garrison consisted of a wing of the Ferozpur Regiment of Sikhs. The excitement both among the troops and in the city caused much anxiety to the English officials; for it was obvious from the first that Allahabad with its fort and large arsenal formed the key to the North-Western Provinces and as a strategic point was second to none in importance.

The Commissioner, C. Chester, in his despatch to Sir Henry Lawrence, said:

“At Allahabad the 6th Regiment has shown itself wonderfully loyal. A few days before the men volunteered to proceed to Delhi against the rebels, and expressed themselves grieved beyond measure of any movement which betokened a doubt of their loyalty. As a precautionary measure, when the officers of the regiment first left the lines, a subedar paid a visit to Lieutenant Hawes, the interpreter, and expostulated with him, in the name of the regiment, upon the want of confidence which they displayed. ‘Come to us,’ he said, ‘We are faithful; we love our good masters. We will protect you; it gives us immense pain to see you suspect us.’

When they returned to the regiment the scene which awaited them touched the hearts of all present. The native officers, unable to control their feelings, which swelled high, and sent their warm Asiatic blood coursing through their veins, in defiance of all cold rules of decorum and hollow military observances, gave vent to the natural and simple emotion of their brave hearts. They heartily embraced their European officers, who had so generously atoned for their cruel suspicions, and kissed them on both cheeks. The reconciliation was complete; confidence was happily restored.

“And that same day the native officers and men rose and declared the liberty of the town. On the 5th of June, at about half past nine gun shots were heard in the station, and the alarm bugle sounded. The firing grew heavier; steady was the musketry, like regular file firing volley after volley; and as the firing grew more distinct, those who were in the fort thought, and said, that ‘those gallant men of the 6th Regiment were beating off the rebels from Banaras.’ But before long the sad truth was known. An artillery officer rode into the fort, bringing the tidings that the 6th Regiment had risen, had seized his guns and had marched away with them. There were men of the 6th Regiment on the fort too. To disarm them was evidently the first thing to be done; but when the Sikhs were called on to perform this service, they hesitated. This was a dangerous sign and any hesitation would have cost us the fort, if not our lives also. But Major Brajier, who commanded the Sikhs, kept amongst them. The Sikhs and the 6th Regiment were surrounded with the 9 pounders. The 6th Regiment then lost heart and gave up their arms and were marched out. The Sikhs returned to the ramparts and the fort was saved.

“Outside the fort the 6th Regiment and the rebellious population were triumphant. Fifty of our officers valiantly laid down their lives. The rebels captured the treasury, released the prisoners, hoisted their green flag with the ensign of golden sun on public buildings and the band played their national anthem.¹ The rebels have enforced remarkable discipline. Maulvi Liaquat Ali, a faqir from Mohagaon in Duab, who had won for himself a considerable reputation for sanctity and [who was] backed by the Zamindars of Chail, Thakurs of Kotwa and Prayagwals of Allahabad, declared himself the Governor of Allahabad setting up his standard on the ramparts of the Khusro Bagh.”²

Maulvi Liaquat Ali, after taking command of the city, sent small detachments of hurriedly constituted patriotic forces to various *tahsils* of the district. In his message dated June 14, addressed to Emperor Bahadur Shah, Maulvi Liaquat Ali reported:

“Your Majesty will be pleased to know that the city and the district of Allahabad are flying the national flag. The people have thrown off the foreign yoke. Hindus and Mussalmans have joined hands together as blood brothers. Unfortunately we have not yet been able to take possession

of the fort. We are short of proper types of cannon and catapults. The foreigners are in possession of a formidable arsenal. They do not trust the Sikhs. A constant watch is kept over them inside the fort. Virtually they are prisoners and there is no way for them to escape. The Zamindars of the district are sending their tribute in men and money and have pledged their allegiance to our cause.”³

Summing up the situation at Allahabad, General Havelock, in his *Memoirs*, says: “What had originally been a military revolt was now a general rebellion. To all appearance the rising at Allahabad was universal.”⁴

Meanwhile the affairs were not very pleasant within the fort. The Europeans were blockaded for ten days, during which time they could not go fifty yards outside without being fired at. Inside the fort were four hundred Sikh soldiers whose loyalty was questionable and the only defence of the English against them were seventy or eighty invalid artillerymen. In Col. Neill’s words the situation was as follows:

“At one time a mutiny of the Sikhs was apprehended. They obtained possession of spirituous liquors, became drunk and riotous, went howling like wild beasts; cholera, disease and death followed and all security was gone. When I reached there on the 11th I found the garrison in a condition of shameful helplessness. From 12th June we began our operations. For full six days the rebels offered a tough and dogged resistance in every quarter of the city; but our superior arms and a ruthless slaughter by our men won the day for us.”⁵

On June 18 the city of Allahabad was almost deserted. Col. Neill was well aware that his presence was urgently required at Kanpur and elsewhere; but now he found his hands tied by the complete desertion of the city and the consequent absence of all means of transport. This disastrous state of affairs was mainly the result of his own action, on account of a fearful retribution that had been inflicted on the “guilty city”.

Describing this retribution, a British officer of the Madras Fusiliers says:

“When we could once get out of the fort we were all over the place, cutting down all natives who showed any signs of opposition. We enjoyed these trips very much. So pleasant was it to get out of the horrid fort for a few hours. One trip I enjoyed amazingly; we got on board a steamer with a gun. We steamed up, throwing shots right and left, till we got up to the bad places, when we went on shore and peppered away with our double-barrel guns. I myself brought down several niggers. We fired the places right and left, the flames shot up to the heavens as they spread, fanned by the breeze, showing that the day of vengeance had fallen on the treacherous Indians.”⁶

Sir John Kaye in his *History of the Sepoy War* says:

“Day after day arrests were made of those suspected of complicity

in the outbreak. Four commissioners specially empowered for the purpose dealt out the sternest justice with utmost rapidity.”⁷

A commissioner has recorded that “on one day in three hours and forty minutes 634 persons were tried, sentenced and hanged on the neem trees near Kotwali.”⁸

Even the little children at Allahabad exhibited a rare courage of conviction. Mr. Edmonstone wrote to his wife Luisa, then in England:

“The little children inhabiting the lanes around Kotwali, where our officers and men were camping, were bold and impudent beyond description. They would appear from nowhere in a row of processions, waving their green flags, right at the face of the orderly officer who was forced to make short work of them by hanging a whole group of them on the nearest neem trees. The little devils, while mounting the scaffold, were still uttering silly slogans of freedom.”⁹

The punishment inflicted on Allahabad was so indiscriminate and cruel that when Havelock reached Allahabad he found corpses hanging from almost every tree. He found the dead bodies littered throughout the town. Hundreds of women had thrown themselves in the wells in order to save themselves from dishonour.

The authorities permitted a few thousand persons to escape from the town by crossing the river Jumna near the fort. When they reached mid-stream they were fired upon, a few escaping death.

Messages were pouring in from besieged Englishmen at Kanpur for immediate succour. At length on June 30, Neill was able to dispatch a column of 400 Fusiliers, 300 Sikhs, 120 irregulars and two guns under Major Renaud, who was instructed to punish and destroy all guilty villages along the route. He followed his instructions faithfully; but as every village along the road had joined in the Revolt, the punishment inflicted was very severe. When Havelock left Allahabad on July 7, he found the countryside deserted, supplies unprocurable and corpses hanging from every tree. Thereafter Allahabad became a relief base, from where troops were continually despatched to feed the armies of Havelock, Outram and later of Colin Campbell.

Justifying the severe punishment inflicted on Allahabad, Lord Canning wrote to the President of the Board of Control of the East India Company:

“In early June, when it became known that the mutiny of the sepoys had been followed at Allahabad and in many other places by rebellion of the populace, Act No. XI of 1857 was passed. By this law, persons guilty of rebellion or of waging war against the Queen or the Government, or of aiding and abetting therein, were rendered liable to the punishment of death, and to the forfeiture of all their property and the crime of harbouring rebels etc., was made heavily punishable; the Supreme and Local Executive Governments were empowered to issue a commission in any district in a state of rebellion for the trial of rebels or persons charged

with any other crime against the State or with any heinous crime against person or property; the Commissioners were empowered to act singly, and were vested with absolute and final powers of judgement and execution without the presence of Law Officers or Assessors; and, finally, the possession of arms in any district in which it might be prohibited by the Executive Government was made penal.

“As regards the burning of villages, our instructions were that when the mass of the inhabitants have committed a grave outrage as they have done in Allahabad and the individual perpetrators cannot be reached, anything like wholesale or indiscriminate destruction of property, without due regard to the guilt or innocence of those affected by it, was apprehended. Can there be a doubt of the justice of this order? To ourselves not only the justice but the necessity of it was manifest. . . .”¹⁰

The constant passage of troops kept the Grand Trunk Road open, but the country was not pacified, nor the freedom movement subdued, either in the Duab or in the trans-Ganges tract. The freedom movement in the Gangapar tahsils of the district remained very strong until July 1858. Regular columns were sent under F.O. Mayne, Major Matheson, Brigadier Campbell, General Franks and Captain Dennehy to subdue this tract. The leaders of the freedom movement in Gangapar were Mahdi Hasan, Fazal Azim and Beni Bahadur Singh. They gave courageous battles to British armies at Phulpur, Mansetha, Phaphamau, Sikandra, Nusratpur, Soraon, Dahiawan, Taraul and at Baispur. Although the superior British arms succeeded in vanquishing the forces of freedom in Gangapar by the end of July 1858, the spirit of freedom could not be crushed.

The same indomitable spirit was shown by the inhabitants of Jamunapar and the Duab. Major Renaud took stern measures to crush the nationalist forces. The villages on both sides of the Grand Trunk Road were mercilessly burnt down and such of the inhabitants on whom he could lay his hands were hanged on the roadside trees.

These stern measures kept Kara in a state of sullen quietness, but off the main road rebellion was rife, specially in Atharban, where one of the leading spirits, Dhakan Singh of Dhurawal on the Jumna attracted the fighters for freedom to his fort. Other important leaders of this area were Hanuman Singh and Wilayat Husain. Several battles were fought between the British and the nationalist forces but the rebellious spirit of the populace could not be crushed till June 1858.

In January 1858 Lord Canning arrived at Allahabad and in February he formed the whole of the North-Western Provinces, excluding the Delhi Division, into a single Lieutenant-Governorship, transferring the seat of Government from Agra to Allahabad. Thenceforward Allahabad became the advance relief base for the British armies.

For a few years Allahabad remained in a desolate condition but soon the

reconstruction of the city followed. The terrible vendetta inflicted on the freedom-loving city completely paralysed it. No political movement of any kind was visible at Allahabad until the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885.

The first three annual sessions of the Congress were held in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, respectively. The delegates from Allahabad to some of these sessions included Pandit Ajodhya Nath, Pandit Bishambhar Nath and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The city of Allahabad was chosen as the venue of the fourth session held in 1888. It was presided over by Pheroza Shah Mehta. The Government created all sorts of difficulties in getting a site for the session. Ultimately the Maharaja of Darbhanga came to the rescue and placed his newly built Darbhanga Castle at the disposal of the reception committee.

The eighth session of the Congress was again held at Allahabad in the year 1892. This session was presided over by W.C. Bonnerji. The session expressed its great dissatisfaction over the administration of the Police Department, the Excise Department and at the working of the office of the Public Service Commission. In 1910, after a lapse of eighteen years, the Indian National Congress met again at Allahabad in its twenty-eighth session under the presidency of Sir William Wedderburn.

In 1905 fresh waves of nationalism swept the country. The Partition of Bengal became an all-India issue. It promoted the Swadeshi movement and boycott of British goods. After the Calcutta session of the Congress, Extremist leaders like Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Lala Hardayal and Sufi Amba Prasad visited Allahabad and addressed public meetings.¹¹

Students took a keen interest in the revolutionary activities. Early in 1907, two student leaders, Sundarlal and Manzarali Sokhta, were rusticated from the University. The first bomb in Allahabad was thrown at the European Club by Nityanand Chatterji, an LL.B student. Parmanand, another student leader of the Kayastha Pathshala College, left for America in 1911. On arriving there he joined the Hindustan Ghadr Party. After a few years he returned to his country in 1915 with a shipload of arms and ammunition. He was arrested soon after landing and was sentenced to fifty years' rigorous imprisonment. After serving a sentence of 24 years he was released from Naini Central Prison in 1938 by the first Congress Ministry. Sachin Sanyal and his brothers had also served long terms of imprisonment. Suganchand, Balkrishna and Satish Chandra Biswas, other student patriots of Allahabad, laid down their lives in open encounters with the police at Allahabad and elsewhere.¹²

Allahabad came to occupy an increasingly prominent place in the fight for freedom. Its record in 1907-1910 was spectacular. Three weekly newspapers, *Karmayogi*, *Rastgo* and *Swarajya*, began publication from Allahabad, the first one in Hindi and the other two in Urdu. The *Rastgo*

was edited by Anand Deva Prasad Ghazipuri and *Karmayogi* by Pandit Sundarlal. *Karmayogi* became so popular that the very second issue commanded a circulation of more than ten thousand. It ceased publication after ten months when heavy sureties were demanded from the press and the journal. The *Swarajya* created a record unparalleled in the journalistic history of the country. Eight of its editors were successively sentenced to long terms of imprisonment ranging from five years to transportation for life. The Rowlatt Committee Report has recorded the following about the weekly *Swarajya*:

“The first determined and persistent impulse towards a revolutionary movement in these now peaceful Provinces came from the establishment of the *Swarajya* (self-government) newspaper in Allahabad in November, 1907, by a certain Shanti Narain, a native of the United Provinces, who had formerly been sub-editor of a Punjab newspaper and desired to commemorate the release of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, the Punjab deportees. The tone of this paper was hostile to Government from the first and gradually intensified in virulence. Finally, Shanti Narain was condemned to a long term of imprisonment for objectionable articles on the Muzaffarpur murders. The *Swarajya*, however, proceeded on its way under eight successive editors, three of whom were prosecuted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for objectionable publications. The paper was only suppressed when the new Indian Press Act of 1910 came into force. Of its offending articles one was a panegyric on Khudiram Bose, the Muzaffarpur murderer, others related to such subjects as ‘Bomb or Boycott,’ ‘Tyrant and Oppressor’. With perseverance the paper waged war on the Government. The *Karmayogi*, a paper of similar tendencies, published later in 1909, also at Allahabad, was suppressed in 1910.”¹³

Shanti Narain was awarded five years’ rigorous imprisonment. He was followed by Babu Ram-Hari, Nand Gopal, Ladha Ram, Munshi Ram Sewak, Ram Charan and others whose terms of imprisonment ranged from seven years to transportation for life. The paper ceased publication not because there was a dearth of patriotic editors but because very heavy sureties were demanded from the printing press and the paper.

For a while it looked as though repression had succeeded in extinguishing the revolutionary fire of Allahabad but the lull was only temporary. After the Lucknow session of the Congress the demand for Home Rule was intensified. A branch of the Home Rule League was established at Allahabad with Sundarlal, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Manzarali Sokhta as secretaries. In 1919, a Satyagraha Committee was also formed with the same three as secretaries. And then came the non-co-operation movement, and with it a new upsurge of the freedom spirit. It was further intensified when Pandit Motilal Nehru joined the movement, culminating in the boycott of the Prince of Wales. The Prince, who later became the Duke of Windsor, in his book *A King’s Story* refers to the boycott of his visit to

Allahabad in the following words.

“Only at two cities of the United Provinces, at Allahabad, an industrial centre, and at the sacred city Banaras, a centre of Hindu learning on the Ganges, was the *hartal* visibly effective. Allahabad was then the political stronghold of Gandhi’s chief lieutenant, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, later to be the Premier of India, and the British authorities, hoping to disorganize the boycott, had on the eve of my visit clapped Pandit Nehru and his principal associates in jail. But as matters turned out, an opposite effect was produced.

“When on the appointed day I emerged from the train in full dress uniform, and started off from the railway station in a state carriage, it was to be met in the native city by shuttered windows and ominous silence along the trooplined, deserted streets. It was a spooky experience. I attempted to maintain a rigid and majestic pose in the carriage in order to show that I had risen above the insult.”¹⁴

On the eve of the Prince’s visit all members of the Provincial Congress Committee were arrested while holding a meeting at Allahabad. Out of nearly 52,000 persons arrested all over the country in 1921-22, Allahabad’s contribution was 1179 Satyagrahis including Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru.

In December 1929 the Congress met at Lahore under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru and adopted complete independence as the goal of India. The Salt Satyagraha Movement was started in 1930-31 and as many as 1320 men and women courted imprisonment from Allahabad, including Shrimati Kamala Nehru. On January 21, 1931, the members of the Congress Working Committee were released from prison and a settlement was arrived at, known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Motilal Nehru was seriously ill at that time and he died at Lucknow on February 6, 1931, with the following words on his lips:

“Decide India’s fate in Swaraj Bhawan at Allahabad; decide it in my presence. Let me be a party to the final honourable settlement of the fate of my motherland. Let me die, if I must, in the lap of a free one. Let me sleep my last sleep not in a subject country but in a free one.”

Here I may add that Pandit Motilal Nehru, in his life-time, had donated his old magnificent Anand Bhawan to the Nation. The Nehru family shifted to the newly constructed building in the same compound in 1927. The old Anand Bhawan was renamed Swaraj Bhawan and the newly constructed building was named Anand Bhawan.

The offices of the All India Congress Committee from 1931 to 1947 were housed at Swaraj Bhawan. Many important and historic meetings of the Congress Working Committee were held in Swaraj Bhawan and Anand Bhawan. In the struggle for freedom the Swaraj Bhawan and Anand Bhawan played the same historic role as was played by Sabarmati and Sewagram Ashrams of Gandhiji.

Gandhiji was persuaded to attend the Round Table Conference in London but by the time he returned, Lord Willingdon's Government had torn up the Gandhi-Irwin Pact to pieces. The agrarian situation became worse at Allahabad and elsewhere. Jawaharlal Nehru and T.A.K. Sherwani, the president of the Provincial Congress Committee, were arrested at Allahabad while proceeding to Bombay to attend a meeting of the Congress Working Committee. Gandhiji was arrested on January 4, 1932, as soon as he landed in Bombay. Allahabad started a Satyagraha the same evening. The people defied a ban on processions. The defiance was met by a very severe lathi charge, four persons dying on the spot. Mass arrests followed. The movement was further intensified and took the shape of a no-rent campaign. Firing and lathi charge became the order of the day. A procession of students was also fired upon, killing Triloki Nath Kapoor, an eighteen-year-old student. Some 6,893 peasants were ejected from their holdings for refusing to pay rent, and a total of 1,510 Satyagrahis were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

In 1937 the Congress captured a majority of seats in the U.P. Assembly and formed a Ministry. The Ministry proved to be short-lived and the nation entered into individual civil disobedience movement started by Gandhiji in 1940. Seven hundred and eighty-six Satyagrahis from Allahabad courted imprisonment under this Satyagraha.

The individual Satyagraha was followed by the memorable "Quit India" Movement of 1942. No fewer than 2,179 persons were arrested and detained under Defence of India ordinance or sentenced to imprisonment during 1941-44. Day and night curfew was imposed and the city was handed over to the Army. Terror reigned supreme and firing was the order of the day. Fifteen persons in the city and three in the district were killed in these indiscriminate firings, including Ramesh Malviya, a 12-year-old schoolboy, and Lal Padmadhar Singh, a university student.

In August 1945 the citizens of Allahabad decided to celebrate the Liberty Week when "rajat patra" were presented to the relatives of the martyrs by Jawaharlal Nehru in a mammoth public meeting. Purses were also presented to the family of the martyrs by Purushottam Das Tandon.

Allahabad has made a remarkable contribution to the struggle for the country's freedom and is now contributing richly in leadership for consolidating that freedom in the post-freedom era. It is no small privilege for any city to give a country three prime ministers of the stature and qualities of Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi.

¹ *Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, p. 33.

² *Allahabad District Gazetteer*, 1928, pp. 179-82 and Foreign Section Cens July, 1857 No. 94 pp 1-5

³ *Proceedings of the Trial of Bahadur Shah* (Calcutta 1895),—case exhibit No. 179.

⁴ *Narrative of the Indian Revolt* p. 137, Also Kaye's *Indian Mutiny*, Vol. ii, p. 195.

⁵ *Allahabad District Gazetteer*, p 182.

- ⁶ Charles Ball, *Indian Mutiny*, Vol. I, p. 257.
- ⁷ Holmes, *Sepoy War* p 229.
- ⁸ Pandit Sundarlal, *Bharat Men Angreji Rajya*, Vol. II, pp. 847-48.
- ⁹ *Ibid*
- ¹⁰ *Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, p. 179
- ¹¹ B N. Pande, *Allahabad Retrospect And Prospect*, p. 28
- ¹² *Ibid* , p. 29
- ¹³ *Government of India Gazette*, dated January 19, 1919, *Sedition Committee Report*, 1918, p 131
- ¹⁴ Duke of Windsor, *A King's Story*.

The Congress Seva Dal

S.V. Inamdar

In the beginning of 1968 I happened to meet Indira Gandhi at her residence to discuss matters connected with the Congress Seva Dal. I had prepared a note for the reorientation of the Seva Dal, for distribution among presidents and secretaries of the Pradesh Congress Committees. Indira Gandhi was keenly interested in the Seva Dal. She began to read the note, and when she came across the sentence "These workers should be well equipped ideologically so that they can serve as progressive vanguards of the Congress and leaders of their locality or of a particular type of public activity", she said: "I want the Seva Dal to do this."

A year and a half later, I had occasion to meet her again. This was immediately after the split in the Congress. I apprised her of the general attitude of Seva Dal workers to the crisis in the Congress. She was glad that the Seva Dal had stood by the Congress and was not influenced by the personalities and their insistence on so-called discipline. In the course of our talk, when asked about the changes required in Seva Dal in the light of the crisis, she said: "There is nothing wrong with the Seva Dal and its working. Go ahead as before. But be firm on your decisions." These words and her visits to the all-India training camps of the Dal were really a renewed source of inspiration to the organizers and rank and file of the Seva Dal. It is the same kind of guidance that they got from Jawaharlal Nehru who was the first president of the Seva Dal.

The idea of forming the Seva Dal was born out of discussions among participants in the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha who were in jail in 1923.

At the time of the Congress session at Kakinada, representatives of volunteer units from different states met under the presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru and decided to start the Hindustani Seva Dal under the leadership of Dr. N.S. Hardiker, the originator of the idea of a national volunteer movement in the country and creator of the Congress Volunteer Organization on an all-India basis.

The Seva Dal, though organized as a militant body, had democracy, socialism and secularism as its base from its very inception. Every member of the Dal had to put on a uniform and undergo the necessary training. The Volunteers' Conference which controlled the Hindustani Seva Dal was an elected body. It had a cosmopolitan character having leaders from different states and communities as its presidents, and it tried to serve the people of India irrespective of class, religion and community. The Seva Dal was blessed and helped by the Congress since its inception and was taken over as an organic part of the Congress in 1931. The Hindustani Seva Dal became Congress Seva Dal in 1947. The name had to be changed to leave no scope for misunderstanding about its objective and activities.

During normal times the Seva Dal conducted training camps and classes for men and women and also undertook constructive activities. Over the last fifty years it has trained a very large number of young men and

women and brought into public field a good number of disciplined and loyal workers. It has introduced and developed the spirit of voluntary service and organized work in the public field. Volunteers of the Seva Dal have joined in large numbers all the battles fought by Mahatma Gandhi for the liberation of the country. They were active during the Salt Satyagraha. The Dal was in the forefront during the Quit India Movement in 1942. The Dal was twice declared illegal along with the Congress and it was only in 1937 that the Congress ministries in some states could make it legal.

After Independence the Congress Seva Dal reoriented its set-up, training and programme of work with the intention of offering more trained workers to the Congress. The training courses comprised training in Seva Dal work, Congress activities and parliamentary work. In addition to Congress programmes, the Seva Dal's activities consist of undertaking service projects, organizing rallies, political study classes and specialized units and running social service centres.

The concept of voluntary work has to be changed along with the times. The Seva Dal has to be not merely a volunteer force but a body of political workers trained in discipline and equipped with political knowledge. The approach, treatment and handling of the Seva Dal and its volunteers have to be viewed in this light. The members of the Seva Dal should not merely be volunteers but political workers and local leaders of their areas. They should be a volunteer force as well as a basic cadre of the Congress organization. They are now allowed to contest in Congress organizational elections. As such they have to be well equipped through political study and training. As political workers, they are enabled to undertake the following types of activities in their respective areas : organizing demonstrations, political education and information, training in Seva Dal work, welfare and development work and relief work in emergencies.

In the new set-up of the Congress, the Seva Dal also has to have a time-bound programme with tasks assigned to individual workers and to units working at different levels. Activity is the annual subscription for a Seva Dal volunteer and his output of work is the qualification for holding and continuing in any office. The Seva Dal differs from other wings of the Congress in these respects to justify its existence.

Section III

Consolidation of Freedom

The Problem That Awaits Solution

Y. B. Chavan

Independence brought to the people of our country a new hope, an urge to shape their destiny, and a renewed faith in the values of democracy, secularism and socialism. Years of foreign rule had left behind many problems and a stupendous task of rebuilding the nation. Independence put to test the determination of the nation to face the challenges ahead and its ability to find the underprivileged a place under the sun.

The leadership of Indira Gandhi has given great hope to the people who had their reservations about the cessation of discrimination against them by a tradition-bound society. Impatience at the slow pace of change which was giving rise to restlessness has given birth to enthusiasm to participate in the nation-building programme to which she has given a new orientation and purpose. The removal of poverty is a part of the programme to make greater justice permeate all levels of national life, to set the pace for economic advance of weaker sections, and to make life worth living with dignity for those who have been the victims of want for generations.

Even when this new awakening was taking place the country had to face a crisis not of its creation. We who had always believed in peace, coexistence and noninterference in the internal affairs of others were burdened with problems created by others — a burden too much for us to bear. We strove to face and solve these problems in a peaceful manner and had to take up the challenge of the times because of the values we cherish, the principles we uphold, and the urge to stand by those who were treated brutally and whose rights were trampled upon. Upsetting the calculations of those who were in the habit of thinking that the whole world centred round them, the country emerged through the crisis stronger. We did not allow our programmes to suffer on account of the great problem on our hands, and our economy withstood the strains without visible signs of injury and made it possible for us to march ahead in spite of the obstacles. This success has given us great hope and a confidence in our inherent strength to achieve the objectives we cherish.

The people have faith in Indira Gandhi, who represents the progressive and dynamic forces in the country. They have given her a decisive mandate to reshape the socio-economic institutions for the good of those who do not have even the bare necessities of life. There has been a change in the socio-economic attitudes of people, and a change also in their behaviour, both of which are an index of a vibrant society. We have to live up to their faith and fulfil the expectations of those who have already waited too long with hope for the future.

The country has achieved self-reliance in agriculture. The Green Revolution has wrought a change in the countryside. But it is ironic that it has not brought about a corresponding improvement in the lot of the small agriculturists or that of the landless labourers who depend on agriculture. Though there is greater industrial production, the urban slums are multiplying. With the spread of education the number of educated

unemployed has also gone up. There cannot be a greater tragedy than to sit idle for an able-bodied man who has a burning desire to improve his lot. Such a person either becomes desperate from frustration or loses his self-respect and self-confidence.

“Garibi Hatao” is not merely a slogan. It is an effort to correct these imbalances. Removal of poverty has to be the cumulative effect of different measures undertaken over a period of time for the welfare of the people. We have to formulate time-bound programmes for creating job opportunities, for housing, and for the provision of other necessities for the common man. With these aims in view we are going to make land reforms more effective, at the same time consolidating our gains in agriculture. We are readjusting our policy towards industrial production. Small industrialists, farmers, traders, and artisans are being helped to grow. Assistance is being rendered for the self-employment of the jobless. We are also taking up a rural works programme to create employment for the rural unemployed.

We are not dogmatic in our approach. While learning from the experiences of others and from our own, we are striving for the creation of more wealth for the benefit of all. Not only disparities among individuals but regional disparities are also to be narrowed down. Indira Gandhi's rapport with the masses has released energies which had been lying dormant. We hope to channel these energies in such a way that the fruits of the efforts reach the people inhabiting the remotest corner of the country and in this we are conscious of the demand of the time.

The sensitivity of Indira Gandhi towards the sorrows of the poor and the sufferings of the underprivileged is known to all. Let us march forward with faith and confidence so that the freedom we earned twenty-five years ago becomes a meaningful reality.

Political Thought of Jawaharlal Nehru

M. N. Das

Nehru is one among the makers of history in the twentieth century. A revolutionary for thirty years in one of the greatest upheavals in Asian history, for a greater part of that period second only to Gandhi in national leadership, and thereafter the Prime Minister of the largest democracy in the world for seventeen years, at a critical phase of international relations, Nehru had a large role to play as a man of action. But all this was but one aspect of his life. A more vital aspect of the man lay in his inner individuality as a rare intellectual, a man of letters, and an imaginative genius. Had not Nehru's life been one of dedication to politics, it could very well have been an adventure in thought. Most leaders of men are not really men of ideas, even as most thinkers are not practical politicians. But some individuals have the potentiality of becoming either. A Pericles could have been a Plato; in a reverse sense a Robespierre could have been possibly a Rousseau, or Lenin a Marx. A Gandhi could be an innovator of apparently impractical ideas, yet the practical exponent of those very same. In the case of Nehru, if he became distinguished as a visionary and a philosopher-statesman, it was because of the thinker in him, although his thought was revealed only partially.

Nehru had no intention to propound political theories of his own. But of necessity he had to speculate on most political doctrines and had the advantage of applying political idealism to the actual problems of the day. In fact, much of his political thought became embodied in his practical experiments in politics.

One is faced with three main problems as one peeps into the thought of Nehru. First, what was the extent of external influence on his thought, that is, how far was he spiritualized by Gandhi in his approach to life and politics, and how far did Marxism leave its mark on his mind? It was impossible for Gandhi's nearest disciple to escape the ethical and moral traditions of the master as applied to personal and political behaviour. But the rigid Gandhian faiths and techniques which rested on certain basic assumptions pertaining to human nature proved too much for Nehru to accept when they did not conform to realities. Yet the disciple was disciplined enough not to question, though the inner disbelief became deeper and deeper. It was a paradox in Indian politics that no man was farther from Gandhi than Nehru in many fundamental matters of deep conviction, yet no man was nearer to Gandhi than Nehru as a lieutenant in command. Regarding Marx, Nehru's approach to history was to some extent Marxian. He accepted a good deal of the Marxist philosophical propositions such as monism and non-duality of mind and matter, the dynamics of matter, and the dialectic of continuous change by evolution as well as a leap, through action and interaction, cause and effect, thesis, antithesis and synthesis. But the inevitable doubt which Marxism created in him was that, itself a scientific way of looking at history and social changes, it could not be a final conclusion in

betterment of human living and social organization. Therefore, Marxism is not and should not be a dogma, since it cannot escape the inevitable dialectics on which it so much rests. Thus, though influenced by Gandhism, Nehru was not a Gandhiite in thought; and though influenced by Marxism, he was not a Marxist by conviction.

Secondly, is it easy to mirror the mind of Nehru? He has been described as an enigma. His mind appears complex, obsessed with numerous conflicts. He was disturbed with the age he lived in; by the crisis he saw in the spirit of man; and by the dangers of the world situation. He described of the clouds of thought which appeared and reappeared on his mental horizon. Above all, he was conscious of the inner conflicts which racked his mind. "My real conflict lay within me," he confessed, "a conflict of ideas, desires and loyalties, of subconscious depths struggling with outer circumstances, of an inner hunger unsatisfied."¹ From the battleground within himself he wanted to escape by rushing into action so that the outer conflict might relieve the pain of inner struggle. Disillusion, doubt, and uncertainties persisted throughout. He saw good things submerged in the deluge of hatred, violence, and fear. He was worried by the insolence of power, political trickery and intrigue, which replaced idealism, and the cowardice and selfishness which took the place of disinterested courage. It was typical of Nehru to have showed robust optimism in action, while at times manifesting deepest pessimism in thought. That contradiction made it difficult to understand him

Yet there is a consistent endeavour on the part of Nehru to resolve the conflicts of his mind into clearer ideas. The instrument he used was emotion. By giving free vent to his feelings he wanted to resolve doubts and find answers to his problems. In his desire to become practical and pragmatic, ethical and social, altruistic and humanitarian, he conditioned the complexities of thought for attaining objectives through a practical idealism. Thus the enigmatic Nehru is actually not as inscrutable as he outwardly appears to be.

The third problem which his thought presents is: did Nehru maintain the same mind all through his long life? Is the younger Nehru of the days of revolution the same as the Nehru of later days with unlimited authority to enjoy? If the thought process changed and two Nehrus were evident, which one of the two represented the real man? From prison to power, the journey was long. The abrupt change in position very indirectly though almost definitely brought about a transformation of which he became conscious and therefore willingly confessed that "naturally" one tones down in a position of responsibility." If that was the burial of the conceptual idealism in the debris of the so-called practical considerations, that was the end of clarity and beginning of confusion. There was a tendency in Nehru to search a way out by preferring political dynamism to political dogma. Most political doctrines, he reasoned, were changing concepts,

the mind progressing with the passage of time. Therefore, as he felt, the desired ideals were to be viewed from judgments of value and to be implemented in accordance with moral principles. His thoughts minced with his action, thus, were like crystals covered with crusts.

With problems thus partly unresolved, one may peep into Nehru's thoughts on some of the fundamental political issues.

Nehru entered history as a revolutionary. In the wake of the First World War there came the Rowlatt Bill agitation, the Jallianwalah Bagh Massacre, and the Non-co-operation Movement, tides strong enough to change the course of time. Suffering for a cause carried a romantic appeal to him as to many others in those days, and out of it a great admiration for Revolution as a force and a fact. In thought, it was given an interpretation and a meaning in order to carry a deeper justification. So, Revolution in Nehru's thought emerges as a harbinger of greater security, a means to an end, the end being the well-being of the people. Ultimately, the greater the urge to that end and the greater the struggle, the healthier and more vital is society. Otherwise, society becomes static and lifeless and begins to wither away. "So long, therefore, as the world is not perfect," says Nehru, "a healthy society must have the seeds of revolt in it."²

Nehru agrees with Rousseau that it is the people who compose the human race. In the light of that truth, Revolution which leads to the well-being of a society does not cost society a great deal at all. The costs of social revolution are always less than the social evils, and certainly very much less than the costs of wars which occur frequently under defective political and social systems. Revolution comes when a few stand in the way of the masses and the natural growth is obstructed by unhealthy stagnation. The degree of discontent depends on the depth of a people's suffering. And, when the culminating point is reached, no sermons in the name of order or security can prevent its coming. To Nehru: "Roast lamb and mint sauce may be a tasty dish for those who eat it, but the poor lamb is not likely to appreciate the force of the best of arguments which point out the beauty of sacrifice for the good of the elect and the joys of close communion, even though dead, with mint sauce."³

Revolution against foreign rule is inevitable. "No living nation under alien rule," thought Nehru, "can ever be at peace with its conqueror."⁴ In his study, all great empires of history, based on subject populations, possessed in them germs of revolution. Because "ruling powers and ruling classes have not been known in history to abdicate willingly".⁵

Though in the context of Indian revolution, Nehru accepted non-violence as a practical necessity, he did not accept it as an infallible creed. "If this Congress or the nation at any future time comes to the conclusion that methods of violence will rid us of slavery then I have no doubt that it will adopt them. Violence is bad, but slavery is far worse," he said.⁶ Further, he declared: "I prefer freedom with violence to

subjection with non-violence.”⁷

One utopian feature in Nehru's ideas on Revolution was his faith in an ultimate objective to all revolutions. That objective may be described as a state of perfection resting on human freedom encompassing the human race. It is a new civilization based on equality.

Coterminous with Nehru's thought on Revolution is his thought on Nationalism. The Indian National Congress was four years old when Nehru was born in 1889. The opening years of the twentieth century marked the rising tide of nationalism in Asian countries. Nehru was destined to swim in the whirlpool of the national ferment. While struggling as a nationalist through the years, he developed his concept of Nationalism on clearer lines.

Between the two types of nationalism which he saw in the West, namely the liberal humanitarian nationalism and the irrational authoritarian nationalism, Nehru's choice was fixed and final. “Nationalism in the East, it must be remembered,” he said, “was essentially different from the new and terribly narrow nationalism of Fascist countries; the former was the historical urge to freedom, the latter the last refuge of reaction.”⁸ He wanted Indian nationalism to rest on the universal virtues of pacifism, liberalism, and rationalism. “For any subject country,” he felt, “national freedom must be the first and dominant urge; for India, with her intense sense of individuality and a past heritage, it was doubly so.”⁹ But the intensity of that nationalism should not rest on weaker foundations of mere hatred and irrationalities but on broader principles of patriotic virtues as well as deeper considerations of higher human values. Nehru was well aware that nationalism is essentially an anti-feeling and it feeds and fattens on anger against other national groups, but he was proud to feel that Indian nationalism retained more ‘generous’ ideologies to sustain itself.

“What is nationalism in a free country?” wondered Nehru at times. It is a healthy force for struggle for freedom, but should it not become unhealthy and reactionary after the struggle is over? In spite of such doubts he considered it “a constructive force” for progress.

Nehru's faith in the greatness of India and her history was profound. He understood his country through both the intellectual and the emotional mind. But nationalism was no revivalism. “Some Hindus talk of going back to the Vedas; some Moslems dream of an Islamic theocracy. Idle fancies, for there is no going back to the past; there is no turning back even if this was thought desirable. There is only one-way traffic in Time.”¹⁰ The real purpose of nationalism was the revitalization of the nation. It was a force much bigger than what politics could make of it. It should raise the whole level of the people, psychologically and spiritually, as well as politically and economically.

Unity of India was Nehru's supreme concern. Therefore he wanted

nationalism to rise far above all possible superficial distinctions by way of languages or religions. When Jinnah advanced his "two-nation theory" in the name of religion, Nehru said in utmost agony: "Of two brothers one may be a Hindu, another a Moslem; they would belong to two different nations. These two nations existed in varying proportions in most of the villages of India. They were nations which had no boundaries; they overlapped. A Bengali Moslem and a Bengali Hindu living together, speaking the same language, and having much the same traditions and customs, belonged to different nations! All this was very difficult to grasp; it seemed a reversion to some mediaeval theory."¹¹ The emergence of Bangladesh within only twenty-five years of the birth of Pakistan proves that religion is too narrow a base to sustain a nation. Rightly did Nehru condemn religious nationalism after India was partitioned in the following words: "Nationalism often covers a multitude of sins and a multitude of throw-backs on something that is dead and gone. What is communalism? In its very essence it is a throw-back to some mediaeval age, to a mediaeval state of mind and mediaeval habits and mediaeval slogans."¹²

To Nehru, nationalism was essentially a sense of belonging together and facing the rest of mankind for good. He coined a phrase to define that objective—the emotional integration of the people.

Parenthetical with his concept of Nationalism, there developed his ideas on Democracy. Nehru was a born democrat and will be remembered in history as one of the best democrats of the twentieth century. He was destined to work as an experimentalist in the science of democracy. Democracy, to him, "is a dynamic, not a static, thing, and as it changes it may be that its domain will become wider and wider. Ultimately, it is a mental approach applied to our political and economic problems."¹³

It was his esteem for the people which lay at the root of his thoughts on Democracy. He considered his country great "with all her infinite charm and variety". But, to him, the spirit of the country lay in the conscious or subconscious selves of her people, and the people at any given time represented the entire spirit of their land. It is the objective existence of the people that makes the country what it is, or what it embodies. In other words, Nehru wanted to elevate the people to the height of the land and respect them almost in equal terms. "The mountains and the rivers of India," he said, "and the forests and the broad fields, which gave us food, were all dear to us, but what counted ultimately were the people of India, people like them and me, who were spread out all over this vast land. *Bharat Mata*, Mother India, was essentially these millions of people, and victory to her meant victory to these people."¹⁴

But Nehru did not idealize the conception of the masses. Nor did he think of "people" as a theoretical abstraction. To him, people were individuals rather than vague groups.¹⁵ To that individual he wanted to

restore the bliss of freedom. Freedom was more than a mere political cult. It could be at once metaphysical and social in deeper implications. In Nehru's study of Indian culture he discovered an atmosphere of tolerance and reasonableness, an acceptance of free-thought in matters of faith, and a desire to live and let live. He saw in the Hindu *Upanishads* a question: "What is this Universe? From what does it arise? Into what does it go?" And he got the answer: "In freedom it arises, in freedom it rests, and into freedom it melts away." From time immemorial, democratic methods operated in village communities, joint families, local governments, trade-guilds, religious assemblies, and even in caste groups. Regard for human values and social virtues made the society enduring. And, he believed: "Behind it lay the philosophical ideal of Indian culture—the integration of man and the stress of goodness, beauty and truth rather than acquisitiveness. An attempt was made to prevent the joining together and concentration of honour, power, and wealth. The duties of the individual and the group were emphasized, not their rights."¹⁶

Political liberty, equality, and progress through peaceful methods—these constituted Nehru's democratic ideals. His concept of "the fullest democracy" aimed at giving the individual an opportunity for the fullest development in material and mental spheres under a sense of participation that he or she was one with the others in running the State. Nehru linked democracy with the inner self of the people. "All our institutions," he said, "including the parliamentary institutions, are ultimately the projections of a people's character, thinking, and aims. They are strong and lasting in the measure that they are in accordance with the people's character and thinking. Otherwise, they tend to break up."¹⁷

Democracy, in the Indian context, had to be associated with Socialism. From an early time in his political career, Nehru realized "how the very basis and foundation of our acquisitive society and property was violence. . . . A measure of political liberty meant little indeed when the fear of starvation was always compelling the vast majority of people everywhere to submit to the will of the few to the greater glory and advantage of the latter."¹⁸ In the days of struggle his conviction became deep-rooted that political freedom and independence were no doubt essential, but they were steps only in the right direction, for without social freedom and a socialistic structure of society and the state, neither the country nor the individual could develop much.¹⁹

It was under Nehru's leadership that the leftist philosophy grew within the Congress. But most of his colleagues were no socialists. Yet, regardless of what others felt, he declared in 1956: "I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems lies in socialism, and when I use this word I do so not in a vague humanitarian way but in the scientific, economic sense. Socialism is, however, something even more than an economic doctrine; it is a philosophy of life and

as such also it appeals to me.”²⁰

Vast and revolutionary changes in political and social structure were visualized through socialism. At times, Nehru thought like the Utopians that Socialism “means ultimately a change in our instincts and habits and desires. In short, it means a new civilization, radically different from the present capitalist order.”²¹ The Marxian diagnosis of social ills made a deep impression on Nehru’s socialistic ideas. He went to the length of saying : “The socialist approach is the approach of Marxism.”²²

But a metamorphosis, as it were, awaited Nehru when in power. The radical socialist in him had to search for adjustments and compromises. Socio-economic changes through democratic legislation obviously required time and patience. Between compulsion and conversion, violence and non-violence, he had to proceed by democratic means to achieve the end. He admitted the necessity and legality of coercion, but avoided the concept of class war. “Even recognizing the conflict between classes,” he said, “the right way of liquidating that conflict is to put an end to it by peaceful methods.”²³

To Nehru, socialism and individualism did not appear as inherently contradictory. Because, socialism was based on individual personality expressing itself in free labour. Simultaneously, he regarded political democracy as a means to social democracy.²⁴ “I do not see,” he wrote, “why under socialism there should not be a great deal of freedom for the individual; indeed, far greater freedom than the present system gives.”²⁵ He pleaded with Subhas Chandra Bose that “Socialism does not kill or suppress individuality; indeed I am attracted to it because it will release innumerable individuals from economic and cultural bondage.”²⁶

In power, the problem he faced was how to combine democracy with socialism; how to retain individual initiative, yet to centralize social control, and plan the economic life of an entire people. Inevitably enough, he left it to Time.

In one matter, Nehru’s was a timely contribution to the world at large—his thought on Internationalism. He was known as an internationalist while working as an ardent nationalist. To him, both were coextensive in mutual directions. In the heated days of national struggle he announced to the world: “And if we use the word independence we do so in no sense hostile to the larger ideal . . . Having attained our freedom I have no doubt that India will welcome all attempts at world co-operation and federation, and will even agree to give up part of her own independence to a larger group of which she is an equal member.”²⁷ Gandhi assured Nehru that “in these days of rapid intercommunication and a growing consciousness of the oneness of all mankind, we must recognize that our nationalism must not be inconsistent with progressive internationalism.”²⁸

Nehru understood his time, and how dangerous it was for any nation to ignore the world when civilization itself was becoming a composite

fabric. On an intellectual plane Nehru was surprised to see how, in spite of all modern scientific progress and talk of internationalism, separating factors were more evident in the world today than at any other time before. "There is something lacking in all this progress, which can produce harmony neither between nations nor within the spirit of man," he said.²⁹

As the head of the second largest nation on earth, Nehru devoted himself to the ushering in of an era of internationalism on a practical plane. He was alive to the ideological differences which separated nations, and aware of the "cold war" which threatened peace. He searched for a solution. Since the system of government could not be the same everywhere, different structures should have to coexist. That being so, he raised a pertinent question: "There is no reason why different countries having different political or social or economic systems should not co-operate in this way, provided there is no interference with one another and no imposition or attempt to dominate."³⁰ The 'Five Principles' of international behaviour which ultimately came from his thought represented idealism, no doubt, but influenced real politics to a considerable degree.

"Where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral," declared Nehru in 1949.³¹ But all through his career in power, he laboured for a positive approach to peace, for lessening of tension, and for enlarging the sphere of tranquillity. At the same time, he stood up against armaments and nuclear weapons, while strongly advocating non-aggression and non-interference. To the end, Nehru was optimistic about the triumph of peace.

¹ Jawaharlal Nehru *An Autobiography* (To be abbreviated as AB), XXVIII, p. 207.

² Selected Writings of Jawaharlal Nehru, 1916-50, Edited by J S Bright (To be abbreviated as Writings I), p. 71 December, 1928

³ *India and the World* Essays by Jawaharlal Nehru (To be abbreviated as Essays II), pp. 59-60, "Whether India", 1933

⁴ *Writings I*, p. 150, October 1928

⁵ *Essays II*, 185, "A Letter to an Englishman", January 1936.

⁶ *Essays II*, 33, "Presidential Address", December 1929.

⁷ *Recent Essays & Writings*, Jawaharlal Nehru, 35, "Some Criticisms Considered".

⁸ *Essays II*, 70, "Presidential Address to National Congress" Lucknow, April 1936.

⁹ *Discovery of India* Jawaharlal Nehru (To be abbreviated as *DI*), III, 36

¹⁰ *DI*, X, 495

¹¹ *DI*, VIII, 369

¹² Parliament of India, Debates, 1950, Part II, Vol. I, February 3, 1950.

¹³ *Talks with Nehru*, Norman Cousins, 19

¹⁴ *DI*, III, 44

¹⁵ *DI*, III, 41

¹⁶ *DI*, VI, 234.

¹⁷ *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches*, Vol. III, 144.

¹⁸ *AB*, XLVI, 361.

¹⁹ *AB*, XXIV, 166.

- 20 *Essays II*, 82-3, 'Presidential Address', April 1936.
- 21 *Ibid*
- 22 *Eighteen Months in India 1936-37*, Jawaharlal Nehru, 39-40, 'Congress & Socialism', July 15, 1936.
- 23 *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches*, Vol. III, 136-37, December 26, 1955
- 24 *A Bunch of Old Letters*, Jawaharlal Nehru, 143, Nehru to Lothian, January 17, 1926.
- 25 *The Unity of India*, Jawaharlal Nehru, 117-118, March, 1939.
- 26 *A Bunch of Old Letters*, Jawaharlal Nehru, 353, Nehru to Subhas Chandra Bose, April 3, 1939.
- 27 *Essays II*, 23, 'Presidential Address to National Congress' Lahore, December 1929.
- 28 Tendulkar, *Mahatma*, Vol. 3, Appendix I, Gandhi to Nehru, September 13, 1933.
- 29 *DI*, X, 495.
- 30 *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches*, Vol. III, 304, Statement at Moscow, June 22, 1955.
- 31 *Nehru A Descriptive Bibliography*, J.S. Sharma, 149, Nehru's address at New York, October 19, 1949.

The Congress as the Centre-Piece of India's Political System

Rasheeduddin Khan

I

Today, Indira Gandhi is so much a part and a catalyst of India's political system and its landscape, that one way of paying tribute to her is to evaluate critically the role of the dominant organization of that system—the Indian National Congress—whose successful functioning is so very vital for the completion of the unfinished revolution in this ancient land. Indeed, it is to this organization that she had not only given the best part of her life but also a new verve and direction which it is hoped would inculcate a sense of commitment and purpose in the party functionaries to fulfil the objectives of national reconstruction.

In more than one sense Indira Gandhi is the child of the Indian revolution. Born during the glorious phase of the national liberation movement in a family which for three generations has remained in the centre of India's political life and struggle, she grew to political maturity under the direct tutelage of a father who was not only the darling of a struggling nation but also an inspired leader of mankind whose idealism, statesmanship, passion for democracy and social justice, together with a resplendent vision of a world of friendship and peace, left an indelible impress not only on the entire range of India's evolving political system but also on the pattern of civilized international relations of our times. Indira Gandhi is the legitimate continuator of that heroic tradition. While Jawaharlal Nehru was the product of an unfree India, whose stresses and strains were reflected in many aspects of his personality, Indira Gandhi, as a political figure, is the creation really of independent India. She is the torch-bearer of a new generation that has blossomed into political significance in the atmosphere of a democratic-India-under-construction. Steadily, though often imperceptibly, she has grown with quiet dignity into an astute political personality only in the fifties of this century, revealing keen political perception, dedication to goals and heroic courage.

II

The politics of national unity and of democratic united fronts takes many forms. It is primarily dependent on three major factors : (i) The "given" political system and the framework of constitution and law; (ii) the available correlation between class-interests and the institutions of political aggregation, articulation and protest—like the parties, factions and groups; and (iii) the level of political consciousness of the "critical" segments of the polity—like the working-class, the intelligentsia, etc. There are various permutations and combinations of these three general factors with other "contingent" and "indigenous" particular factors that delineate the contours of national unity and of united fronts.

In this paper, an attempt is made to look at some aspects of the problem of the politics of national unity in India, as reflected in what may be called the "Congress model" Despite apparent limitations, self-contradictions and in-built institutional dichotomies, the Indian National Congress has played and continues to play a dominant role in the political system of India and, one might add, also of South Asia

Contemporary politics in India, in its main thrust and overall strategy, is really the politics of national reconstruction, notwithstanding the variations in tactics and differentiation in perspectives of most of the competing parties. Looked restrictively from the angle of the paucity of resources limiting and restraining the unfolding of that strategy, it appears, albeit negatively, to use a greatly popularized term, the politics of scarcity, even as from other and more positive angles it has been variously designated as the politics of modernization, the politics of integration and the politics of development. However perceived, the current Indian politics is *the politics of national unity*.

Its unfolding is threatened by the congregation of reactionary forces on the one side and of radical adventurism on the other side. The threats are exclusively political. The anarchic fringe of the Naxalites, apart from standing too exposed as an aberration in the glare of political reality, has no decisive support of the masses, the classes or the well-entrenched pressure-groups. To be fair, they serve as reminders of the terrible brutality to which genuine men of political passion, provoked ironically by deep compassion for the wretched of the land condemned to misery under an unjust dispensation, can go in sheer dehumanized desperation. The Naxalites and other doctrinaire radicals receive scant support from the expanding political population of India to merit any serious consideration. Reduced to this proportion, they serve a political purpose in keeping defaulting democracy on tenterhooks

But let it be stated at the outset that if the main challenges facing India are recognized as the completion of the unfinished social revolution by the breaking of monopolies and the hold of the parasitic elite; of secularization of politics and rationalization of institutions; of economic growth unimpeded by the political prerogatives of the entrenched propertied classes; then the Left parties and "Left" articulation, despite their known fixations and fear of pragmatic flexibility, not to mention the occasional nonsense of self-righteousness and disgusting infantile urge for characterizing everyone and every event from the standpoint of their rigid ideological posture, are nonetheless most necessary political ingredients of radical change in India In fact, no ideological strand in the entire range of developing societies the world over reflects more genuinely the urges and aspirations of the common man in their basic assumptions as the Leftists do. Often they articulate national sentiments in a modern idiom more powerfully than their opponents do, who yet have the temerity to

charge them, in season and out of season, with an international focus of allegiance.

The tragedy of the Left is that its more organized segments dissipate much of their energy in endless academic debates about the "strategy" and "tactics" of the "objective situation", until "situation" after "situation" goes on changing, and the leadership remains two steps behind. The relevance of the Left in progressive nation-building, in stabilizing the foundations of a self-reliant economy and in inculcating a modernized ethos is too positive to label it as a threat in the conditions of contemporary India.

Within the realm of probability the threat is not of military takeover either, as theoretically that apprehension can be precluded due to the significant absence of ethnic, regional, linguistic, caste and communal homogeneity of the army ranks (which is so critical a factor for the crystallization of army rule). Then the hugeness of the country, the regional variations and the acute political consciousness of the otherwise "incompetent masses" to borrow Michel's expression, are factors which no army can control for any length of time, quite apart from the non-political nature of the Indian army, and fairly secure institutionalization of civil authority.

But, even if an adventurist praetorian elite, prompted by fascist political elements, attempts to erode civilian sovereignty, it is most unlikely that in the conditions of contemporary India it can ever succeed in legitimizing its usurpation. Analogies of army excursions into political life in Latin American, West Asian or even South-East Asian countries cannot stand any closer scrutiny. A bloody civil war is a more real, even if an abnormal and a disastrous possibility, or (allowing conjecture to run amuck) a military intervention of a super power could be academically more tenable than a decisive *coup d'etat* at the federal level of the Republic of India.

The major threat to India's continuing quest for a federal identity and functioning democracy then comes essentially from those who are averse to radical change, from those who see in the revolutionary transformation of this "wretched-beloved" land to a modern egalitarian polity a threat to their hegemony and ascendancy. These are the obscurantists, the literate and illiterate conservatives, the chauvinists and the communalists, the feudals and the decadents, the congenital reactionaries and the apologists of monopoly-capitalism, the ill-advised even if well-motivated leaders and the uncritical modernists, who congregate more often than not in the Rightist parties.

The intimate and the direct relationship between economic power and political power is too evident to be emphasized. The private sector of the economy, being the biggest beneficiary of the mixed economy pattern unfolded in two decades of political liberalism, has acquired such a solid political base in parties, factions, lobbies and elite groups that any serious

move to abridge its economically detrimental privileges and socially injurious rights meets with a furore that shakes the citadels of power.

Within the framework of the operating political system, the available options to confront the threat are not many. Viewed more narrowly in terms of the structural-*cum*-ideological alternatives, the major options are just two, which on a closer look appear really two aspects of the same option, namely (i) reorganization of the "new" Congress based on organizational cohesion, programmatic specificity and ideological clarity giving it the indelible stamp of creative centrism, thereby restoring the one-dominant-party system, or (ii) activation of the process of ideological polarization for the eventual emergence of a two-dominant-parties system, if Congress fails to develop its balancing Left-inclining centrist-based consensus on which alone depends the renewal of the now inoperative one-dominant-party system.

Five assumptions are relevant while formulating the two alternatives. For the viable continuance of the democratic political system, three types are ruled out, namely, "one-party", "multi-party" and "no effective parties" system. While the first represents a different political culture, the other two have demonstrated increasing dysfunctionism in their working.

Secondly, the ascendancy of the Rightists is no alternative but indeed the lack of it, since it would entail the rise of reactionary authoritarianism, akin to the fascist paranoid obscurantism, which already has a fertile base in such a classic traditional society of the world whose dominant belief-pattern has institutionalized and given a certain sophistication to superstition, myth and ethnic irrationality. The organized Right in India has two strands: one representing the modernized vested interest, free-enterprise and adherent of capitalist liberalism, and the other the revivalists, the traditionists and the communalists. Since both the strands overlap each other, the Right parties or Right factions include both the strands.

Thirdly, the splintered Left parties lack even coalitional cohesion thereby precluding the possibility of the emergence of a United Left front that is independent of the active support of the Congress Left, as a power to be reckoned with at the federal level—the only decisive level relevant for the exercise of all-India authority.

Fourthly, the viability of the Congress as a distinct entity depends only on its becoming a Left-inclining Centrist party. Otherwise, the compulsions of the new stage of political development in India would, sooner than later, generate a process of fragmentation of the Congress due to its manifest ideological amorphousness, compositional heterogeneity and organizational flabbiness that would result in its virtual collapse, even if in name it lingers on for a while as a shadow of its former self. This would entail in its wake an adverse repercussion on the stability of the democratic

political system of the country itself.

Fifthly, the emergence of the Congress as an authentic Left-of-Centre party, given its continental dimensions and preponderance in the political system, not only would not obviate the necessity of eventual ideological polarization but precisely because of its stability as a Left-of-Centre party it would create propitious conditions for such a polarization without disrupting the system.

In this paper the discussion is restricted to some aspects of the first of the two alternatives, and an attempt is made to amplify the content of only the last two of the five assumptions, that is those appertaining to the Congress.

"I am convinced," wrote Gandhiji with an unmistakable tinge of ethical pathos, which indeed was the hallmark of most of his political writings, "that no patch-work treatment can cure the Congress. It will only prolong the agony. The best thing for the Congress would be that it should dissolve itself before the rot sets in further. Its voluntary liquidation will brace up and purify the political climate." Gandhiji said that, with the liberation of the country, the Congress had fulfilled its cherished task, and the time had come for it to give place to what he called "the purely political parties". So he wanted the Congress to "flower into a Lok Sevak Sangh". However, Jawaharlal Nehru's sagacious insistence that without Congress, to which really power was transferred by the retreating British paramount power, the supreme task of the political unification of the sovereign nation and the establishment of a parliamentary democracy would remain undone served undoubtedly a historic purpose.

The underlying implications of Nehru's contention may be amplified to mean at least three things : that the Congress is too amorphous a body to get reduced to the size of a coherent party; that by its sheer bulk it ought not to arrest the growth of other "purely political parties"; that the basic task of social reconstruction can be better served by the Congress, which really remains, and ought to remain, a "movement".

The real dilemma facing the new Congress is that it has ceased to be a "movement" without really becoming a "party". The confusion is worse confounded because it has all the inherited attributes of a movement — organizational amorphousness, heterogeneity of membership, all-inclusiveness in terms of divergent ideological accommodation, capacity to internalize the conflict and mechanisms of compromise to reconcile opposite viewpoints and interests, etc. — except its clear direction and unified and dedicated commitment to an objective. It needs to be remembered that while movements *per se* have an in-built flexibility of organization and composition, because they aspire to be all-inclusive, they do not exhibit ambivalence on their major objective, or deviation in the pursuit of that objective.

The Indian National Congress itself has been one of the world's most outstanding and successful prototypes of a "movement", which unified all sections of the people and their groups and segments and fused them into a mighty collective that solidly struggled for the liberation of the motherland. Once Independence came, the political context had qualitatively changed. In this milieu, the Congress, or any other organization, could remain or aspire to become a "movement" only if it remained outside the institutions of power and the organs of government. This is a vital distinction. Political movements after capturing power normally get transformed into the power structure itself and into an organization that recruits leadership cadres to mediate that power structure.

The Congress only partially succeeded in doing this because of three limitations. First, unlike other analogous movements for independence the Congress was too firmly committed to the establishment of a parliamentary democracy run by a competing party system. This precluded in theory the possibility of the Congress becoming the exclusive organization to monopolize the power structure, even if in fact (but by observing largely the rules of the democratic game and not by coercion) it did become the dominant political force.

Secondly, the top leaders of the Congress were really national leaders (particularly Jawaharlal Nehru who often had a decisive majority in the country, even if occasionally he had a minority in the party) who after Independence also continued to enjoy, by and large, a consensual national approbation. For such a leadership it was not possible subjectively to overcome the fact that the Congress was no longer a "movement" and objectively to realize that the Congress could really become a party if it acquired organizational and ideological coherence.

Thirdly, the unprecedented influx of the new power-seekers into the ranks of the Congress, which was so permanently identified with the establishment, resulted in making it an odd medley of persons and groups.

It represents by itself an autonomous political system, more widespread in its membership, deeper in its organization, more extended in its regional appeal and more bedevilled by ideological conflicts and personality tussles than all the other parties in India put together.

The main challenge facing the Congress today is to transform itself into a genuine political party. It is called a party more in the generic than in the specific sense. It cannot any longer continue as a forum of diffused ideology and of mutually contradictory interests, without weakening its popular appeal. With the maturity of the Indian political system demonstrated partially by the fourth General Elections and by the working of non-Congress coalitions and by the decisive shift in favour of specificity, consequent on the increasing interest-orientation and pronounced demand-articulation, which are but natural in this stage of development,

the Congress can continue in its present amorphous form only under the peril that bit by bit its components might drop out or be rendered ineffective by mutual crossfire and the increasing lure of the coherent parties to its potential defectors.

In facing this challenge two imperatives are called for—the imperative of ideological coherence and the imperative of organizational cohesion.

The talk of decline of ideology in our milieu misses two valid points. In this stage of socio-economic growth of countries still struggling to undo the imbalances created by colonial exploitation, the stupendous task of nation-building can never be achieved without a certain coherence of national objectives and programmatic specificity. For this, *ad hocism* is no answer. Then the interlinked basic political task of reconciling territorial and national integrity without compromising the plural character of the nation, its socio-cultural diversities, and genuine demands for autonomies without which the fabric of an open society would be torn to pieces, needs more than expedient decisions and piecemeal projects. It needs an ideological perspective which alone can take into account the components without losing sight of the totality. Needless to add, in this sense ideology constitutes the content but not the form, a context but not a substitute for action, the tool of comprehension and change but not the sole mainspring of policy decisions.

The term “ideology” is used in this paper more in the Weberian eclectic sense than as the Marxian analysts would use it. For the latter, with the sharpness of their characterization, would not permit the usage a latitude without which it is difficult to apply the term in less coherent situations. In expounding his theory of the Protestant Ethic, Max Weber speaks about an “elective affinity” between ideas and interests. Social groups tend to select ideas that are congenial to their interests. In this sense ideas are time-bound and culture-bound. This is now very much a part of the sociology of knowledge. But by any reckoning “ideology” does entail a more or less coherent world view of things and events and their relationship a belief system about the normative arrangement of men in society and an inclusive perception of comprehensive reality. And finally, as Daniel Bell puts it, “ideology is the conversion of ideas into social levers.”

In order to convert ideas into social levers, the Congress, as the country's most dominant political organization, will first have to delineate the contours of its ideology. In this process it will have to demythologize some of its heritage for, to use Marx's picturesque expression, “the tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living”. Since the twenties of this century, as a corollary to the extension of the Congress influence to every nook and corner of the country in order to give the independence movement its greatest popular legitimacy, the organization acquired certain revivalistic symbols, and inducted large sections of the reactionary classes and vested interests.

Under the benign leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, who articulated politics through what Morris-Jones calls the sacred idiom, obscurantism got politicized. This did serve a partial organizational as also a political purpose; though the "Ram-Rahim" approach exemplified in the Congress-Khilafat coalition not only underlined the virtual acceptance of the communal dichotomy, but also stalled the growth of modernized secular nationalism. One of Jawaharlal Nehru's greatest exertions in the Congress was to extricate the organization from communal, irrational and traditional focus. But one reason why he could not succeed was that most of his contemporaries and successors have been so out of tune with the challenges of the time that in terms of their outlook and perspective they are only fit to have been his predecessors. Nehru's hesitant efforts to commit the organization to a centrist ideology remained infructuous largely because they were not preceded or followed by concomitant efforts for, what he himself called, the purification and revitalization of the party.

A more difficult exercise for the Congress is to reshape its organization. In fact, in the very process of creating an ideological cohesion, the organization would have to reveal an in-built inhospitality to the uncommitted spongers, the power-seeking parasites, and the political vagabonds. It needs to be stressed that because of its dominance in the party system the Congress itself was interested in inducting social groups and strata which had hitherto remained depoliticized in order to widen its mass base. On the other hand, ambitious congregations were queuing up to don the white cap, act Swadeshi and chant some well-known *mantras* of patriotism in order to get entry into the expanding channel of power. With this, a new pattern of political demography has emerged, which in terms of its composition, its aspirations, national goals, world view and intra-party communication, is a complete break from the past.

The continuity of the Congress for eighty-seven years, emphasized for the courtesy of history, is for purposes of contemporary politics really a notional factor. To these new Congressmen who man the power-processes of the country's biggest "organization in depth", to borrow Ivor Jennings's phrase, the pre-Independence phase of the Congress has not much emotive relevance. To them Mahatma Gandhi, for instance, in terms of the realpolitik which they face every day, is someone like a saint who strayed into the sordid business of politics in the pre-history of the Congress only to create disturbing norms which are not workable. His heritage appears to be as relevant as and no less irrelevant than the ancient heritage of this glorious land.

Since Independence, the Congress has been a macro-political system, a sort of a federal arrangement, holding together micro-sub-systems—the factions, forums, groups, lobbies, coteries, etc., which constantly interact on the political processes of the Congress. This vast infrastructure, based on considerations of caste, interest, region and personality and reflecting in

politics the divisions in society and the variegation of political animals seeking power, has been maintained by the common eagerness of the decisive regional elite that has penetrated the echelons of power, once the Congress became the Establishment. This "collection for convenience, an aggregate for advantage" to borrow Morris-Jones's apt description, has changed the character of the Congress and Congressmen. Their survival at the crest of power and their capacity for political patronage depend on the continuance of the Congress as an amorphous body, ideologically and organizationally. This medley of leadership has no interest in principled politics, but only and exclusively in power politics. Obviously, therefore, so long as the intra-party conflict remains on the plane of a personal tussle for power, they exhibit inordinate capacity for reconciliation in the name of party unity, but once any conflict escalates into the realm of major policy decision or reveals a tinge of ideological complexion, the Congress is in disarray.

It will be pertinent to remember that nowhere in the world is there such a continental-type political party, active not merely at election time but throughout and adhering to the parliamentary form of organization. The parties of the United States, for instance, are organized on different lines, whose structure, mechanics and argument over intra-party politics are quite different. For such an organization naturally a certain pragmatic flexibility is unavoidable. But should it be only at the expense of commitment, at the expense of policy coherence, at the expense of the social welfare premise on which the edifice of Congress politics was sought to be built by Jawaharlal Nehru?

There is no authentic all-India political organization except the Congress, as all the other parties are either transregional, multi-State, one-State or subregional and local. In this sense, Congress alone is the national party, the only party of a federal dimension. The Indian political system until 1967 and then again from 1971, after an interval of four years, under the dynamic leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, had virtually rotated around the Congress, with other parties, sometimes smaller than certain factions of the Congress, playing an auxiliary role.

Even in the phase of the eclipse of the Congress such had been the disparity in the share of power between the old undivided Congress and all the other non-Congress parties that certain observers, keeping the real nature of power in view, said that the two-party system that is emerging in India is made up not of the Congress and non-Congress coalitions, or of the Congress on the one hand and one or the other ideological cohesions on the other, but interestingly between the two wings of the Congress itself—the Congress government in power and the organizational wing of the party. This latent conflict finally resulted in the great split of 1969.

For recapitulation it may be stated that since 1947, in one or the other form this tussle between the two wings has continued. The acrimony

between Nehru and Kripalani and Nehru and Tandon (1947-51) on the equation of the two wings was never really settled, except that under the charisma of Nehru it was never raised after the initial tussle almost until his death. But it was anticipated in the very process of the succession to the prime ministership after Nehru that the organizational wing would tend to increase its authority, with the help of the regional potentates of the Congress. The coterie that came to be popularly known as the Syndicate was in essence the aggregation of the party's satraps who each by himself had essentially too much of a regional relevance to enjoy a national appeal but as a set could pool their resources of authority to take major decisions of the Congress.

From one angle, the years between 1964 and 1969 were years of uneasy tension between the Syndicate and the Prime Minister. The increasing polarization that so suddenly and dramatically took place within the Congress after the fateful Bangalore session of the All-India Congress Committee in July 1969 and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's initiative in confronting the Syndicate both at the leadership level (Morarji Desai's ouster and open tussle with S. Nijalingappa and others on the issue of the Presidential election,) and at the policy level (her note on economic policy sent to the Bangalore session, the Bank Nationalization Ordinance and the subsequent Act passed with unprecedented swiftness, firmer commitment to socialist policies, threats of enquiries into the working of major houses of the private sector, particularly the Birlas, etc.,) finally resulted in the split of the party itself.

In conclusion it may be stated that such has been the nature of the ideological ambivalence of the Congress that even though it has dominated the central range of the Indian ideological spectrum since Independence, it has thus been guilty of what might be called political promiscuity in promoting honeymoons between strange companions. This internationalized application of Mao's prescription: "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought content" resulted in a political neurosis. Indira Gandhi's heroic attempts to purge the party of the Syndicate elements and chop deadwood have only partially succeeded by removing the leadership at the top. At other levels the old leadership is still too much rooted in the old establishment pattern to be wholly dislodged, despite being abridged and shaken up.

However, there is a way out. The approach of the "the-more-the-merrier" should be renounced in favour of "fewer but better". It is true that, even if desired, the Congress cannot acquire a rigidity of ideology, for it represents the biggest cross-section of the citizenry, a fusion of disparate groups and competing interests, and has become quite rightly the GCM of India's political arithmetic. Yet even within such an extensive political demography there is a clear possibility of an ideological coherence as a creative Left-of-Centre, if only a dedicated and bold leadership,

imbued with a dynamic fervour, could call a halt to gimmickry and manipulative politics and build a new national consensus on at least a few defined basic objectives, which could be grouped under three major rubrics : national identity, national welfare and national security.

National Identity : Stabilization of the federal policy, recognising the right of the diverse regional, cultural, linguistic and communal groups to fashion their diversities without compromising the overall political integration; secularization of politics and greater mobilization for participatory democracy.

National Welfare : Realization of a self-reliant economy based on planned, quick and over-all economic growth, involving faster pace of industrialization, scrupulous implementation of land reforms, improved farm techniques, efficient working of the nationalized institutions, elimination of monopolies, and rational integration of private sector in the economy; completion of the unfinished social revolution by the modernization of the society through various means including the promotion of scientific education, eradication of inequalities and other social disabilities.

National Security : Maximization of national interests in the pursuit of a foreign policy attuned to world peace, regional integration, and support to the people's movement for democracy and liberty; preservation of the territorial and national sovereignty by the modernization of the defence structure.

The objectives listed above are obviously illustrative rather than exhaustive, and need to be more specified. Consensus cannot be built by depoliticizing the explosive issues, but by a creative conflict on these very issues for building a stable structure of commitment. The challenge before the new Congress is not merely of static political stability, but of dynamic political stability, that is, stability combined with growth of democratic institutions and equitable sharing of prosperity among all the people. Heterogeneity of party membership can be overcome by homogeneity of outlook and a passionate adherence to a consensual programme of action for modernization and change.

Indira Gandhi and the Congress

Shankar Dayal Sharma

Taking strength from our achievements in spite of our deficiencies and the hurdles across our way, we can, in the silver jubilee of our Independence, embark with greater faith and dedication on our march towards the realization of the country's new destiny. This new destiny, of which Indira Gandhi is the main architect, is to transform political Swaraj into real economic Swaraj based on a socialist programme through non-violent and democratic means. The path shown by Indira Gandhi is directly in line with the principles and objectives formulated by Jawaharlal Nehru under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi.

The past twenty-five years have witnessed many changes and turmoils, and India has had to face many crises and dangers, both from within and without. The country's partition brought in its wake human problems of unparalleled magnitude. Three major wars endangered our freedom and shattered our economy. An influx of refugees of dimensions unknown in the history of the world, both following Partition and the crisis in Bangladesh in 1971, hampered the country's progress and strained its economy to the utmost. In the fourth general election in 1967 the Congress was returned to power at the Centre with greatly depleted strength, and it lost the reins of power in several States. There was political instability in the States, regional and linguistic chauvinism reared its ugly head. The future of the largest democracy of the world seemed to be uncertain and many prophets forecast doom.

Indira Gandhi became Prime Minister at a moment of great crisis. When, following the tragic death of Lal Bahadur Shastri within a few hours of the high drama of signing an agreement with Pakistan at Tashkent, she was elected leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party on 19th January, 1966, there was a tendency in certain quarters to regard her as a compromise candidate dependent on the gift of the party bosses who reigned supreme in the Congress organization at that time. But those who knew what mettle she was made of and what qualities she possessed had no doubt whatsoever that she had succeeded to the leadership in her own right and on her own merit. In her the party chose a leader who had shared the vision and ideology of Jawaharlal Nehru, and who would carry forward his mission of building a modern, progressive, and prosperous India, which would be a force for world peace.

An inheritor of the Gandhian age and a child of political revolution, Indira Gandhi started in right earnest an economic and social revolution to lend content and substance to the ideologies and programmes that the Congress had set before the people during the struggle for independence. In her very first broadcast within two days of assuming office as Prime Minister, she echoed the hopes and aspirations of the people, declared her commitment to the objectives laid down by her illustrious father, and proclaimed: "We have promises to keep to our people—of work, food, clothing and shelter, health and education." Indira Gandhi

felt that the troubles of the country were due not to any shortcomings in basic policy or ideology, but to a disconcerting gap between intention and action in economic development as in other fields of national activity. To bridge this gap she was determined to adopt whatever changes were necessary—in legislation, in administration, and in the organization.

The task she has set before the country and the party is a challenging and exciting one: to eradicate poverty, to liquidate unemployment, to reduce disparity in wealth and income, to bring about land reforms, to impose ceilings on urban property and to build up a self-reliant economy. The Congress Party under the dynamic and inspiring leadership of Indira Gandhi is being forged into a fit instrument to achieve the socialist goal. The massive majority with which the Congress was returned to office in the fifth general election in 1971 and the subsequent State elections in 1972, is a measure of the confidence reposed by the people in the ability of the Congress party to implement its pledges. Under Indira Gandhi the Congress has gained political stability and unified leadership. The massive mandate that it has received from the people could hardly have been dreamt of after the 1967 election. Despite many difficulties and contrary to certain predictions, as Indira Gandhi herself said in an article “the country has not broken into warring states. We have not succumbed to civil anarchy. There has been no widespread starvation. On the contrary, we have become self-sufficient in cereals. We have not jettisoned our free institutions but instead gained greater political cohesion and economic strength. This does not justify complacency but it does give us confidence that the Indian people can rise to whatever challenge the future may hold.”

The Congress had suffered a debacle in the 1967 election, the first general election to be held after the death of Jawaharlal Nehru. But an even bigger misfortune seemed to befall the party with the split of 22nd November, 1969, when a Congress opposition group was formed in Parliament reducing the Ruling Congress party into a minority. It was the unique quality of Indira Gandhi's courage and leadership that heading a minority government she was able to retain the confidence of the majority of the Lok Sabha. A daring act in her stewardship of the party was to go in for a mid-term poll for the Lok Sabha and re-establish the Congress Party's supremacy in the country by winning an overwhelming majority in the Lok Sabha. This miracle was achieved by the pledge she made to the nation in the party's election manifesto and by her direct approach to the people. The 1971 and 1972 elections have ended political uncertainties and instabilities. Almost the entire country, from Kashmir in the north to Mysore in the south and from Gujarat in the west to Assam in the east, are once again under the rule of the Congress.

India has never been so united and integrated in recent history and the Congress was never so strong and well-knit as now. There is fine

harmony between the organizational and administrative wings on the one hand and between the Centre and the States on the other. They are all moving in unison in the same direction and towards the same goal. The Congress Party has undoubtedly emerged as the premier political organization. The opposition parties are unable to challenge it, either singly or collectively as a grand alliance. Indira Gandhi, like her father, has attained a charismatic character and her leadership is undisputed today both within the party and in the country. Indeed she ranks as one of the foremost statesmen of the world, especially after the historic role she played in the liberation of Bangladesh. Her leadership has raised India's image in the international field. In retrospect, it would seem the 1969 split in the Congress was a blessing in disguise. It marked a watershed in the history of the Congress. The party regained its lost soul and identity and it freed itself from bossism and Right reaction. The Congress was reborn, and it recaptured its hold among the masses.

Why Indira Gandhi has been chosen to be the torch-bearer of the reorganized and resurgent Congress becomes clear when one takes into consideration the guidelines that had been handed down by her father and the role that he envisaged for the Congress in national reconstruction. In his address to the Nasik Congress session Jawaharlal Nehru reminded his colleagues that Mahatma Gandhi's life was devoted not only to the political freedom of India but also to the emancipation of the suffering and down-trodden masses. For these masses and for our womenfolk, Mahatma Gandhi's movement was a liberating force. It was a force which operated without hatred and violence. It was Mahatma Gandhi's ambition to wipe every tear from every eye. The dominating urge today, said Jawaharlal Nehru, was that of social justice and the wiping out of caste inequalities.

As Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out, if the Congress is to continue as a vital and progressive organization, giving the lead to the Indian people and continuing its tradition of service to them, then we should reorganize it and make it suited to the conditions of today. The Congress is inevitably a party but it has always been something more than a party and has drawn allegiance from millions of people who do not formally belong to it or to any other party. We have to retain something of that wider aspect of the Congress but this should not lead to flabbiness and loose thinking, and to accommodation of all kinds of contradictory opinions within its fold. Nor should there be any room in it for those who seek personal or sectional advancement and profit. The party seemed to be forgetting the guidelines given by Jawaharlal Nehru, and the split that occurred was inevitable. The lead that Indira Gandhi took to salvage the organization from the clutches of reactionaries and to set it on the high way to socialism has thus assumed historic importance.

Removal of economic disparity, land reforms and betterment of the

standard of living of the teeming millions of the country, state ownership or control of key industries are no new radical concepts, but form part of the ideal of democratic socialism, which the Congress has been propounding from the days of the Karachi session of the Congress. What has happened since the Faridabad session of the Congress is the urgency and dynamism that Indira Gandhi has imparted to the implementation of the Ten-Point Economic Programme for the realization of the socialist goal in a concrete form. It may be interesting to note that nationalization of banks, which was opposed by the Syndicate so much, was categorically prescribed by the Economic Programme Committee of the Congress in 1948. Its report, presented by Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman at the Jaipur Congress sessions, had said : "All resources available for investment should be subject to the control and direction of the State. The State should set up finance corporations for financing industries, Banking and insurance should be nationalized."

The Congress has never been content with paying lip service to Socialism. Different aspects of economic life have been examined from time to time and specific measures suggested ever since the Karachi Congress in 1931. In the Karachi resolution it was said that the system of land tenure and revenue should be reformed and an equitable adjustment made of the burden on agricultural land. The Faizpur session in 1937 set forth the agrarian programme in greater detail. The Congress Economic Programme Committee in 1948 clearly prescribed elimination of all intermediaries between the tiller and the state. It also suggested the fixing of the maximum size of a holding. The Bangalore session of the All-India Congress Committee in 1969, in its resolution on economic policy and programmes, emphasized the need of proper legislation and vigorous implementation of land reforms. The Karachi resolution had declared that the state should own or control key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport. This idea was followed up in the Congress election manifesto of 1945, which underlined the need to "prevent concentration of wealth in the hands of individuals."

In the Avadi Congress session in 1955 it was decided that "the public sector must play a progressively greater part, more particularly in the establishment of basic industries." In Amritsar again it was said that the public sector had to expand rapidly and the "State should assume larger responsibilities in regard to industries of strategic importance." In the Jaipur session of the AICC in November 1963, it was repeated that the public sector had to play a strategic and predominant role in the field of industry. Thus from Karachi onwards the Congress has proclaimed the need for public ownership and public control over industries, wherever expedient, in the interest of the common man.

However, the Congress is not opposed to the private sector as such. As

a matter of fact the Jaipur Congress acknowledged that "the private sector has an important role in the economy of the country and it will have to play its part within the broad strategy of the national plan of development."

The greatest emphasis has always been put on curbing monopolistic tendencies. The AICC meeting in Delhi in 1947 described our aim as "an economic structure which will yield maximum production without creation of private monopolies and concentration of wealth." The Nasik Congress session mentioned the Congress objective as "full employment, elimination of exploitation and progressive narrowing down of disparities in income and wealth." In the sixty-fourth Congress session at Nagpur in 1959 the resolution on planning said that "State trading should be conducted so as to yield additional resources for public purposes." The Ten-Point Programme laid down that "the export and import trade should be progressively undertaken through State agencies." The tenor of the Bangalore resolution was clear that the State should enter export and import trade in a very big way. The nation expects the Congress Government to proceed in this direction vigorously in spite of the objections which may be put forward and difficulties which may be shown by the bureaucracy and hindrances which may be put up by deeply entrenched vested interests.

In spite of our professions in the years after independence disparities in income and wealth have grown. This led to a clear statement in the Ten-Point Programme of 1967 to the effect that "the pattern of conspicuous consumption and wasteful display which characterise some of the urban areas are out of place in a socialist society."

In the Bangalore resolution we accepted imposition of ceiling on non-productive expenditure and conspicuous consumption by corporate bodies. Similarly, in the Ten-Point Programme we said that there was compelling need to impose limitations on urban income and property. In her note to the Bangalore session, Indira Gandhi indicated that she had already asked the Finance Ministry and the Planning Commission to look into the feasibility of putting ceilings on incomes and holding of urban properties.

Thus the Congress has stood for practical steps towards democratic socialism. The Congress concept of democratic socialism is and has been unexceptionable and the practical measures thought of towards it have been unimpeachable. But there was a certain lack of urgency towards implementing our programme. This provides the background to the Congress split in 1969. In her letter to Congressmen on the eve of the requisitioned session of the All-India Congress Committee held in Delhi, Indira Gandhi traced the genesis and development of the crisis and said :

"What we witness today is not a mere clash of personalities and

certainly not a fight for power. It is not as simple as a conflict between the parliamentary and organizational wings. It is a conflict between two outlooks and attitudes in regard to the objectives of the Congress and methods in which the Congress itself should function. It is a conflict between those who are for socialism, for change and for the fullest internal democracy and debate in the organization on the one hand and those who are for the *status quo*, for conformism and for less than full discussion inside the Congress."

"The Congress," Indira Gandhi said, "stands for democracy, secularism and socialism and non-alignment in international relations. The various policy-making units of our organisation, whether the Working Committee or the AICC or the delegates' session have reaffirmed these objectives from time to time. But within the Congress there has been a group which did not have total faith in these objectives. People of this group paid only lip service to these ideals, because they knew that if they openly expressed their reservations they would lose the power and influence they had derived from the party. This group is not a new phenomenon. It has existed in our party throughout the last twenty-two years and even before. I knew that this group constantly tried to check and frustrate my father's attempt to bring about far-reaching economic and social changes. The Congress was moulded by Mahatma Gandhi and my father to be the prime instrument of social change. The acceptance of office and of responsibilities of Government was after all to bring about this non-violent revolution in our society. If this cannot be done, what is the use of the Congress or what is the purpose of being in government?"

Presiding over the seventy-third session of the Congress in Bombay on 28th December 1969, after the split, Shri Jagjivan Ram said that it was one of the most critical periods in our country's history which synchronized with a turning point in the life of the Congress organization. The session, he observed, fulfilled in a way Gandhiji's wish—not fully, but partially, not in form but in spirit. It heralded the beginning of a new epoch in the Congress and it marked another transformation. Just as Gandhiji's Congress in 1920 was a new Congress as also the old one, the Congress in 1969 was a new Congress and still it was the old one. It sought to transform itself into an instrument of revolution and change. In his words, "It is committed, we are all committed, to democracy, socialism and secularism, unequivocally and irrevocably."

From the Bangalore and Bombay sessions in 1969 to the recent session held at Ahmedabad the Congress has traversed a long way on the path to the socialist goal. Banks and general insurance have been nationalized, the privy purse and privileges of the princely order have been abolished, land reforms have been expedited, legislation for imposing ceilings on land holdings have been enacted or are on the anvil in various states,

imposition of ceilings on urban property is under process, state trading is being extended to wider sectors of the country's import and export trade, and a policy of public system of distribution of foodgrains and other essential commodities has been accepted to curb the present rise in prices and mitigate the hardships of the people, particularly the weaker sections of the community. Removal of poverty and attainment of economic self-reliance have been placed as the key objectives of the Rs. 51,000 crore Fifth Five-Year Plan approach that has been formulated by the Planning Commission. A socialist pattern of development has been adopted as the sheet-anchor of the plan. Towards removal of poverty, measures for providing larger employment and income to the poorer sections of the population will have to be supplemented by plans of social consumption and investment in the form of education, health, nutrition, drinking water, housing, communications and electricity. In order to provide this a "national programme for minimum needs" has been envisaged.

At Gandhinagar the party passed two important resolutions, one dealing with problems caused by the upward trend in prices, and the second dealing with basic issues of economic policy and the strategy to be adopted by the party and the government, both at the Centre and in the States, for achieving the national objectives of economic self-reliance and elimination of poverty. These two resolutions provide a comprehensive framework for sound, systematic and vigorous action for overcoming the current difficulties in the economy and for a big movement forward in the direction of rapid economic growth combined with social justice. Both the party and the government have now to get down to a concrete programme of action, comprising both short-term and long-term measures, with a view to carrying out faithfully and with a steadfast vision the policies which Indira Gandhi so forcefully emphasized in her concluding address to the session.

In the face of difficulties it is easy to give way to defeatism but as the chosen instrument of the people for economic emancipation, the party has to continuously strengthen the base of confidence and courage of our people, who have understood the complexity of issues facing the nation and have always responded with wisdom, determination and patience to the challenges of socio-economic reconstruction. *It is necessary* to view the present situation in the total perspective of what we have achieved over the last twenty-five years, and of the new directions of growth that we contemplate in the Fifth Five-Year Plan. The Gandhinagar session has provided us with a clear blueprint for action. We have now to throw ourselves into the many-sided and challenging tasks of helping the people to march forward under the leadership of Indira Gandhi towards the realization of our cherished goal of a society free from want and free from injustice.

Indira Gandhi and the Struggle for Democratic National Unity

S. G. Sardesai

The monumental role of Indira Gandhi in repulsing the offensive of reaction and defending Indian democracy, during the recent critical years, is now a matter of nationwide recognition. It has secured popular ratification in two successive general elections. Her courageous and determined support to the liberation struggle of Bangladesh followed by the statesmanship displayed by her in arriving at the Simla Agreement with Mr Bhutto give her a place of honour among contemporary international leaders fighting for peace, national independence, and equality, and against neo-colonialism and imperialist aggression.

Note must also be taken of her bold demand for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Indo-China and for leaving the countries of South-East Asia to shape their destiny according to their own free choice.

There is one very important aspect of her outlook and policies of which, however, adequate cognizance has not been taken by the progressive and left forces in India. It is often the reactionaries and our monopoly press, as also imperialist politicians abroad, who are more conscious of it but, as is to be expected, they are very much displeased with it and try to distort and malign it as much as they can.

That aspect relates to the question of which social and political forces have to be mobilized and united if the struggle against reaction is to be pursued with grit and tenacity. All ends necessarily call for the adoption of corresponding means which, in that sense, assume even greater importance than the ends.

Historical experience, not only of our country but others placed in similar situations, clearly demonstrates that the only reliable and decisive sanction for the struggle against reaction is the unity and activation of the common people, and of the political parties and groups that stand by the common people in town and country. Nowhere have the class forces behind reaction been effectively fought merely by legislative measures and through the administrative machinery

It is to the credit of Indira Gandhi that when she picked up the gauntlet flung at her by her erstwhile Syndicate colleagues at the famous Bangalore session of the All-India Congress Committee in 1969 she went straight to the masses for their support and linked up the struggle against reaction with bank nationalization, the abolition of princely privileges and purses, and similar other issues. Not only that. Without mincing words she pinned down the Swatantra, the Jana Sangh and the Syndicate as three faces of the same feudal, obscurantist and big money forces that stood in the way of the uplift and well-being of the common people, that obstructed the achievement of the objective of eradicating mass poverty.

Further, she not only rallied the rank and file Congress cadre and youth for the struggle but clearly stated that whatever her differences with Communists and other left forces outside the Congress, she stood

for co-operation with them in the common cause of fighting and defeating reaction.

It is no secret that she sought such co-operation not only from the Communist Party of India, but also from the Praja Socialist Party and the Communist Party of India (Marxist), provided they were prepared to make the Grand Alliance the main target of their attack. She stood firmly by the position, in Parliament and outside, that the Naxalite problem demanded a socio-economic approach and could not be dealt with merely as a law and order problem.

Honesty and fairness demand recognition of the fact that at a time when the mass support of the Grand Alliance still appeared formidable, when the Prime Minister was in a minority in Parliament, and when the dark and vicious forces of reaction were prepared to go to any length to remove her from the scene, it needed deep conviction and very great political and personal courage to pursue such a course.

Anyone with a modicum of political experience knows that it is far easier to subscribe to a programme of bank nationalization and the abolition of privy purses than to invite the co-operation of Communists and other leftists as a sanction for its realization. For that is the one sin that reaction within the country and abroad is not prepared to forgive.

With the volcanic upheaval in Bangladesh the same issue was projected from the national to the international plane.

Going out boldly in support of Bangladesh, with the U.S.A. and China backing up Yahya Khan, clearly implied a sharper confrontation with the citadel of world imperialism and closer ties with the forces of world socialism, above all, the Soviet Union. Such a policy, undoubtedly, had immense mass support in India but was, by no means, palatable to the monopoly and other vested interests in the country. But the Prime Minister did adopt it, leading to the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation which provides for mutual consultation and support in the event of a threat of aggression against either of the two countries.

All this is now part of history. The point being stressed here is that reaction cannot be fought without a consistent pursuit of progressive socio-economic measures which, in its turn, calls for active unity of all the left and democratic forces inside and outside the Congress. Similarly, on the international plane, the struggle for peace and national independence calls for the unity of all socialist and democratic forces against the neo-colonialist and aggressive policies of imperialism. Broadly, Indira Gandhi has been guided by this consciousness.

But times are moving fast and the very solution of problems creates new situations with their new problems.

To be frank, a certain anxiety is growing among the progressives in the Congress and the left forces outside that the immense victory of the Congress in two successive general elections is leading to a sense of

complacency in the Congress organization, an attitude of resting on one's oars. There is a tendency, not always expressed in so many words, that there is not much to bother about now since the huge majorities of the Congress in the Central and State legislatures assure it of stable power for another five years.

There is anxiety that once again innumerable concessions to monopoly capital are being made, often enough, in the name of developing a self-reliant economy, on the specious plea of economies of scale. Concessions are being made to the kulak lobby in the Congress in the matter of ceilings and the prices of agricultural produce. All sorts of Syndicate and other reactionary elements are flocking back to the Congress. There are other similar symptoms.

In the sphere of international relations the warm and cordial recognition of the friendly role of the Soviet Union towards India and Bangladesh is being replaced by an indiscriminate criticism of the super-powers for bringing pressures on smaller countries, for carving out spheres of influence, and so on.

These are not only unhappy signals, they are a serious warning about possible dangers lying ahead of us in the coming period.

There is a saying that if you get on to the back of a tiger, you have to ride it. You cannot get off.

This is a hundred per cent true in respect of the struggle against reaction. It has to be fought to the end. There is no halting on the way. The momentum of the struggle against reaction, the momentum of left and democratic unity of the forces outside and inside the Congress, to which the Prime Minister has made such an immense contribution, has to continue. Reaction, in recent years, has been weakened. It is not dead, far from it. Any slowing down of the offensive against it can, as experience of certain other developing countries has shown on occasions, enable it to reorganize its forces and launch a counter-offensive.

The burning problems of rocketing prices, unemployment, and landlessness, cannot be solved without intensifying the offensive against the powerful, well-entrenched vested interests in industry, trade, and agriculture.

This, in its turn, cannot be done without powerful and united trade unions (a decisive weapon in the struggle against the monopolists, the hoarders and the black-marketeers), combined with statutory recognition of such trade unions not only for negotiating and settling the economic demands of the working class, but for effective participation in the management of industry.

Powerful organizations of peasants and agricultural labourers with a voice in the implementation of land reforms are a must if such reforms are not to be butchered in practice by the rural vested interests and the bureaucracy.

The centre of gravity of the social composition of the Congress in the countryside has to shift from landlords and rich peasants to the lower strata of the rural population.

This is the path of continuing the struggle against reaction to the end, of forging the indispensable mass sanctions, the indispensable unity of all the progressive forces in the country, which alone can guarantee the actual achievement of our nationally accepted objectives.

It is here that Congressmen and the left outside have an immense role to play. Bengal and Kerala are beacons that should serve as valuable guide for the whole country.

Very deserved appreciation and support have been given by our people to Indira Gandhi for many of her qualities of leadership. Among them, probably the most distinctive have been her instinctive readiness to take risks and stand by her convictions in the face of heavy odds, and her capacity to grow with the times. Both she and the nation are taller today than a few years ago. But there are higher and more arduous peaks to climb. Given the lead, the people will stand by her in future as in the recent testing years.

Law and Women in India

Durgabai Deshmukh

It is one of the primary functions of the modern State to take suitable and timely action to mould social institutions. This carries with it the responsibility of moulding the social consciousness of the people. If this is not done, to the extent legislation outruns social urge, it remains ineffective. All legislation, therefore, must be accompanied by the effort to bring about social preparedness by an intensive campaign of appeal to, and education of, the people with the purpose of breathing into them a faith in the ultimate utility of the particular legislative measures for promoting the common good and increasing the common welfare. It is only then that the law can give direction, form, and continuity to social changes.

We have our written Constitution. This declares India to be a sovereign democratic republic, which rests on the four pillars of:

Justice — social, economic and political,

Liberty — of thought, expression, belief, etc.,

Equality — of status and opportunity, and

Fraternity — dignity of individual and unity of India.

While ours is a sovereign democratic republic with plenary powers of legislation, it is nevertheless subject to the limits set by our Constitution to which all laws must conform. It declares certain inviolable principles which have to be adhered to in making laws. It says that all laws not in conformity with the Constitution shall be void. It has created a Supreme Court with powers to pronounce on the validity of laws. The constitutional validity of all laws is liable to be examined by it.

Part III confers certain fundamental rights on the citizens. Equality before the law and equal protection of law are guaranteed to all. Discrimination against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, etc., is forbidden.

Part IV details the principles which should guide the State in promoting the welfare of the people. These principles are not enforceable by courts but they are nevertheless to be treated as fundamental in the governance of the country. It is the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws.

The State is required to secure to all citizens, men and women, equality, the right to adequate means of livelihood, equal pay for equal work, etc., the right to work, to education and to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness or disablement, etc.

The Constitution itself provides for making special provisions for women and children. It has, likewise, indicated a priority for the interests of the weaker sections of the population. The problem of immoral traffic is a part of the problem of traffic in human beings. Beggary is a part of the problem of undeserved want. The problem of juvenile delinquency is part of the children's problem.

Social laws would lack effectiveness unless they are backed by public

opinion. Neither permissive laws like the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act nor the prohibitive laws like the Child Marriage Restraint Act have had much effect by themselves. This has to be brought out by a slow and gradual process of educating the public.

An attempt is made in this article to give a summary of the position of social legislation at the commencement of the Constitution, 26 January 1950, and also to give a description of the legislation undertaken during the decade 1951-61 and an assessment of the present position and the prospects for the future.

The fundamental rights in Chapter III proclaim the equality of all citizens before the law, more particularly equality of sexes. This is very significant in view of the subordinate position to which women were relegated under personal laws that were in force even after the Constitution came into force by virtue of Article 372. The rights and status of women had been left in a position of subordination. This constitutes a gross anachronism. The directive principles impose an obligation on Government to establish social justice.

Position of women in law: More than two thousand years ago the women of the ancient Hindu community in India enjoyed a fair measure of equality with men in all spheres of human activity — spiritual and religious, teaching and learning, even war and statecraft.

The Rigveda, the Upanishads, Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and many other ancient writings which are available to us today will reveal this rather astounding truth to those who believe that the history of Indian women is one of ignorance, illiteracy, and superstitions.

The Vedic tradition of equality of the two sexes continued in the Upanishadic age. The Upanishads expounded the idea of man and woman as the equal halves of a divine unity, each complementary of and incomplete without the other. Learned women philosophers of the Upanishadic period like Brahnavadini, Gargi, etc., crossed swords in the conferences with *rishis* like Yājñavalkya, convened at the court of Janaka of Videha. These are only a few illustrations of the truth that women were fully the equals of men.

The Buddhist age continued this Brahmanical tradition of the equality of sexes, and the Theri nuns and *bhikshunis* played an important part by rendering missionary, cultural and social service, and worked as equals of men. The great religions of that time which formed part of the life of the entire community did not impose any disability on women to acquire or propagate knowledge, aspire for spiritual eminence, or serve in any field of public life.

Deterioration and decay, in this glorious equal status, set in during the past one thousand and five hundred years as a consequence of incessant invasions. Social institutions broke down and society suffered a cultural collapse resulting in women gradually losing their freedom and

becoming dependent on men. Strict seclusion of women became the rule.

The decline of women's education and activities in public life so common in Vedic India was an inevitable consequence of disturbed social conditions. This state of affairs had continued for such a length of time that it has resulted in the arrested development of Indian society and stunting of women's personality.

The *purdah* system under which women lived in seclusion and isolated from men, the practice of *sati* and the joint family system under which women were excluded from succession to property were the root causes which gave the impression that Indian women were backward, suppressed, and treated almost as chattels.

In the southern part of the subcontinent which was free from continuous invasions, the position of women did not suffer such deterioration.

With the stabilization of social conditions by the fifteenth century there was a revival of Hindu life and a consequent improvement in the status of women.

The advent of the British resulted in the introduction of an alien culture and a new economic structure. The women of the middle classes began to adjust themselves to the new world and took to the new education. As far back as 1878 Indian girls studied in the universities and a decade later voyaged to far-off countries to study medicine and law.

Provision for higher education for women was slow and halting for it was not favoured by the conservative British who were still imposing a great many restrictions on women in their own country and had no intention of promoting such progressive measures in the colonies. In spite of every handicap, a new awakening crept into Indian womanhood owing to the untiring efforts of social reformers and associations.

Eminent women like Margaret Cousins, Sarojini Naidu and many others by their work gave great impetus to this awakening. It was realized that the future of Indian women lay in the independence of the country. It was Mahatma Gandhi who brought a dynamic change among women, and it was at his bidding that they came out in large numbers to take part in the struggle for India's freedom. It was in the political awakening that we find the renaissance of Indian womanhood. In the 1936 elections many women entered legislative assemblies, municipalities, and local boards. Women members of the Constituent Assembly made significant contributions to its deliberations.

The Constitution of the sovereign democratic republic of India guarantees to everyone equality before the law and equal protection of the laws. All citizens are guaranteed equality of opportunity in matters of public appointments, etc. The Vedic ideal of perfect equality of man and woman is today guaranteed by the Constitution. The State can make special provisions for women and children (Art. 15) and today women

in free India serve in every sphere of national activity. In conformity with their new status, women enjoy the franchise in equality with men. Universal adult franchise has been conferred by the Constitution and in the general elections women exercise their franchise in large numbers.

The next step consisted of reforming the personal laws by which the people are governed in the light of new developments. The laws of the majority community of the land (the Hindus) first received the attention of Parliament as the first step in evolving ultimately a uniform Civil Code for the entire Indian people. During 1955-56 Parliament passed statutes reforming the Hindu law relating to :—

1. Marriage and divorce,
2. Succession,
3. Adoption,
4. Minority and guardianship.

These changes were meant to confer equal status on women and also examine the position of non-Hindu women of the country in these respects.

The first Governor-General of India, Warren Hastings, had declared that as regards inheritance and marriage, caste and other religious usages and institutions, the laws of the Koran were to be administered for the Muslims and the laws of Shastras for the Hindus. Express recognition was given to this decree in the Act of Settlement of 1781. Attempts at modification at the instance of Macaulay were given up by the Second Law Commission which held that both Hindu and Muslim laws derived their authority from religion and that the British legislature was not entitled to make Hindu or Muslim laws.

Later Queen Victoria laid down that in framing and administering the law, due regard should be paid to ancient rites, usages, and customs of Hindus. Successive Government of India Acts preserved these laws and Article 372 of the Constitution maintains this position.

Personal laws were supposed to be linked up with religion. The laws thus administered excluded women from all rights of inheritance.

Disabilities of women in law before 1955-56:

A woman came within the narrow limit of admitted heirs — she took only a limited interest in the divided property of a deceased.

She could not be a co-parcener.

She forfeited such right if she was unchaste; or was not legally competent to adopt.

Her consent was not required to an adoption by her husband.

A widow could adopt only within the authority and direction given by her deceased husband.

The right of a mother though recognized as guardian of her minor

children could be defeated by any testamentary appointment made by her husband.

A mother could not give away validly her daughter in marriage. She could not appoint a guardian by will.

A Hindu woman once married remained wedded to the husband in a tie not dissolved even by the death of her husband, a disability from which the husband was free even during the lifetime of the wife.

An illegitimate daughter had no claim against the putative father even to maintenance, whereas an illegitimate son among Sudras was admitted to a share in the putative father's property.

All these disabilities have been removed by four Acts passed in 1955-56.

I. *The Hindu Marriage Act 1955*: came into force in May 1955. It codified the law relating to marriage among Hindus (which includes Buddhists, Sikhs and Jains).

It makes monogamy the rule for men as well as for women.

The age of marriage fixed for women at 15 and for men at 18

An idiot or lunatic cannot marry.

It provides for the registration of marriages.

The grounds for annulment of marriage are very carefully defined.

They could be available for either of them.

The court may award costs and maintenance to either spouse against the other and make such other orders as may be deemed necessary for the maintenance and welfare of the children of the marriage.

II. *The Hindu Succession Act, 1956*: It repealed the Hindu Law of Inheritance (Amendment Act, II of 1929) and Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act of 1937. The whole Law of Intestate Succession which is wholly customary is resolved into a well-defined set of rules. This Act purports to determine the heir on secular lists of consanguinity and affinity without any discrimination on the ground of sex. The limitations imposed by custom and tradition on the capacity of woman to hold, dispose, and transmit have been done away with.

It vests a Hindu woman with full ownership in all property, however acquired.

The daughter, the widow, and the mother now inherit property along with the son and take an equal share with him.

III. *The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act 1956*: Maintenance under the Act is defined to include food, clothing, residence, education, medical attendance, and treatment.

The wife is entitled to maintenance for life. She may live separately from her husband without forfeiting her right to maintenance on certain grounds.

Children, both legitimate and illegitimate, are entitled to be maintained by parents. This right is enforceable against those who inherit the estate of the deceased.

Any male Hindu or female Hindu may adopt a son or a daughter.

IV. *The Special Marriages Act 1955*: This succeeded an earlier Act of 1872 providing for a form of marriage for persons who do not profess the Christian, Jewish, Hindu religions. The Act of 1872 was amended in 1929 to permit intermarriage among Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, and Sikhs. Succession to property is governed by the Indian Succession Act of 1925. The grounds on which either party to the marriage may obtain judicial separation or dissolution of marriage are laid down in this Act and recourse to the Divorce Act is not necessary.

V. *The Prostitution and Immoral Traffic Act 1958*: The policy of the Government of India in respect of prostitution provides for abolition as distinguished from regulation. As a signatory to the International Convention on the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Children at Geneva, 1921, the Government had to undertake legislation to prevent immoral traffic. The Indian Penal Code was accordingly amended in 1923 to make the procuring of a girl under 18 years of age for immoral purpose an offence.

Certain Police Acts and Municipal Acts prohibit soliciting in streets and public places and ban the working of brothels within certain defined limits. The Children's Acts enable the authorities to rescue minor girls who may be brought up for a life of prostitution. Certain provisions of the Indian Penal Code make provision for rescue operations and certain laws as Prevention of Prostitution and Immoral Traffic Act had been in force in Bombay, Madras, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, etc. An all-India enactment was felt necessary and such an Act was passed and enforced in 1958. However, it suffered from several drawbacks because for this (a) the usual police machinery employed was wholly unsuitable and (b) proper benefits of rehabilitation were absent. *Women and employment*: Under the Factory Act of 1958 and the Plantation Labour Act of 1951, certain provisions for the health, safety, and welfare of women workers in mines and plantations are in force. There is no restriction on recruitment of women for labour.

Employment of women between 7 p.m. and 6 a.m. is prohibited. The maximum number of hours of work is fixed at nine. Section 46 of the Mines Act prohibits the employment of women underground. It fixes the maximum loads to be lifted. It prohibits employment of women in dangerous operations. It provides separate washing facilities and bathing places for women. It provides for creches for children below six in all factories. It allows mothers additional intervals for nursing their babies. It provides for maternity benefits.

Women in family law

Indian society is still a heterogeneous complex consisting of communities belonging to different religious faiths governed by their respective personal

laws. A vast majority of Indians are Hindu. According to the *Dharma Sāstras* a Hindu marriage is a sacrament which creates a sacred and indissoluble tie. A wife does not cease to be a wife even if she is bartered away or deserted by the husband (*Manu Smṛiti*, Chapter 9 *Sloka* 46).

Ancient Hindu law recognized eight forms of marriage, such as the *Brahma*, *Ārya*, *Asura*, *Gandharva*, *Rākshasa* and the *Paisācha*. In the approved forms of marriages the essential ceremonies are :

- (a) The formal gift of the bride in front of the sacred fire,
- (b) *Saptapadi* — the ceremony of seven steps taken together by the bride and the bridegroom to the recital of the prescribed vows of mutual fidelity.

The *Sāstras* have laid down many rules relating to the age of a girl, caste, prohibited degree of relationship, etc.

Bigamy was permitted under certain restrictions. There does not appear to be any prohibition regarding the marriage of a widow. It could be safely inferred that in the ancient law of the Hindus, remarriage of a widow and the practice of divorce and remarriage were permitted but were not considered to be desirable.

During the British rule customs and usages of the Hindus had been given prominent recognition and were made the rule of decision in many cases but certain reforms were effected in the Hindu law by legislative enactments.

In 1865 the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act was passed which validated the marriage of a Hindu widow.

In 1866 the Native Converts Marriage Dissolution Act was passed to provide for the dissolution of marriage on the conversion of one of a Hindu married couple to Christianity and the consequent refusal of the other to live with him or her.

In 1929 the Child Marriage Restraint Act was passed to punish the persons concerned in the solemnization of the marriage of a child.

In 1946 the Hindu Women's Right to Separate Residence and Maintenance Act conferred on a Hindu woman the right to separate residence under certain conditions such as the husband suffering from a loathsome disease, being guilty of such cruelty as renders it unsafe, being guilty of desertion, or if he married another wife, if he keeps a concubine, etc.

Post-Independence reforms: The Hindu Marriage Act 1955, as we saw above, introduced radical changes. Hindus as defined under the Act constitute 80 per cent of the population and for the first time the Act provides a uniform law of marriage for all Hindus.

Monogamy is made the rule for man equally as in the case of woman.

For the dissolution of marriage a petition for divorce may be presented either by the husband or by the wife on the ground that the other party
(a) is living in adultery, (b) has ceased to be a Hindu by conversion.

(c) has been of unsound mind for three years, etc. The wife can present a petition on two other grounds (a) the husband married again before the commencement of the Act or (b) the wife was alive who was married before the commencement.

The provisions of judicial separation as a matrimonial relief is another feature. The relief is equally available to both the spouses.

Another important feature is that difference in caste has become immaterial in regard to the validity of the marriage.

The Special Marriage Act of 1954 provides for a secular form of marriage. Two persons are entitled to marry irrespective of their religious affiliation and the dissolution of their marriage is governed by the provisions of the Act and the succession to their property is governed by the Indian Succession Act.

Muslim women: Next to Hindus, the largest community is the Muslims. No progress worthy of mention has been made in giving better rights and status to Muslim women. The absence of a powerful movement for reform within the community itself has led to the continuation of the iniquitous and anomalous position of Muslim women. A Muslim man is entitled to have four wives at a time. He has unrestricted, unfettered and unilateral right to divorce at will. The dowry sometimes operates as a check against the exercise of divorce and secures proper treatment of the wife, as dowry is an essential part of Muslim marriage and the husband is bound to pay to the wife the agreed amount.

The Shariat Act (Muslim Penal Law) Section 5 as the Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act 1939, Sections 2 and 6, removed certain uncertainties regarding the grounds of dissolution which existed before. The grounds for a suit for divorce are clearly mentioned.

Right of Succession: The Hindu Succession Act of 1956 came into force on 17 June 1956. The Act made radical changes in the Hindu law by conferring rights of succession to the daughter and mother simultaneously and equally with the son over both coparcenary property and separate property of the deceased. Section 19 abolished limited estate for women and granted full ownership in the inherited property with retrospective effect.¹

Earlier, there was no uniform law applicable to all the Hindus with regard to succession to property, and diverse schools of law were in vogue. Spiritual and religious concepts overweighed considerations of natural love and affection, and women did not enjoy equal rights with men with regard to succession to property. Even when rights of heirship were conceded to them, they were ordinarily given a limited estate and not full rights of ownership. The Hindu Succession Act, 1956, besides providing for a uniform act of rules for all Hindus, has introduced a revolutionary change in the law of intestate succession. The basis of heirship specified in the schedule to the Act is blood relationship. The son, daughter, widow, and mother of a deceased male succeed together, each taking an equal

share. In keeping with the general trend of equality of sexes, no discrimination is made in the matter of heirship on the ground of sex. The doctrine of limited estate, which denied absolute ownership to women inheriting under the prior law, has been swept away with retrospective effect. The son no longer enjoys the paramount position of excluding most others from rights of inheritance. The daughter, who was given right of inheritance with regard to the separate property of her deceased father only in default of a son, son's son, son's son's son, or widow, and denied such right in the undivided interest of her father in the coparcenary property, today ranks equally with the son in regard to inheritance in either case. As in the case of a predeceased son, in the case of a predeceased daughter, her children can represent her and take the share which she would have taken, had she been alive. These are considerable gains from the point of view of the daughter.

It ought to be mentioned here that in the case of coparcenary property, the law still recognizes the son's right by birth, and the equality conferred on the daughter is restricted to the father's interest in such property. "Thus if a coparcenary consisted of a father and son and the father died, only half of the father's share in the coparcenary property, that is, one fourth of the total property" comes to the daughter. The son will take three-fourths of the property, half in his own right and half of the other half as heir to his father.

The institution of joint family property and the concept of coparcenary property still continue. But undoubtedly the daughter today enjoys a much better position, whether the property be coparcenary or the separate property of the father.

Similarly the mother's position in this respect has been improved, and she has been equated with the son, daughter, and widow of the deceased. As a Class I heir, she has been preferred to the father who occupies a place in Class II in the schedule to the Act.

The widow whose position was improved by an enactment of 1937 which made her an heir along with the son with regard to the separate property of her husband, and conferred on her a limited estate in her husband's interest in the coparcenary property, now has an equal footing with the son and daughter.

Thus the concept of equal status for the two sexes in the law of intestate succession as applied to the Hindu community is obvious. The female heirs take their share by inheritance with full ownership; and this has retrospective effect, that is, the estate of woman, inherited by her, prior to the Act, as a limited estate, is now by operation of law enlarged into a full estate, provided the property was in her possession at the time of passing of the enactment.

*Stridhana*²: "Nowhere were proprietary rights of women recognized so early as in India."³ But the concept of *Stridhana* or the separate property

of women, has become complicated and even bewildering, owing to the absence of the precise definition in ancient texts or an exhaustive enumeration of properties falling within its fold and owing to conflict between the various authorities. All that is material here is to observe that Hindu law had never subscribed to the view that women are to be denied proprietary rights. However, only particular descriptions of property belonging to a woman constituted her *Strīdhana*.

Rules of succession to *Strīdhana* property, which were highly complicated, have been radically changed by the present Act.

Just as the daughter is given equal right to the father's property along with the son, so also the son, who was hitherto excluded by the daughter, is given equal rights of succession to the mother's *Strīdhana* property. Similarly, the husband is also made simultaneous heir.

In brief, the Hindu Succession Act 1956 has gone a considerable way in giving effect to the constitutional guarantee of equality of the sexes and realising the Vedic ideal.

Muslim Law: Rights of heirship of Muslim women in India are governed by Muslim law according to the Hanafi interpretation of the Koran as expounded in the leading text, the *Sirajīyyāh*, in the case of Sunni Muslims. The Koran introduced reforms in the customary law of ancient Arabia, which excluded females and cognates from rights to heirship, by making (1) females and cognates competent to inherit, (2) the wife (or husband) an heir, though as a general rule females were given half of the share of a male.

Islamic law made no distinction between joint and separate property (as in Hindu law), or between movable and immovable property; nor did it confer a limited estate on females as the Hindu law did; nor did it recognize any right by birth as in Hindu law, nor the principle of representation. Though it is beyond our scope to go into the details of the Islamic law of inheritance, it will suffice our purpose here to note that Muslim women have always had rights of inheritance, as heirs in the second class.

The legislatures of the Centre and States in free India have made no changes in the personal law of the Muslim community as pointed out earlier, though the Constitution contemplates the coming into existence of a uniform civil code for the entire citizens of this country—a great hope of which there seems to be no immediate prospect of realization, as the Indian legislatures appear to be reluctant to enter the field of the personal laws of religious minorities.

The *Shariat* law, again based on the text of the Koran, proceeds on a footing of equality between relations through women and relations through men. Thus cognates and agnates are placed on a footing of equity.

Though a male heir takes twice as much as a female heir, it should be

observed that this was a great reform introduced by the Koran on the pre-Islamic tribal law which denied any right to females.

Christian, Parsi, Jewish Women: Women, other than those governed by the Hindu and Islamic laws, are brought under the Indian Succession Act.

Unlike the position in the personal laws of Hindus and Muslims, a woman's right to succeed on intestacy finds a satisfactory recognition under the Indian Succession Act. Those rules of intestacy are applicable to Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Jews, Armenians, Christians and to the succession of persons whose marriage had been solemnized under the Special Marriage Act and are based on the Statute of Distribution which governed the descent of personality in England prior to 1925.

Where the intestate has left a widow and also lineal descendants, the widow is entitled to one-third of the property. The remaining two-thirds is divisible amongst children or the lineal descendants of the same degree equally. Thus the distinction between the sexes has been given up. In the absence of lineal descendants the widow is entitled to half the property. These provisions are further subject to the rule, in the case of Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Jews and Armenians, that where the net value of the property does not exceed Rs. 5,000 and where there are no lineal descendants, the widow is entitled to the whole of the property of the deceased.

Adoption and Indian Women: Adoption in Hindu law could be only of a son and not of a daughter. It was a "process for obtaining the substitute of a son, and its purpose was spiritual".

Women themselves were not allowed to adopt whether they were married or spinsters; and a woman could not be taken in adoption. This inability of the female to adopt or to be adopted is based on religious considerations varying in the different schools.

This disability has been done away with now by the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956. That enactment has rendered the institution of adoption wholly secular, and no longer religious, and introduced radical changes in the law. The two changes of importance in our present context are :

(1) Now a woman has power to make an adoption, if she is a widow or spinster, or divorced, or if her husband has become an ascetic or apostate or has been declared to be of unsound mind by a competent court. This confers a new power on women.

(2) Consent of the wife, or of all wives if there be more than one, is necessary before a man, who has a living wife or wives, can make an adoption, unless the wife has become an ascetic or apostate or has been declared to be of unsound mind by a competent court.

Under the earlier law no such consent was necessary, and a man could adopt even against the wishes of his wife. Today the wife has almost a power of veto in the matter.

Legal challenges: Certain sections of the Constitution have been challenged on the ground of religion and caste and community.

Article 14 says that every law that the State passes shall operate equally upon all persons. Section 497 of the Indian Penal Code, which exempts a woman from being charged with the abetment of the offence of adultery, has been questioned as contrary to Article 14 of the Constitution. It was upheld in the High Court of Bombay by Justice Chagla on the ground that Article 15(3) justifies the provision.

If the legislature has discriminated only on the grounds of sex, race, castes, etc. and no other factor could possibly have been present, then the law would offend against Article 15(1). What led to the discrimination is not the fact that the woman had a sex different from that of man but that the woman is so situated that special legislation is required to protect her. So Section 497 does not contravene Article 15(1). The Constitution itself makes provision for special provision in the case of women and children by Clause 3 of Article 15, which says: "Nothing in the Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women."

Providing maintenance to deserted women was questioned on the ground that it discriminates in favour of women and violates Article 15. But Article 15 (3) again justifies it.

The Hindu Bigamous Marriage Act was questioned on the ground that all denominational legislation as applicable to particular communities based on religion is void. The Bombay High Court held that the words "laws in force" in Article 13 did not take in personal laws which are continued in force by Article 372 of the Constitution. Personal laws are included in the Concurrent List. Article 44 (Directive Principles) contemplated the enactment of a uniform civil code for all citizens throughout the territory of India as an objective. There is nothing to prevent the State from making laws and applying them communitywise and territorywise since Article 25 (2) empowers the State to make a law for providing for social welfare and reform. The freedom to practise religion is not an absolute right but is subject to public order, morality, and health.

Conclusion: Thus women in India occupy a position of equality with men, not as a result of any aggression, agitation, or other violent movements, but as a peaceful revival of the age-old tradition, the glorious heritage of this land; and they work with equal vigour and enthusiasm in every sphere of nation-building activity, not in any spirit of competition, but in a spirit of co-operation in keeping with ancient tradition. They have always held an honourable place in the home, and today they occupy under the Constitution a position not inferior to that of women in any other part of the world.

- ¹ Prof S Venkatraman *The Hindu Succession Act 1956* Studies, 1956, S.C J.P. 195-204
- ² Stridhana . Personal property of women Originally their jewels and ornaments, later extended to other property, including that which was part of the husband's estate
- ³ Sir Gooloodass Benerjee *The Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhana*, 4th edition, 1915 P 337.

Defence Preparedness

Vidya Charan Shukla

In spite of our commitment to peace, we have been subjected to aggression on four different occasions during the last twenty-five years. We proclaimed our policy of peace immediately on attainment of Independence in 1947. Non-alignment became the guiding principle of our foreign policy. This was the obvious policy for a country which had suffered centuries of neglect under alien rule. The world was fast moving into the age of science and technology. India had to move faster to catch up with advanced nations. She had to compress into decades what other nations took centuries to achieve. Our resources were limited. The question that nagged us was whether to use them for economic development or for building up our defensive capability.

We had hoped that our policy of peace and non-alignment would be a sufficient guarantee against war. We had believed that we had no enemies and there would be no occasion for an armed conflict with anyone. This belief was rudely shaken soon after independence when Pakistan launched an attack on Kashmir. The Army was rushed to Kashmir in October 1947. The fighting continued until the cease-fire came into effect all along the Jammu and Kashmir front on 1 January 1949. The Indian Army has of necessity continued to guard the cease-fire line ever since.

Traditionally, the Himalayas guard the Indian subcontinent in the north. This was suddenly changed in 1962 when the Chinese launched a sudden and massive attack on 20 October 1962. We were caught unprepared and suffered many reverses. Our inadequacies in defence were exposed. For the first time, the Nation woke up to the reality that defence preparedness is the *sine qua non* of Independence.

An enquiry into the reverses of the Army in the North-East Frontier Agency brought out a number of useful lessons. These were weighed, assessed and assimilated. Improvements in training equipment, communications, supply and logistics, and the concepts of warfare were effected. Psychological conditioning and physical conditioning of personnel to the terrain and climate peculiar to the northern border were woven into the concepts of training.

Immediately after the Chinese aggression, the Army was expanded to a strength of 828,000. A Rs. 500 crores five-year Defence Plan 1964-69 was formulated. Among the new raisings were ten mountain divisions which, with higher mobility and greater fire power, were specially tailored to the needs of defence in the Himalayas. Increasingly greater stress was laid on training under actual field conditions. Officers and men were given "battle inoculation", that is, training in the actual terrain and conditions in which they could one day be called upon to fight. Many training centres were opened and new courses of training introduced.

While the Army was preparing itself to defend the Himalayas, it had to face another attack from Pakistan in 1965. The attack started in the

Kutch in April 1965. In August 1965, hundreds of well-armed Pakistani infiltrators, disguised as civilians, crossed the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir at a number of points under cover of protective fire from Pakistani troops. On 1 September Pakistani forces crossed the international border at Chhamb. Our troops were compelled to cross the Punjab border in the Lahore sector on 6 September. The fighting continued in the whole western border with Pakistan until 23 September when a cease-fire between India and Pakistan became effective. The Indian Army blunted the Pakistani attack all along the border and captured important places like Burki, Dograi, Phillora, Haji Pir, and a number of important communication centres.

The 1962-65 operations served as a backdrop to the continued activity of reinforcing our Army to meet the dual threat from Pakistan and China.

Weapons and equipment were modernised during the 1960s. The Army has been equipped with self-loading rifles, small arms with a standardized calibre capable of taking 7.62 mm ammunition, lighter and long range mortars, mountain guns with better range, medium and light tanks and light machine guns. All infantry units in the Army have now been equipped with weapons of post-1960 design and similar re-equipment of artillery and armour is nearing completion. The modernization of the signal communication equipment has added significantly to the operational efficiency of the Army. The Army has now been equipped with new Shaktiman and Nissan vehicles produced by our ordnance factories.

In the last decade, the strength of the Air Force has been raised to 45 squadrons of fighters, bombers, maritime reconnaissance aircraft, and transport planes. The Air Force has been modernized. It is equipped with MIG-21s, Maruts, Sukhois, Canberras, Hunters, and Gnats. These squadrons are being efficiently maintained. New system of training and maintenance of aircraft have been introduced, which have resulted in greater efficiency. The striking power of the Air Force has increased considerably in the last ten years.

Modernization and re-equipment of the Navy commenced in 1965-66. This is proceeding apace satisfactorily. The Navy has a submarine arm and the strength of this arm is growing. The anti-submarine role of the Navy has been augmented by the addition of modern anti-submarine aircraft like the 'Sea King' helicopters. New Leander-class frigates will replace the ageing ships. On 3 June 1972 our Prime Minister commissioned the First Indian frigate *Nilgiri*. Five others are to follow soon. The Navy holds and operates missile-carrying craft.

Our defence policy shaped in 1962 and revamped in 1965, in the light of Indo-Pakistani conflict, has proved to be sound in the 1971 war as evidenced by the decisive victory won by our Armed Forces.

The Pakistani military junta, which had been threatening an all-out war against us, finally launched a pre-emptive attack on a number of our

air bases. In a matter of just twelve days, the enemy was on his knees in the East. On 16 December 1971 some 93,000 Pakistani troops and para-military forces surrendered in Bangladesh which became an independent sovereign state. In the west, our Armed Forces gained overwhelming superiority over the aggressor. As we harboured no territorial ambitions against Pakistan, the Prime Minister announced a unilateral cease-fire on 16 December.

The fourteen-day war demonstrated that the Indian Armed Forces had maintained a high degree of professional skill. The three Services functioned as a unified team and made co-ordinated moves to defeat aggression. The difficult task of building up the necessary operational base on both fronts was achieved with perfection, foresight, imagination, and speed. The training of troops and the over-all preparedness to fight under different climate conditions and different terrains were brought to the optimum. Our troops fought as well on the dry northern plains as on the snow-covered Himalayan ranges and the wet terrain of Bangladesh criss-crossed by rivers and waterways.

It was a remarkable combination of gallantry on the battlefield, imaginative leadership, and indigenous supply of arms and ammunition. The outstanding factor, however, was the inspiring and courageous direction of the war by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

The victory should not and has not made us complacent; threats to our territorial integrity have not vanished. We have to be vigilant and to be prepared to meet any further misadventure.

Assessment of threats to national security has to be a continuing process. Refinements in tactical concepts, and technological changes in arms and equipment are reflected in the country's roll-on plan for defence.

A strong production base comprising thirty ordnance factories and eight public sector undertakings has been built to keep the nation in a state of defence preparedness. Our objective is to achieve self-reliance in the vital sector of defence equipment. Dependence on external sources for essential weapons and equipment is not conducive to the building up of a reliable defence system. This has been demonstrated in recent years.

The 1965 conflict with Pakistan brought home more forcefully than the Chinese aggression in 1962 that the nation's dependence on foreign countries for supply of defence equipment and stores was not at all desirable. The country realized that even those who had come forward with generous offers of assistance at the time of the Chinese aggression were not only reluctant but positively averse to assist us in 1965. Almost all the Western countries imposed an embargo on the supply of defence equipment to India and some of them refused to honour contracts placed on them even if payment had been made. The country had a similar experience in 1971. This has served to highlight the need to reduce our dependence on foreign countries for the supply of defence equipment.

We have done that to a large extent.

Today our defence preparedness has roots in the soil. With hard work and sustained effort, we have been able to build a fine and well-trained body of men to defend our frontiers. They have the assurance of reliable arms and ammunition produced in the country. Our Armed Forces have the competence and the confidence to face the challenges of the future

Defence Research in India

B. D. Nag Chowdhuri

When Frank Whittle was saved from being given the boot and was given instead the boost by Churchill early in the Second World War, he was supposed to have remarked that a nation's ability to fight a modern war was as good as its technological ability. Whittle's jet engine made a tremendous difference to the capabilities of the Royal Air Force. Unfortunately, it came very late—almost during the last phases of the war—because he was unable to get the necessary facilities and help to be able to work out his “crazy ideas”. Fortunately for both Frank Whittle and for Britain the help and assistance to Frank Whittle came before it was too late and the jet engine was able to make some contribution to the War. The problem in the United Kingdom did not end with Whittle's somewhat Heath Robinson gadget; it had to be taken very rapidly to a stage of quantity production by the British aircraft industry, in this case the Rolls Royce Company. Of all the research and development programmes that have been taken up, very few can claim the success story that was Frank Whittle's.

Scientific research and development for purposes of defence is a concept which dates from the end of the First World War. In most countries of Europe, in the few years preceding the Second World War and later during the War, defence research and development was an important aspect of defence effort. The missile and the nuclear bomb in the last months of the Second World War opened up the possibilities of the application of sophisticated scientific techniques. In the years after the War many countries began to spend increasing amounts on defence research and development as a part of their securing for themselves a defence posture which would be credible. In countries like the United Kingdom and France, this increased to about 10 per cent of the total defence budget by the last years of the seventh decade. The efforts in the Soviet Union, the United States, and China were in some ways more intense than in the United Kingdom or France because of their aspirations to super-power status. We do not have the exact figures for this effort in terms of their total defence budget, but it is evidently no less as a percentage of their total defence expenditure than in Britain or France. This effort has to be so large simply because of the nature of science. Many ideas and concepts occur to scientists. While all of them seem to be sensible when first propounded, not all of them stand the final test because flaws appear in the course of the work. Because the techniques of science have become very complex, one has to try a number of approaches to be able to succeed in one or two. This is expensive and time-consuming, and requires the effort of many people and much equipment.

New equipment or new devices are related to the strategic and tactical needs of a country derived mainly from its geographical situation and political stance. It also depends on the economic and technological strength of the nation. And lastly, but certainly not the least, it depends upon the

Armed Forces' own ability to use this new weaponry in the most effective manner. The world of the early 'seventies is still a world of super-powers. But the mechanism that effectively controls the pattern of defence of a small nation or a less powerful nation depends less upon super-power balance than upon the amount of independence it shows or the role it would wish to play in its own region, and the economic and technological discipline that the country has developed to be able to stretch this independence to its farthest limit.

The equipment that Armed Forces need is determined by three considerations : first, needs newly felt or anticipated; secondly, utilization of new principles of science or technology; and thirdly, the proper appreciation and combination of technological processes which give birth to new ideas for improvement or extension of existing equipment.

The principles that guide the production of equipment are also various. The first is mass production, so that quantities can be produced quickly and with minimum effort. Secondly, the equipment should be reliable under various conditions of operation. Thirdly, the equipment should be easily standardized so that their maintenance and repair become simple. There are also general trends towards the reduction of weight in equipment which ensures greater mobility. Finally, there is the consideration of cost effectiveness of weapons, i.e., the cost of making or buying weapons in relation to what is achieved or thought to be achieved by them.

In times of need and in times of political difficulty it has often been found that import of equipment or of crucial components becomes difficult. Sometimes supplies dry up completely. This is the reason for the effort to reduce imports of armament and equipment from abroad. Import of equipment also has difficulties in that imports from various sources are not easily standardized and their standards of reliability may be very different from ours. However, indigenous production of equipment or indigenous substitution of equipment to be effective has to be guided by a very clear philosophy as to what is sought to be achieved. Very often in our indigenization programmes the Research & Development Organization has been requested to find substitutes and this has been interpreted as substituting one to one every component in equipment or system. This has serious and obvious hazards and does not allow us the freedom to substitute components or re-engineer systems for least-cost or least-time solutions. What is important is the system's performance rather than one-to-one substitution of components.

Immediately after Independence we in our country began to think in terms of a programme of R&D to fulfil the needs of our Armed Forces. The exigencies of the Second World War led to the establishment of some development within the country because of the separation of the eastern theatre of war from the centres of supply in England and America. This led to the creation of technical development establishments in India,

mostly associated with the various ordnance factories. When we began to feel the need for making the Armed Forces self-sufficient and self-reliant and for developing within the country more sophisticated weaponry, an organization called Defence Science Organization was set up in 1948 under the leadership of Professor D. S. Kothari who was designated as Defence Science Adviser. This organization soon began to gather strength and during the first ten years several laboratories were started. In 1958 the entire structure was reorganized under Prof. Kothari and was called the Defence Research and Development Organization. This structure more or less continued and in 1962 Professor S. Bhagavantam took over as Scientific Adviser to the Defence Minister and Director-General, Research and Development. The organization grew further under Prof. Bhagavantam to 34 laboratories and other establishments of various sizes spread over the entire country.

The Defence Research and Development Organization, being a supporting organization for the Services, aims at designing and developing new and sophisticated equipment based on operational requirements and at helping in their indigenous production. It also provides scientific support to the Services in solving the physiological, psychological, food and other problems of *jawans* (soldiers). Defence equipment has become increasingly complex. Several technologies have usually to go in to satisfy stringent functional and performance parameters and diverse environments. Moreover, with advancing technology, defence equipment tends to become obsolete very rapidly and there is invariably a race against time to develop and produce equipment against target dates. Because of numerous limitations in our country, total time between development and production varies from five to ten years, which is too long for the Armed Forces to feel satisfied because over the same period the outside world would have moved further. It is specially painful that in our country technological disadvantages combine with procedural delays to inhibit our efforts to telescope or short-circuit the various procedures.

To reduce this time lag, a major project is generally broken down into a number of sub-projects dealing with a specific activity related to the major project. Such sub-projects, tasks or auxiliary problems are assigned to various laboratories of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (C.S.I.R.) and of the Defence Research and Development Organization where necessary competence may be available.

Close liaison and co-ordination between the various laboratories is maintained by DR&DO through the panels and steering committees. These also ensure that the progress on the projects is closely watched and adequately maintained to meet the target dates of completion.

Apart from this, a number of problems are given to various universities and institutions, depending on their expertise and competence, under a grants-in-aid scheme. This process helps in creating new know-how or

evolving new techniques and processes. These activities are complementary to the work of the DR&DO laboratories and help in finding indigenous substitutes for imported materials.

The DR&DO has on its rolls today nearly two thousand scientists and engineers, out of whom about three hundred are service officers who are engaged on as many as eleven hundred different R&D projects and studies in progress in different institutions under the Organization. There are other cadres of scientific assistants and technicians to assist in the total effort. The budget of the Organization has progressively increased since 1958. The growth has been particularly rapid since 1962-63. From a figure of Rs. 5.2 crores that year, the budget had grown to Rs. 22.17 crores in 1971-72.

However, the current level of expenditure on defence R&D in India is still very low, being of the order of 1.8 per cent of the total defence budget as against much higher outlays by the more advanced countries. For example, Britain's R&D budget for 1971-72 was £265 million, which was 11.4 per cent of the total defence budget. British defence R&D activities are spread over 18 laboratories, which have 30,000 scientists and engineers on their roll. We spend about 8 per cent of the total R&D budget on aeronautics and missiles, while Britain spends about 5 per cent of its R&D budget on these fields. With further increase in activity in the more sophisticated areas of aeronautics, radar, electronics and missiles, our expenditure is expected to Rs. 46 crores by the end of 1975-76.

As a part of this effort towards increasing activities in aeronautics, a separate Aeronautics R&D Board of scientists and experts from industry has been formed in addition to an Aeronautics Production Board. Apart from this, several other activities have been taken up to increase the intensity of effort in the aeronautics field following mainly from the suggestions made by the Aeronautics Committee under the chairmanship of Shri C. Subramaniam. In accordance with some of these suggestions the Board has been vested with financial and administrative powers so that R&D programmes can be formulated in the aeronautics and missiles within defence organizations as well as in other institutions. Similar steps in connection with radar and electronics were taken to energize production and development by the formation of a Radar and Communications Board under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister. A separate planning committee for research and training in radar and communications has been formed. In addition, an Electronics Commission and a department of Government have been established. A committee for developing the communications system of the Army has also been set up. There is an Electronic Data Processing Cell in the Defence R&D Organization for co-ordinating and developing inter-services requirements of electronic data processing and catering for the requirements of the Services.

Research and development potential is being developed in many other

areas also. A decision has been taken to set up research and development cells in ordnance factories and other defence public sector undertakings for handling the tasks relating to indigenization and improvements of equipment.

A number of officers have been trained at specialized courses within the country and some others were deputed abroad or granted study leave for training or research abroad.

In order to utilize the research potential available within the country and to create a broader base for defence-oriented research, seventy defence research projects have been farmed out to the laboratories under Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and establishments of Atomic Energy Commission. Sixty-four schemes and projects have been farmed out to the universities and other institutions in the country under the grants-in-aid scheme and a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs has been allocated for this purpose during the year.

A major achievement in recent months has been the development of variable time fuses with collaboration of two of the defence Research & Development laboratories and the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre. This type of fuse is extensively used by the three Services with ammunition to cause their detonation in close proximity of a target. The variable time fuses developed for the field and mountain guns have given reasonably satisfactory performance and further development work to bring them fully to the users' expectations is in progress. Development work on a new field gun with greater range than the existing 25-pounder gun which has been completed in collaboration with the Directorate General of Ordnance Factories, and a quantity order has been placed after acceptance of the equipment by the users. The other important items developed, which are awaiting production, are star shell and armour piercing shot for the mountain gun, drivers' infra-red binoculars for the Vijayanta tank, muzzle bore sights for artillery and tank guns, and an improved tear gas grenade and triple chaser for the police forces.

Some of the items in advanced stages of development are the time and percussion fuses for field and mountain guns, indigenous propellants for a variety of artillery and tank ammunition, night aiming devices for the Ichapore rifle and machine guns. Some of the seat ejection and canopy jettisoning cartridges developed for Service aircraft are being produced on pilot plant scale at one of the establishments and development of a few other types is in progress.

The research and development effort in the missile field is being considerably strengthened by building up of range and propellant test facilities and by some augmentation of manpower.

Effort has been devoted towards development of strategic materials particularly metals and alloys required for aircraft, electronics, and missiles. Research on various applications of powder metallurgy for defence

applications has been undertaken at the Powder Metallurgical Plant, which is also simultaneously supplying tungsten carbide, armour piercing shots and nose cones required for production of armour piercing ammunition. Some of the other items already developed, which are under pilot plant production, are the shatter alloy and light alloy castings and permanent magnets of various types.

Some important items in the field of radar and electronics, which have been brought on to production or developed during recent months, are the battlefield surveillance radar for the infantry, a radio frequency interference kit for the Vijayanta, a nickel cadmium battery for field communications set, a functional tester, electronic Fullerphone, besides some electronic secrecy equipment and charging and generating sets for special applications

Some important projects in an advanced stage of development include battlefield surveillance radar for artillery in collaboration with Bharat Electronics Limited, a very high frequency receiver, sound ranging system, and a semi-electronic exchange. Among the electromedical instruments being developed at one of the establishments are a patient monitor system, a cardiac care system, an anaesthesia monitor and a cardiac pacemaker.

Some important engineering equipment projects which have been completed are the assault trackway heavy, the mechanical mine layer, the bridge erection boat, the support kit overhead protection, and the light metal framework, besides a variety of prefabricated shelters for use in the plains and at high altitudes. Important projects in an advanced stage of development include a radio controlled target boat, a boat assault universal, an aerial cableway battalion and a class 50 tank approach.

The important equipments developed by the Vehicles Division include the armoured scout car, light machine gun mounts for jeeps, fitment of infra-red equipment on the Vijayanta, and fitment of communication equipment for tactical role on three-ton and one-ton vehicles, besides 10/20 ton low-bed trailers and some other specialised vehicles. A transistorized gear box controller for the Vijayanta has also been developed at one of the establishments in the Aeronautics Group and has gone into pilot plant production. The development work on an armoured personnel carrier and a self-propelled gun on the Vijayanta chassis is in an advanced stage of development.

A phased programme of expansion of facilities, expertise, and education of additional manpower has been undertaken in the two Aeronautical Establishments. The Orpheus 703 engine with the re-heat system developed by one of them has completed 150 hrs type approval tests and two engines of this standard have been delivered to HAL for further flight trials. A number of competence build-up projects have been undertaken for gas turbine component research aimed at future indigenous development of aero engines and applied aerodynamics and structures.

Development of aluminium-5 per cent magnesium alloy for aircraft and valves for high pressure compressed gas cylinders and a gear box controller for the Vijayanta have also been completed.

The important items on which development work has been completed in the Naval Group include the passive listening and harbour sonars used for detecting torpedoes and submarines, indigenously developed transducer for the sonar system, a miss-distance indicator for VT fuses, an echo injector for training of sonar operators, and an impressed current cathodic system for ship hulls. In addition, soluble plugs for limpet mines have been developed.

Some important items developed in the field of equipment include boots for paratroopers, crash helmets for despatch riders, carrying equipment for mortar machine guns, recoilless guns and ammunition, and parachute cargo.

Other important items in an advanced stage of development include clothing and footwear for submarine crews, fireproof overalls for tank crews, equipment camouflage for artillery guns, and various types of parachutes.

Mention may be made of mingographic recording fluid, 'polyshine' for perspex and similar materials, antimisting composition for wind shield glasses, high temperature resistant sealant for flange and other joints in tanks, indigenous adhesive for bonding rubber to mild steel to facilitate manufacture of ammunition, a dual type cement for repair of aircraft fuel tanks, and a large variety of aircraft seals.

The Research and Development Organization has also undertaken studies and investigations into physiological and psychological problems of *jawans* connected with the environment generated by the operational conditions. Special problems in the field of food and nutrition and development of accelerated freeze-dried foods and pack rations to meet various operational requirements are also tackled. Research has also been carried out on the development of radio-isotopic techniques in medical research, diagnosis and therapy for the development of radiation hygiene and health protection measures.

Among the establishments and laboratories under the Defence Research & Development Organization, there are four training institutes which run various types and levels of training courses for officers of the three Services and other inter-service organizations. These are :

The Institute of Armament Technology: The Institute imparts training in various aspects of science and technology pertaining to armaments and allied fields.

The Defence Institute of Work Study: The Institute imparts training in work-study techniques and other managerial disciplines. It also provides consultancy service to the defence Services on problems which could profitably be solved by the use of work-study techniques.

The Defence Institute of Fire Research: The Institute imparts training in fire prevention, fire fighting and allied subjects.

The Defence Institute of Stores Preservation and Packaging: This Institute primarily imparts training in packaging and preservation of stores and equipment.

A training school under the Directorate of Psychological Research runs a number of courses for officers and other ranks on methods of personnel selection. The Institute of Nuclear Medicine and Allied Sciences is also called upon to run courses on nuclear medicine and on technical aspects of nuclear, biological and chemical warfare and medical protection for the benefit of officers of the three Services.

Conclusion: Unlike production, scientific efforts are difficult to measure in concrete terms and the results of build-up of technology may take many years to show. Similarly, design and development of modern equipment involves marrying-up of sophisticated technologies and is beset with problems of new materials and components, their indigenous availability, and production capability. The present expenditure of defence R&D is only of the order of 1.8 per cent of the total defence budget and the infrastructure, particularly in the more sophisticated areas of defence technology, has still to grow many-fold to reach the stage of providing a balanced R&D support.

The Making of Indira Gandhi

H. N. Bahuguna

Writing about Indira Gandhi appears seemingly so simple. However, those who have known her and worked with her for any length of time know what a challenging job that would be. Hers is a multidimensional personality shaped by the forces of history. The currents and cross-currents of the national movement in which the Nehrus have played a principal role have left an indelible impression on her. She has not only been a close witness of history but one of its protagonists. She has never allowed herself to be overwhelmed or swayed by events, and has successfully kept aloft the banner of total dedication in the service of motherland.

Her rise to the present great heights — rather her natural ascent to the position of the first servant of the nation — is the culmination of a long period of preparation through suffering, fortitude, foresight, and crystal-clear idealism.

Her parents doted on her, their only child. Her mother was of failing health. Her father, great captain of revolt, would either be stamping the countryside from end to end or be lodged far away in jails. Her grandfather, her grandmother and her aunts had their full share of the travails of the freedom struggle. Though loved by all, she thus grew in loneliness, which brought its own reward. She developed a personality capable of independent existence and facing the rough and tumble of life. Her childhood passed under the loving care of her grandfather, Motilal Nehru, a born leader of men, and a man of intense likes and dislikes. To Jawaharlal, she became a source of inspiration which helped him to project his great literary talents and bequeath to the nation his history of the social, economic, and cultural development of the human race. Mahatma Gandhi abundantly showered his affection on the beloved daughter of Jawaharlal. All these factors united to mould the personality of Indira Gandhi. She combines in herself the indomitable will and generous heart bequeathed to her by her grandfather, a sense of history, sensitive intellect, and dedication to human well-being, nurtured in her by Jawaharlal, and the grace and inexhaustible spiritual reserves provided to her by her mother Kamala Nehru.

She was born in the year of the Russian Revolution, a traumatic event of great magnitude which has influenced the whole world community in an unparalleled measure. In India the year of her birth would be remembered as the year in which Mahatma Gandhi's voice was heard along with that of Lokamanya Tilak and the country had begun to think about its political future after the World War. The Home Rule Leagues had been active. This new turn in India's political scene influenced the lives of the Nehrus in a great way. The gay and carefree atmosphere of Anand Bhawan was slowly but inexorably yielding place to a tense exercise in political decisions. Soon the house in which Indira Gandhi was born became the headquarters of the Indian Revolution. The British police swooped down upon it at any hour of the day or night. Prison became

the other home of the Nehrus. It was in such an atmosphere of uncertainty and rebellion that Indira Gandhi started her early life. This naturally developed in her a spirit of defiance not only against British rule but against the very system which was responsible for the rule of one people over another. Even as a child she was conscious of the agony and misery of the Indian people. She received her basic schooling in politics through the national movement which took the Nehrus to unsurpassed eminence. She absorbed and assimilated all the challenge, pain, and pathos inherent in such a struggle. That is why even as a child she thought of playing Joan of Arc. Her hopes and aspirations were moulded in the spirit of defiance and sacrifice which were the very basis of national struggle.

She had her toys, but the deep earnestness of the environment in which she lived, the intellectual excellence which hovered around her, the atmosphere of rebellion which her parents breathed, set the pattern for her. She developed an intense dislike for all forms of exploitation, social, economic, and political. All her surroundings from her early childhood made her a votary of political freedom, economic equality, and social justice.

She had her schooling in Poona, Visva Bharati, and England. This gave her a world citizen's outlook. She developed an international outlook under the terrible shadow of Hitler's rampage across Europe.

In later years, as the official hostess and close confidante of her father, she assimilated the niceties and nuances of diplomacy — a diplomacy duly tempered by the idealism of Nehru. Sarojini Naidu had correctly foretold the fortune of Indira Gandhi in a letter written to Jawaharlal Nehru on her birthday: "Jawahar, you have a new soul of India." It is the flowering and blossoming of this "new soul," mellowed and toughened in the hard school of experience, which has become the greatest asset of the Indian political scene today.

A variety of factors have gone into the making of Indira Gandhi's outlook from which follow her policies and programmes. The central fact of Indian life is its poverty. Side by side exists a class of the rich. Plenty for a few and poverty for the many is too glaring for any sensitive person to ignore. Hence her emphasis on socialism. However, hers is not the socialism built on the debris of outdated thinking. She is an iconoclast, but not a destroyer. As such she aims to build an economic system in which the main levers, "the commanding heights," are in the hands of the State, at the same time allowing for the full expression of individual initiative within the framework of social needs. Her energies are directed towards improving the lot of the lowliest in the economic ladder—the poor and the downtrodden. It is this which has spurred Indira Gandhi to make a departure from the conventional economic thinking. She upholds the view that the concept of the enlargement of the gross national

product will by itself serve no purpose. What the country needs today is the gross national welfare. Again, it is the effort at releasing new social and economic forces for changing the *status quo* which has made her place major emphasis on land reforms.

She has set the goal. Her call for a total change beckons us to greater efforts in the task of establishing a really free and socialist society. Determined and single-minded, she will not allow any roadblocks by vested interests to stand in the way. These will surely be swept away.

Indira Gandhi is committed to establish "Arthik Svaraj". She knows that democracy can remain a vital and living system only so long as it is capable of providing economic democracy and social justice. Self-reliance to her is the *sine qua non* for maintaining any nation's freedom and independence. Independence and sovereignty have substance only when a nation's economy is self-reliant. Self-reliance does not however mean living in a cocoon, unaffected by changes in science and technology elsewhere. Indira Gandhi knows this and has therefore defined the aim as standing on our own, keeping, at the same time, our doors and windows open to fresh and invigorating winds of change from all the world over.

Some say she is a political gambler. That is an oversimplified view of the fearless spirit and dynamic style of functioning which are her main assets. She believes in taking risks when the people's interest demands it. When she challenged the caucus in the Congress party, she knew the dangers she would have to face, but she went ahead. Glory comes to those who dare and act. This does not mean that she has an adventurist streak. But when ideas and ideals are at stake, she cannot but be a fighter. It is this quality of dogged determination, reinforced by idealism, which has made it possible for the Congress party under her leadership to emerge refurbished.

She knows how to seize problems by the forelock and find an answer. These qualities were demonstrated during the Presidential election of 1969 and the struggle that followed both inside Parliament and in the Battle of the Ballot in 1971 and 1972.

Even when she was far away from the seat of government and irrespective of even Jawaharlal's views in the matter, she made no secret of what she thought regarding the question of bifurcation of bilingual Bombay into two States. This idea eventually emerged successful. The same clarity of thinking and sense of timing led her to decide on the bifurcation of the Punjab State into Haryana and Punjab.

It is not as if she was given to arbitrariness. Indeed she is too much of a democrat to be arbitrary. Only after weighing the pros and cons of a situation and after a full and detailed discussion, keeping the national interest constantly in the forefront, does she take a decision. Once that is done, she does not care for the pulls and pressures exercised by different or

conflicting interests. It is not for her to back-track or look sideways. She moves relentlessly forward. This is the basic quality of genuine leadership. And combined as it is with a superb sense of timing, witness, for example, the nationalization of banks, the announcement of mid-term poll for Parliament, and, still more dramatically, the declaration of unilateral ceasefire after the fourteen-day war of December 1971, her leadership assumes a larger-than-life shape.

Above all, Indira Gandhi is a nationalist *par excellence*. She is willing to talk, negotiate, and if necessary compromise, but never at the cost of the national interest. When the Bangladesh issue came up, she did everything within her power to din some sense into the heads of the military junta in Pakistan. She put up with the barbs of her critics at home. She also went round the world and pleaded for sense and sensibility. But at no point of time did she allow the initiative to slip away from her hand. The scenario changed so fast, events so rolled into one another, and the pace was so hectic and brisk that any other politician would have found himself or herself in a hopeless muddle. But Indira Gandhi kept serene and calm as ever. Even when the American Seventh Fleet sailed into the Bay of Bengal, she was patient, unperturbed, and totally in command. The fourteen-day war brought all her great qualities to the fore : determination, courage, and faith in the cause. It was certainly the country's finest hour; it was also the finest example of her leadership as the Prime Minister of this vast land.

A golden chapter has just been written in India's history. As a result, the country today is stronger, stabler, more sure of itself, and critically aware of its destiny. Gone are the days of meek resignation, of diffidence and desperation. The man in the street, the village peasant and the landless labourer, the factory worker and his still unfortunate brother without a job, are all astir with new hopes and expectations. At this hour of national resurgence, could there be any better helmsman to guide the ship of the nation? The people are indeed fortunate to have Indira Gandhi as the commander of their battle for social and economic justice. May she continue to guide the destiny of the nation.

B. Malik

Many of us had met Indira Gandhi in Prime Minister Nehru's lifetime, but she quietly kept herself in the background.

It was after the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri, an unassuming and gentle patriot, that various conflicting forces pushed her into the difficult office of Prime Minister.

Since being called upon to take up the responsibility she has steadily grown in stature till she has become the idol of the people, as her father was.

It took her several years to consolidate her position in the Congress party and win over the people, and once that was done there was no stopping her from marching forward to give effect to the Directive Principles of the Constitution, which till then had been treated as the pious wishes of the Founding Fathers, only to be paraded but not enforced.

The Herculean task which she has undertaken, and the strength and foresight with which she managed to remove the obstacles from her path to work for the progress of the country, convinced the people that she combined in herself the qualities of both Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel, that is, she could not only plan and dream of the future but also be forthright and take prompt action when and where necessary.

The experiment of carving out a single Muslim country of Pakistan, when its two parts had nothing in common apart from religion — their language, culture, mode of life, everything being different and the two wings separated by over a thousand miles of Indian territory — was an artificial attempt which was doomed to failure. The Punjabis of West Pakistan — in fact a few important families of that part — tried to dominate the East, treated them as inferior citizens, neglected their welfare and used their resources for their own aggrandizement.

Jinnah, on getting Pakistan, made a public statement that the Hindus and Muslims in Pakistan were equal citizens and would have the same rights and privileges. But not only was this statesmanlike statement forgotten, under the influence of the bigoted sections, but even the Muslims in the East were made to suffer and the resources of the country were mainly utilized by the military regime which ruled the country.

Dissatisfaction and internal differences began to simmer. Ultimately the military regime under Yahya Khan arranged to hold a free election after almost twenty-five years. The election brought to the surface the feeling of dissatisfaction of the eastern part and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who had been more than once put in jail and prosecuted, emerged as their undisputed leader.

At first Yahya Khan made a wise statement to the effect that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, having the majority in the Legislature, would be the Prime Minister of Pakistan, but later, at the instigation of Mr. Bhutto and others, he went back on it and let loose carnage and destruction. These would need a whole article even to be briefly described. Men acted

like brutes and worse than brutes. The details have appeared in the world's newspapers.

In the circumstances people by thousands and lakhs moved into India. There were only two courses open to our Prime Minister. She could either have blocked the border, which would have shown a lack of human feeling and sympathy and which no Indian would have tolerated, or shoulder the burden as best she could without getting involved in a war with Pakistan. Many of our countrymen felt impatient that India should be required to bear the burden of millions of refugees when our own people did not have enough for their own subsistence. On the other hand Pakistan was relying on its friends and supporters who did not seem to have any touch of humanity and were helping to destroy a whole country and its people.

Indira Gandhi tried her best to get the support of the countries of the West, including the United States, and of the Middle East to put an end to the genocide and the brutalities in East Bengal and prevent the flow of refugees into India which had reached the colossal figure of many million, but without much success, and then as her emissaries did not succeed she went out herself. The work that she did abroad, the attempts that she made to prove our bona fides and win over world opinion, earned for her the respect and affection not only of her own people but of all reasonable men and women and the world press, except Mr Nixon who proved that the U.S. Government no longer believed in the idealism of Washington, Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson, Roosevelt and other great Presidents of America, which was at one time believed to be the champion of human rights and liberty and equality of the people.

Indira Gandhi's greatest achievement during the period was the treaty with the U.S.S.R. Without giving up our ideal of nonalignment and without becoming a party to the cold war, the treaty proved to the world that we were not alone in this humanitarian task of trying to save the people of East Bengal.

Ultimately, at the appropriate moment, the Prime Minister did not hesitate to take action even ignoring the threat from China and the U.S.A. and the movement of the Seventh Fleet with nuclear armament to support the Pakistanis. But for the treaty with the Soviet Union Mr Nixon might have created a situation as in Vietnam.

In spite of the sabre-rattling and brave talk of Yahya Khan the war was only a fourteen days' wonder and within this short period the entire Pakistani set-up in East Bengal collapsed and as many as 91,000 soldiers and officers were taken prisoners. It was an unconditional surrender by almost a whole army. But again, with her idealism, wisdom and foresight Indira Gandhi declared a unilateral ceasefire.

Though India has won a decisive victory, that does not put an end to the problems that are facing the country. The Prime Minister herself has

said that now it is time for us to win the peace. Peace, however, can only be won provided both parties sincerely wish it.

A few years after Independence, I had occasion to meet Pakistanis in their embassies in Spain, Italy and other places and also in Karachi. I found them friendly and helpful, but in my more recent visits during the last ten or twelve years, I found that a new generation had been brought up in an atmosphere wherein they considered Indians to be their bitterest enemies.

If the Prime Minister can succeed in establishing a lasting peace it will be a great achievement and the country will be ever grateful to her.

On the "home front" the Prime Minister will have to work for unity and put a stop to fissiparous tendencies and all internecine quarrels and bitterness. The other important task is to raise the standard of living of the people and of the country as a whole.

Indira Gandhi has not only to attend to this very important task of national integration so that all the disruptive forces in the country may be silenced, but will also have many other matters to attend to before India can claim to attain the dream of Mahatma Gandhi :

I shall work for an India in which the poor shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have had an effective voice, an India in which there shall be no high class or low class of people, an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. . . This is the India of my dreams.

If this dream has to be fulfilled it is only Indira Gandhi who can do it. There are several factors which are working against the fulfilment of the dream and they must, one by one, be taken account of and properly dealt with.

The past history of our country would show that weakness proceeded from internal dissensions. We must realize that we are one people, one nation, and that our destinies are linked together by Providence and geography. In the old days the kings might have fought against one another but the common man was indifferent. Unfortunately, the fight between the kings has been replaced by a worse phenomenon, the fight between politicians in which by reason of the modern democratic system the people themselves get involved and it creates rivalry and enmity between different groups.

It is very necessary that our politicians should realize that India is one unit and it can develop only as such. Bitter boundary disputes, disputes about waterways, about the location of industrial units, all arise from the lack of realization that the interest of the country as a whole should be the primary consideration.

We have a federal Constitution with a strong Centre, which is given the residuary powers. The States which form the Union are not independent units as in the U.S.A. and Switzerland. In every State there are

several minority groups. It should be realized that every citizen of India has the same rights in every part of the country, is entitled to the same facilities, and cannot be discriminated against on the ground of residing in another part of the country. Regionalism, linguism, casteism, communalism, and unjust economic disparities must be eradicated.

Though the history of the languages will show that no language has lasted for ever, and the same can be said about scripts also, yet people have an attachment to their mother-tongue and resent its neglect. In our country this attachment has created a problem which is difficult of solution, because there are advocates of Hindi who are making an all-out attempt to change the Hindi known to the common people by eliminating all words not of Sanskrit origin and coining new words of their own, which unfortunately have different meanings in different parts of the country, and who seek to so manage things that a person whose mother-tongue is Hindi gets an advantage in selection to the various posts.

About communalism I am of the opinion that the sooner we realize that most misunderstandings are caused by ignorance, the better. Many of us do not know the meaning of a secular state. It only means that India has no official religion of its own. Since ours is a multi-religious country the basic truths of all religions should be taught in all schools and colleges. Students should be taught that if God Almighty can bear his children to worship Him in their own way, who are we to judge how people of other faiths shall seek their salvation? Tolerance, live and let live, should be taught in every school and college. Prejudice is mainly due to ignorance.

Lack of education is a primary factor in most of our difficulties. Democracy requires profound political education of the people; it requires moderation, tolerance and respect for the human being and his rights, the conviction that one's own freedom will not be respected unless one respects the freedom of others.

Then comes the most important and difficult task of what has come to be known as "Garibi Hatao". With this is linked the eradication of unemployment, raising the standard of living and bridging the gulf between the rich and the poor.

No sensible person can raise any objection to this ideal to which the Prime Minister and her party are pledged. Bentham says that "the right and proper end of the Government in every political community is the greatest happiness of the greatest number".

I may here quote the wise words uttered by Roosevelt when he was Governor of New York :

"What is a state? It is the duly constituted representative of an organized society of human beings created by them for their mutual well-being. The state or the government is but the machinery through which such mutual aid and protection are achieved. The caveman fought

for existence unaided or even opposed by his fellowmen, but today even the humblest citizen of the state is protected by all the power and the strength of his government. Our government is not the master, but the creation of the people. The duty of the state towards the citizens is the duty of the servant to its master. The people have created it, the people by common consent permit its continual existence. One of these duties of the state is that of caring for those of its citizens who find themselves a victim of such adverse situation as makes them unable to obtain even the necessities for mere existence without the aid of others. That responsibility is guaranteed to every citizen. To those unfortunate citizens aid must be extended by the government not as a matter of charity but as a matter of essential duty.”

In this connection the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights of December 1968 should be kept in mind :

“Everyone has a right to a standard of living adequate for himself and his family including food, clothing, housing and medical care and the necessary essential services and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, old age or any other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.”

Swami Vivekananda said that if there were twenty Vivekanands they could change the face of the whole world. Indira Gandhi does not need twenty Indira Gandhis to change the face of India. What she needs is honest, hard-working, patriotic, bright men and women who will follow her lead and work together wholeheartedly for the progress and prosperity of the country and happiness and well-being of the people.

Section IV

Problems of National Integration

Casteism: Impediment to Democratic Socialism

Jagjivan Ram

It is generally believed that, with the advance into the age of science and technology, caste barriers tend to break down. Unfortunately, in India they are not breaking down fast enough. Caste continues to remain a central element of our society. It was a predominant factor in the first General Elections held on the basis of adult franchise in 1952. There is little evidence of the role of caste lessening in subsequent elections. In elections to local bodies and, to some extent, to legislatures, caste continued to be the predominant factor.

It is an amazing phenomenon of Indian politics that the caste system should not only coexist with modern ideas of democracy and liberty but seek to dominate democratic politics. There can be no two opinions that the archaic caste system is anathema to a democratic society. But those who have by tradition emerged as dominant castes or regard themselves as ordained by God to be ruling communities are adapting the caste system to the processes of democratic politics. They do it in the knowledge that democracy does not exist merely in such external forms as municipal bodies, legislatures and Parliament but in social institutions too. By virtue of the place of vantage that they manage and manipulate to occupy, they encourage and instal their caste men in advantageous positions and strategic places in every field. They have developed this art with such a sophistication that if they distribute all the favours among their caste men they will refuse to be accused of casteism, but if non-dominant and deprived communities claim and demand even an insignificant share in them, they will be dubbed as communalist, divisive elements and what not!

Caste is a social institution which has a strong grip on the people's mind. India's emergence into the industrial era has not had even a marginal effect on caste groupings. When caste has such powerful influence on our mind, our thinking on political matters is inevitably coloured by it. Unless we succeed in evolving a homogeneous society, individual talent and initiative would remain stifled and the growth and development of nationhood would be retarded.

Some years ago, we launched a programme of national integration. An essential element of national integration is emotional integration. The antiquated caste system has come in the way of national integration. The system has divided the Indian people into small hierarchical groups with tribal allegiance. With groupings of this nature in existence, the loyalties of people are subordinated to castes and sub-castes. The so-called low-born remain perpetually condemned to the accident of birth and the so-called high-born surround themselves with the status which caste confers on them. This division of Indians into high-born and low-born is a positive threat to democratic socialism. How can caste and democracy co-exist? The founding fathers of our Constitution realized this threat and set out to make a provision in the Fundamental Rights. Article 15 of the

Constitution reads: (1) The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them. (2) No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to — (a) access to shops, restaurants and places of public entertainment, or (b) to use wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads and places of public resort maintained wholly or partially out of State funds or dedicated to the use of the general public. Article 16 guarantees equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State. The Constitution thus abolished caste and its lingering restrictive or coercive practices; it proclaimed a society in which inequality of status would not exist.

The question now is that the caste system has not disintegrated either under the impact of the constitutional provisions or under the impact of modern trends. As Karl Deutsch has said, men can advance their interests in the competitive game of politics and economics by forming coalitions which depend to a significant degree on social communication. Every caste and region, he says, wants to acquire the maximum power. While there has been a weakening of this trend, we cannot say that caste considerations are no longer there. In fact, they remain very much valid even today.

Although all major political parties have declared their faith in democratic socialism and in economic and social development through the planning process, caste feelings are still exploited. Caste is still regarded as a potent vote-catching device. Sociologists could, perhaps, conduct an analysis to determine the role caste has played in our elections at all levels since 1952. Newspaper commentators appear to be agreed that, in the first four General Elections, caste was a powerful factor. A foreign writer who carried out an analysis of the forces at work in one Indian State came to the conclusion that caste had played a fundamental role in elections. In another State, according to an analysis conducted by an Indian newspaper, the caste and the community of candidates decided the fate of elections in a large majority of cases.

While caste considerations cannot be wished away, one can say that programmes and policies are beginning to play an increasingly important rôle in elections. With an increase in the incidence of literacy and greater mobility of population between urban and rural areas, there is a growing awareness among the electorate of the issues at stake.

Perhaps caste influences might have lessened but leaders in order to retain their political hold and following and also with a view to ensuring success at the polls distribute party tickets to candidates belonging to their respective castes in larger number or to candidates belonging to the castes which dominate in particular constituencies. All the same, masses at times are swayed by popular upsurge and caste appeal goes unheeded.

Any slogan or programme which promises the prospect of a better life has a greater appeal to the masses than caste, since the average Indian though illiterate is not a fool. This could particularly be said of the mid-term poll held for the Lok Sabha in 1971 and the elections held to State Assemblies in 1972. For instance, the "Garibi Hatao" programme of the Congress had a direct appeal for the people and this appeal at many places was much greater than that of caste.

With the reorganization of the Congress after the Split, the demand for new criteria not based on caste consideration in the allotment of party tickets and in the appointment of ministers is becoming more and more insistent and vocal. There is thus a growing volume of opinion in favour of seriously challenging the validity of caste, community, faction or group in our democratic politics. Merit rather than accident of birth is the new demand. But this demand sincerely arises from the heart of the non-dominant castes. It is difficult to say when this approach will be honestly adopted by those who are in a position to give practical shape to it. If at any time this approach is adopted we may succeed in ending stratification of our society and in removing the powerful impediment of caste in our march to democratic socialism.

A restrictive factor in the evolution of an integrated society is the social philosophy of caste which remains unaffected by modern ideas. There are, for instance, restrictions in the matter of marriages. Castes are divided into sub-castes. Each sub-caste forbids its members to marry outsiders. Social ostracism is still practised as punishment for those who break the rule of endogamy. There are restrictions on food and water. People belonging to a high caste will not accept water from those of a low caste. Not only that, persons of certain low castes are not permitted to use wells or drinking water sources. This causes great hardship to them and engenders bitterness in them towards the upper castes. Certain castes are forbidden to eat onion, garlic, tomato, pumpkin, meat, etc. As a result of these restrictions, castes and sub-castes are inclined to become exclusive and a kind of caste-patriotism is born.

In many cases, caste continues to determine a person's calling. It prevents persons from engaging in occupations of their choice.

These restrictions have perpetuated the decadent caste system. The division of labour and specialization of skills by various caste groups has further accentuated divisions in society.

Each caste is somehow linked to some occupation. While there is a break from traditional occupation in some cases, there has been no significant change in occupations which are exclusively linked to caste and which require special skill. While upper castes have encroached into the occupational sphere of the lower castes, the lower castes cannot be permitted to engage in the occupations of the higher castes. Shoemaking and leather-manufactures, laundering, cane and basket work, carpentry

and blacksmithy have been adopted by many upper-caste Hindus. But a shoemaker (by caste) or a washerman will hardly be patronised if he starts a restaurant or eating shop, or if he acquires proficiency in priestly ritual. Thus, the lower castes are being pressed from both sides. Their hereditary occupations have been invaded without the slightest opening for them in the close preserve of the traditional occupations of the higher castes.

An expert study has revealed that occupational shift has affected only the peripheral attribute of the caste system, viz., the division of labour. In no case has the entire caste left its traditional occupation. In some cases, members of upper castes have taken up professions which are regarded low. The study also reveals the strange paradox that the caste is getting stronger and weaker at the same time. Caste at the level of endogamy is generally not breaking down. Members feel a strong sense of solidarity when it is a question of mutual benefit. At the same time, the emergence of caste associations with a political aim and the developing hierarchy of social dominance reflect changes in the relevant attributes of castes.

Caste loyalties generally assume the form of caste communalism which is more dangerous than religious communalism. The adoption of a secular Constitution is supposed to have weakened religious communalism to some extent, but group consciousness based on caste has grown stronger. Each group is interested in protecting its own privileges. There is a kind of class selfishness which wants to grow at the expense of the other. There is, for instance, concentration of economic power along caste lines. In rural areas, there is close connection between caste and landholding, between caste and co-operative facilities. Landless labourers are by and large the outcaste group. It will be interesting to conduct an expert study to find out to what extent the glaring disparity between the caste-dominated rich and the weaker sections has influenced the exercise of franchise and the course of politics in our country.

Some Thoughts on Indian Unity

M. N. Srinivas

The problem of keeping the country united is acute in the “new nations” and one that cuts across the distinction between democracy and dictatorship. The latter half of the statement needs to be stressed as, only a few years ago, many politically conscious Indians, and several political pundits abroad, were openly sceptical about the ability of Indian democracy to provide the country with either stability or the ruthlessness considered essential for a fast rate of economic growth. The recent experience of Pakistan has shown that even the most ruthless dictatorship cannot be successful in suppressing popular movements. It is, therefore, useful to find out the kind of divisive forces which are active in the country today and to assess their potential for chaos if not anarchy.

Colonial rule resulted in the new nations acquiring distinct political identities, and the withdrawal of that rule, in response to a complex mix of forces, international as well as national, was followed immediately by the release of sub-national urges which seemed to run counter to those identities. (For instance, the subcontinent of India was split into two sovereign independent states and this was followed by the strong affirmation of linguistic identities which, in the case of Pakistan, led eventually to the establishment of Bangladesh.) It is not sufficiently appreciated, even by the cognoscenti, that the ending of alien rule also meant the disappearance of an entity which brought together, in opposition to it, all kinds of forces and interests. The latter came into their own subsequently, though in the democratic system of India they not only changed somewhat but managed to find accommodation.

However, it must be noted in passing that not all groups and sections were opposed to alien rule. For, in addition to the barriers imposed by mass illiteracy, extreme poverty and other forms of backwardness on the rise of national self-consciousness, the colonial system naturally sharpened the cleavages present in the dependent country. And when that country is as vast, diverse and stratified as India, there is no dearth of groups looking to the alien ruler for protection from local forces of oppression, power and privilege.

It is necessary to add here that the nature of social solidarity is far from clear to social scientists. This much, however, is obvious that group solidarity is not inconsistent with the existence of cleavages between the factions and other sub-groups. But one of the hallmarks of a developed state is that such cleavages are subordinated to the national interest in times of war or other crises. This is one reason why dictators, and even some democratic leaders, play up the danger to national survival from an external enemy when internal difficulties increase. But the unity which is the result of opposition to an external enemy, real or imagined, is liable to disappear if positive common interests are not strengthened. Common values which include respect for each other's religion, language and culture, and a commitment to democracy, rapid economic growth and

social justice are essential if a nation has to emerge in India. The recent experience of Pakistan shows that religion alone is not enough to furnish the basis of a modern state. When to continued exploitation of one section of a state's population by another, and gross imbalances in the development of the different regions in it, are added linguistic differences and communicational difficulties, the viability of the state is highly doubtful. All this is hindsight, no doubt, but if hindsight can help us avoid pitfalls, it ought to be welcomed. Indeed, we ought to draw the proper lessons from the events in the subcontinent during recent years. It is high time that we took a fresh look at our policy regarding language, regional imbalances, Centre-State relations, etc.

A "patriotic" approach to the problem of national unity is unintelligent because it comes in the way of understanding the real nature of social unity. For when nationalism comes to a dependent country it comes as part of a collective self-consciousness which manifests itself at all structural levels, from the lowest to the highest. (And as far as the bulk of the people are concerned, self-consciousness at lower levels is stronger than at the higher.) While our historians and politicians have by and large concentrated on the development of Indian nationalism during the last hundred years or so, they have failed to perceive the basic sociological truth that nationalism inevitably brings in its train expressions of identities at lower levels. Instead of recognizing this fact, they have praised the growth of nationalist sentiment and bemoaned expressions of communalism, casteism, regionalism, linguism, etc. "Moral" sentiment and sound analysis do not make good bedfellows.

Indian nationalists have blamed the British rulers for exacerbating if not actually creating divisions within Indian society. Political adulthood demands that Indian intellectuals accept as natural the fact that any colonial power would have a vested interest in continuing its rule for as long as possible and that to this end it would try to take advantage of the known cleavages in native society. Noble sentiments were expressed periodically by sincere liberals in the British Parliament and elsewhere but the realities of the power situation in India did not correspond to those sentiments. A cynic might say that occasional expressions of noble sentiment only helped to salve the conscience of the sensitive in Britain leaving the bureaucracy and the commercial and other interests free to go their own way.

It is to be expected that the problem of unity will be complex in vast, ancient, and heterogeneous countries such as India and China. In India, for instance, the institution of caste which is practised not only among the Hindus but among Sikhs, Jains, Muslims, and Christians, was productive of a cultural pluralism which enabled a multiplicity of groups with different values and styles of life to coexist. After India

became a single political entity under the British, and as nationalism grew from the latter half of the nineteenth century onwards, all the groups mentioned above had to prepare themselves to fit into a new and emergent system. They had to be not merely Brahmins, Harijans, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Santals, or Gonds but also *Indians*. This was a new and revolutionary idea. In the minimally or unadministered frontier regions of the country such as Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh, this has posed acute problems for the local tribals, some of whom (e.g., Kukis) straddle international frontiers. For instance, one section of the tribe is Burmese while another is Indian. In the case of a few other tribes in North-Eastern India, vague promises were made by the British during the Second World War that they would be given freedom after the defeat of the Japanese. These naturally expected themselves to be free at the end of the War. Educated Indians have not appreciated the difficulties which these tribals have had in assimilating themselves with the rest of the population. (A good deal of this is due to the simple lack of information.) Our democratic constitution, the safeguards which it provides for the Harijans and the tribals, and the recent creation of Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Meghalaya as full-blown States, should all help in the growth of new self-identities among the tribals of North-Eastern India. The instilling and nurturing of such identities require patience and understanding from the elite. Very little has been done by the government to educate the elite to their responsibilities in this regard.

Public memory is short, and only a few years ago it looked as though some at least of the threat to India's continued existence as a political entity stemmed from the constitutional decision to introduce adult franchise in a country where over 70 per cent were illiterate and lived in villages with no access to roads. The politics of violence, on the streets and campuses and in factories, was rampant everywhere, and this was interpreted as the direct result of giving the vote to the illiterate masses. In 1969, for instance, the looting of public property, arson and intimidation of dissenters were daily occurrences. The police were called in when the situation got out of hand. And given the kind of police force that we have, it reacted predictably. Initial patience and forbearance gave place later to an outburst of violence on a scale that ensured that the original flouting of law by the demonstrators was buried under an angry debate by legislators and others over "police savagery". Recent events, however, have made two things clear: one, that widespread violence and intimidation, when unaccompanied by clear goals, will not receive sustained popular support. This is demonstrated by the organized resistance to violent elements by the people in places such as Calcutta, and the complete rout, in the 1971 General Elections, of local parties sworn to violence and intimidation. It also needs to be emphasized that whereas in Bangladesh, the guerilla activities of the Mukti Bahini received

popular support because the goals were clear and provided the only alternative to the inhuman cruelty and oppression of the Pakistani rulers, the politics of violence was decisively opposed by the voters in West Bengal because it became increasingly clear to them that they certainly were not the beneficiaries of a policy of violence. It is hoped that in the interests of political stability and economic development, the Prime Minister's call for a moratorium on all strikes, *gheraos* and political intimidation for the next two years at least, will get a positive response from the workers. The new concept of economic development in which the accrual of benefits to the weakest sections of the society is stressed over and above a mechanical increase in the size of the GNP, makes the call hard to resist. Besides, India has entered, willy nilly, big power politics after her recent conflict with Pakistan, and without balanced economic development and political stability she will not be allowed to survive for long as a single political entity.

The politics of street violence has brought with it a logic of its own, and this is evident where students — and also legislators — who regard themselves as a little more equal than other citizens, are concerned: they have a right to organize *morchas*, *bundhs*, *gheraos*, manhandle teachers, principals and vice-chancellors and burn buses and post offices, but the police should not be called into the campus. Calling in the police is a breach of university autonomy, and questions are asked in legislatures whenever the police enter the campus. The entire argument is conducted on the premise that the police should not be called in where the students are concerned. It is a symbol of being a progressive to say that the police have no place in the campus. This kind of rhetoric is popular with the students and anything which is popular with them commands the attention of the university authorities, vote-conscious politicians and others. That students have also obligations towards the university and the community at large is a point that is conspicuous by its absence.

The bureaucracy as well as the party in power must take active steps to *prevent* the politics of street violence. They must try to anticipate the problems that might arise and devise measures to prevent their occurrence, and when they do occur, see that they do not take serious forms. Regular channels for conflict resolution must be devised for all types of institutions and not only factories. Such channels must become a part of the new culture of India, and the courts must respect the decisions of these institutions.

If conflict-resolving mechanisms have to take root, it is essential that they are active not only in each institution but at each level of it. This in turn means that there is effective decentralization everywhere or that decentralization becomes a crucial principle in the structuring of institutions. But as things stand today, the tendency is to concentrate all power and responsibility in the head of an institution. (Most heads of

institutions waste a considerable part of their time and energies in attending to petty matters. No wonder that they gradually lose their aptitude for doing important things and become masters of administrative detail which they use to harass their creative junior colleagues.) It is essential that grievances are not allowed to ripen into riots before they are attended to. Otherwise the people will think, as they indeed seem to be already thinking, that until there is riot, authorities will not act. In this connection, it is a hopeful sign that in so strike-prone a city as Calcutta, the citizens recently refused to give support to calls for strikes given by political parties. This is a welcome change from the situation which prevailed there two or three years earlier. But the change in the citizens' attitude can be stabilized only if grievances are attended to promptly. And this, I repeat, calls for profound changes in the attitudes and procedures of officials everywhere, and in politicians from all parties.

A revolution is essential in our bureaucracy which was created by the British to serve colonial ends and which is now being called upon to serve the ends of a democratic republic with socialist goals. This task ought to have been tackled immediately after the transfer of power but it was only in 1965 that the Administrative Reforms Commission was appointed. The Commission itself suffered from no sense of urgency and its reports were produced over several years. The effects of the Commission's reports on the antediluvian methods of the working of our vast and growing bureaucracy are not visible to the ordinary citizen, to say the least.

It is not only the form of government which the country has opted for but also the concept of planned economic development which sets off tensions between different regions in the country, and different sections of its population. Those parts of India which have had some initial advantages over the others, such as the areas around the major ports, parts where industrial complexes and organizational resources already exist, and finally, fertile river valleys enjoying irrigation facilities, are likely to develop faster than the others. And until only a couple of years ago, several economists, industrialists and others were in favour of an investment policy which maximized the rate of growth. This will necessarily sharpen imbalances between regions and between States, and in a democracy such as ours, it will result in increased political instability. The relation between growth and stability is crucial as well as delicate, and one cannot be divorced from the other. It is time that economists and other social scientists realize that the allocation of large resources in a democracy is a political decision and that it will have to take note of factors other than maximizing returns in an economic sense. In other words, "sound economics" might be suicidal politically. In this context, the new trend to take note of benefits to the weaker sections of the society in measuring economic development makes more sociological sense than the older GNP criterion. This, however, needs to be supplemented with another

criterion, namely, the swift development of backward regions in the country. Inequalities are explosive not only as between different sections of the population but as between different regions.

The conflict between an overt and well-publicized commitment to equality and the existence of sharp, if not increasing, inequalities in the context of economic development is seen especially in those areas where the "green revolution" has come to stay. Instead of growing one main crop a year as before, progressive farmers are growing two or three crops a year, creating a demand for continuing inputs of labour. This has increased their need for agricultural labourers who feel that the increase in their wages is in no way commensurate with the vastly increased income of their employers. This has resulted in acute conflict between landowners and labourers in many parts of the country. It is conceivable that landowners will try to reduce their dependence on human labour by resorting to mechanization. But this move might only exacerbate landowner-labourer relations. And even if it does not do so, agrarian unrest is bound to increase. The fact that the bulk of the landless labourers come from the Harijan castes, or others just above the pollution line, will only worsen the unrest. The only long-term solution to this problem is the starting of small industries in the smaller towns or larger villages in which landless labourers will be given preference in employment.

The mechanization of agriculture is likely to have another serious social and political consequence. Bullocks will become redundant on a great many farms and the ban on cow slaughter which exists in many States will ensure that they will be kept alive. Peasants will probably turn them loose on the streets, and the question of what to do with surplus cattle will become a political question. The cow is a highly emotional issue in many parts of the country and agitation over it can set off reactions which might rock the political boat.

In short, the inequalities set off by development may prove explosive in the context of the circumstances mentioned above. This problem is compounded by the fact that such inequalities frequently overlap and intermesh with traditional and hard-dying differences between regions, castes, and religious groups. The disturbances which occurred a few years ago in Telengana and Vidarbha, and the reports of conflicts between high caste landowners and Harijan labourers, which occasionally find their way to the national press, illustrate the above point.

Inter-State rivalry and even envy have been a fact of life in independent India. It has grown acute with the establishment of linguistic States, and the rise and spread of political consciousness. However, the unity which the country displayed during the recent war with Pakistan shows that the divisive forces can be overcome without difficulty in periods of acute national crises. But that is not enough. Such unity should also manifest itself in overcoming the colossal problems with which we

are confronted. In this connection there is a real need to work out a proper framework of Centre-State relations, to gear economic policies towards a reduction of disparities, sectional as well as regional, and to see that adult franchise is not misused by interested parties to promote instability to the point that economic development is jeopardized and collective violence becomes an integral part of our national life.

What is the kind of unity which a country such as India should aim at? Here the Constitution has wisely provided for a federal system and declared India to be a secular state. Both the federal and secular principles are indispensable if India is to survive as a political entity though the exact manner in which these principles are given concrete expression at any given moment may need to be periodically examined. The surrender of either principle may prove catastrophic.

Language is an area which calls for a radical change in approach. The case for developing regional languages is too clear to need elaboration. But it calls for efficiency, imagination and sustained hard work over a period of many years. At the same time, the national illusion, cherished over the pre-Independence years, that English can be dispensed with is suicidal, apart from being impractical, if India wants to be a modern country where fundamental knowledge and scientific and technological research are not only consumed but increased for the benefit of all. A new mental climate congenial to the learning of Hindi in non-Hindi areas must be created without delay.

The idea of Roman Hindi for use outside the Hindi areas must be seriously considered. The eventual adoption of the Roman script for all Indian languages might not only serve to integrate the country emotionally but also provide it a link with a great part of the world outside. As the world outside swiftly closes in on us, we shall not be allowed long to live in the pre-Industrial Revolution era.

In other words, Indians, especially those who are from the dominant regions or dominant groups, have to practise tolerance if they have any concern for the integrity of their country. Tolerance is more than an ethical and religious virtue : it is a political necessity. Only the practice of tolerance by the dominant groups will create, in course of time, a stake for the minority groups and sections in the continued existence of India as a single political entity. They will gradually become increasingly integrated into the stream of Indian life and culture to which innumerable groups have contributed through the centuries. Integration ought not to be regarded a final fact at a single point of time but a continuing process gaining in volume and depth over the years. Integration has also two sides to it : the minority groups must develop a need to integrate themselves to the main body, political, social and cultural, and those who regard themselves as part of the mainstream must behave in such a way that the former want to get closer.

National Integration

M. N. Masud

Let us examine closely what national integration means or implies and how far we, as a people, are an integrated people, and how far we are not. If we go by the dictionary meaning of the word "integration", which is "to combine parts into a whole", we assume that the parts, the various communities in India, have been living their lives in separate compartments and they need to be combined in order to make a whole, the Indian society or nation.

On the very face of it, such an assumption seems absurd. How can a civilized people continue living in one place, India, without being influenced by each other every day of their life in whatever they do or whatever they think? And they have been living together in their country, not for decades, but for very long centuries. The widely known facts of history belie the assumption.

If the various communities had been separate parts and not more or less one whole, there would have been no uprising in 1857 of Hindus, Muslims and others together against what was regarded as the common enemy, the British. There would have been no joint mass struggles against this very antagonist under the leadership of Gandhiji, which ended in the transfer of power. There could not have been an Indian Constitution to govern ourselves with, since 1950. And we would have missed altogether the splendid spectacle of a nation standing united to meet the challenges of 1962, 1965 and 1971. During these periods of our history we as a nation proved in unmistakable terms that ours was not a divided society of parts but a united nation very much alive and pulsating.

Let us look at the question from a different angle. If the Hindus and Muslims had been parts, as sometimes they are thought to be, then the individuals within a part ought to have had a similarity in physical appearances, living conditions, ideas or ideals and, at the same time different in all these respects from the individuals in the other part. In other words, there should have been a distinct Hindu Punjabi and a distinct Muslim Punjabi, a clearcut Hindu Bengali and a clearcut Muslim Bengali and so on. But we know for a fact that there is no such distinction. There have been and are Punjabis and Bengalis, Biharis and Madrasis, depending on the area they come from or were born in. They can easily be distinguished from each other. But, can we distinguish, with as much ease, a Hindu Punjabi from a Muslim Punjabi or a Hindu Bengali from a Muslim Bengali? I am afraid not. If our lives had remained unaffected by our neighbours', even though followers of a different religion, there should have been no difficulty in picking up from a group of people, a Hindu or a Muslim Punjabi. Since it cannot be done without interrogation, my point is proved that it is the area or region which makes the whole man and not religion alone, though the latter has and does play a significant part in the make-up. If religious influence had still remained strong and pervasive, there would have been no Bangladesh. This

new nation has come into being because of differences other than religious. Religion played little or no part in its birth.

Ours is a vast country. It is divided into States for administrative purposes. This is nothing peculiar to India. There are other large countries like the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and China, which are also divided into States, Republics or provinces. These parts of the whole have their own individuality, their own distinctive culture and tradition and their own history. They are, however, bound to the Central Government not by a Constitution alone, but also by a common outlook, shared experiences and an innate desire to play their part well for the common good of the whole. They may not like to do away with most of the distinguishing marks of their region but this natural human urge on their part does not, in any manner, make them less patriotic or less anxious to contribute their region's share to the nation's weal.

If my contention is that we have been more or less one whole people since 1857 or even earlier and not divided into communal parts, the question can be raised how the country came to be partitioned on the theory of two nations based on religion alone? My answer would be that if the theory or the political slogan had been a fact of the lives of the people of the subcontinent, the Muslims of East Pakistan would not have revolted against their co-religionists and Bangladesh would not have been brought into existence. Again, if the theory had been a fact of national life, the one-unit constitution in West Pakistan would not have been repudiated and the unit would not have been divided once again into provinces based on cultural and linguistic affinities. In this case also, the ties of religion alone did not prove strong enough to keep Pakistan's four provinces in one unit which was formed primarily to resist the provincial pulls.

Our country came to be partitioned because we mixed politics with religion. Why we did it and who started doing it and with what motive are questions which might be left to the historians of the future to ponder over and write about. For our purposes, it should be sufficient that the country came to be partitioned as a result of an agreement between the political parties concerned. *The decision made was a political one to meet a very grave situation.* It may have been the only political solution of an impasse at the moment, but it certainly ran counter to the facts of life. But then, ours has not been the only country which suffered from partition. There are other countries, such as Germany, Korea, Palestine and Vietnam, which have been partitioned. In their case also, the facts of life have been ignored and a political solution of their troubles has been sought. The Second World War was in reality a world war. It may not have been fought all over the globe but its repercussions have and are still being felt everywhere. But for it the history of the world would have

been different. The life of almost every human being on this earth has been affected, for better or for worse. We can only say that it was destined to be fought and, therefore, that fact of life has now to be accepted. After accepting it, we should ensure that our country at least is no party to events which may lead the world once again to war. It is certainly given to us as human beings to mould our destiny to some extent, if not altogether.

Are we an integrated people? The answer to it depends very much on what we actually mean or imply by the question. There is a certain section of our people who raised the cry of Indianization of Muslims, most if not of all. Fortunately, that cry is no longer heard. Those who raised it perhaps realized their folly in following in the footsteps of the Muslim League which built up the two-nation theory on premises not open to logic and contrary to historical trends. It is hoped that the cry is not momentarily hushed but has been given up, and will not be raised again even if there is a turn for the better in the political fortunes of the group which had made it.

Muslims — against whom the cry seemed to be directed — took it to mean that only the Hindus could and were good Indians, while others could not be and were not. This was preposterous to thinking people. Unfortunately, there are not many who can think for themselves, and the majority would like to be guided by their leadership. This state of affairs is true not only of our country but of many others. In fact, it is one of the weaknesses in a democracy that a people's passions can be easily aroused by a demagogue who has the freedom to talk nonsense. The situation can become all the more difficult to handle when the demagogue mixes religion with his philosophy of politics and his audience consists of people whose emotion and not their intellect is appealed to. They can then be led, or rather misled, easily. This has often happened in our country and it will continue to happen for as long as our youth is not trained to think for itself. Our educational system was devised to work under the British and it is yet to be overhauled to work in a democracy where the individual is made responsible to think for himself and decide what could be good or bad for his country. Most of us are yet to realize that with freedom a very heavy responsibility has shifted to our shoulders.

We are all Indians, everyone of us as much Indian as any other. We are all patriots. This has been demonstrated not once but on three critical occasions in the life of our very young nation, in 1962, 1965 and in 1971. On these occasions we felt united as never before and bore cheerfully the concomitant hardships and privations. Did we feel on these occasions that we were not an integrated people? No, we did not. Does this not mean that there are certain fundamental factors which are common and which bind us to each other? Otherwise, it would not have been possible to put up, without any sustained and conscious effort on our part, a front worthy of any great nation.

Ours is a composite culture, various elements or strands having gone into its evolution. When we claim that there is almost a continuity in our cultural inheritance going back to several thousand years without a break with the past, it is implied that we take into account all those elements that have helped in its growth. A culture is one whole, though it may be composed of several strands. If it is to be a live culture, these various strands or elements have also to be very much alive.

A decaying process affecting one element is bound to affect the other elements as well. You cannot unwind a ball of wool without reducing, in the process, the size and look of the ball.

Let me illustrate the point I have been trying to develop, by quoting a paragraph or two from my book *World Hockey Champions, 1936*, written as a member of the Indian Olympic Contingent thirty-six years ago when the British were still ruling us, when the dawn of freedom was yet to break, and no one, I believe, spoke of integration or lack of it. It was my first visit to Europe. We had arrived in Marseilles and were on our way to Paris.

"I was ahead of my little caravan when something made me stop and see how we all looked on the first day of our arrival in the Occident. We represented a great variety in ages, colours of the skin and general appearance. We had among us ages varying from twenty to forty years, skins in all shades of white, brown and black, heights ranging from 5 feet to 6 feet, beardless and bearded, from no moustaches to moustaches of every description, leanness carried to extremity and muscles bulging out of the blazers, features Aryan, Dravidian and Mongolian, bareheaded, hats on and turbaned. What a variety in appearance! And, still greater by far in thoughts, habits, temperament and general outlook of life."
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Will the description of a group of Indians coming from the various parts of our country be any different now, after thirty-six years? Will it be any markedly different a century hence? Perhaps not. Let us now have a look at the other side — the more important one of the appearances, and let me quote again from the penultimate paragraph of the last chapter of my book.

"Our contingent was truly representative of India with her various religions, creeds and traditions, but we struggled together, Hindus, Muslims, Sikh and Christians for the honour of sports and the glory of the motherland. We had to undergo some hardships to make the tour a success but we bore them all with the smile of a sportsman. We tried to bring the map of India closer to that of Europe and acquaint the countries of the West with what the motherland and her true sons stood for. How far we succeeded in this will be appraised by our successors."

If I am allowed, I would say that the book was written at a time when our country's freedom was only a distant hope. It was a time when no

one ever talked of national integration or Indianization. We were struggling then as one people against foreign rule and were determined to make the necessary sacrifices for it and made them in abundance. We felt and acted Indian and gave no thought to the religion, caste or creed of the other fellow. All of us were struggling together to make our country free. Those days have gone by. But should this mean that we as a people were then an integrated people and now we are less integrated when a Constitution of our own making has been adopted to govern ourselves with, and we have made democracy function with remarkable success, to the envy of many countries which are still groping for a democratic form of government?

We are an integrated people with a composite culture. This compositeness of cultures — a section of the Communists use the word “nationalities” to emphasize the fact of the country being inhabited by people of diverse ethnic origins and professing many religions — is something unique and, therefore, to be proud of. There is, perhaps, no other country in which almost all the world religions are represented by millions of its followers, each religion having been allowed freedom to worship and propagate. These faiths have, in their own manner, influenced the thought and tradition of each other to a very large extent. They have through various ways in which a people’s faith is expressed, literature and art, music and dance, architecture and philosophy, contributed their share to the growth and evolution of Indian culture which may not be easy to define but which is easily distinguishable if placed in juxtaposition even with the Middle Eastern or South-east Asian cultures, notwithstanding the fact that the cultures of these regions have been very considerably influenced by ours. There is a certain Indianness about us all, the source of which cannot easily be located but which sticks to us all the same. Even a stay abroad, for long periods of time, does not rub or wear it off. Such is its pervasiveness.

This Indianness, which distinguishes us from others wherever we go, has to be maintained and cherished. In fact, the unity of our people, which we so much desire, depends very much on our attitude to our composite culture which is neither wholly Hindu nor wholly Islamic. It is composed of parts or elements drawn from all the religions which have flourished in our country and their culture. No one has composed it or co-joined these parts. It has evolved itself out of our history and, therefore, it is an inseparable part of each and every one of us. As we cannot deny facts of history, similarly we cannot deny what we have inherited from the past. The Soviet Union and China in their zeal for Communism and the communistic way of life tried to break with the past and found that not only could they not do it but that memories of the past were necessary to inspire their people in critical times.

For the mental and spiritual health of our people we cannot afford to weaken or depress any of the elements that have been for centuries a

part, it may be a minor one, of our composite culture. Any weakening or suppression will definitely retard the continuing process of integration and it may not be possible for those who are thus affected to contribute their due share to the country's development. Enthusiasm for the nation's service can only be created and maintained at a certain pitch by referring to the past glories and promising a brighter future. Past glories can be referred to and memories revived only if the people believe that their cultural inheritance is not being tampered with; on the other hand, it is being allowed to grow and develop with the assistance and opportunities offered without being partial or unjust to any one section of the people. Lost wealth can be regained, but if a cultural element of a people is allowed to die by negligence or by a wilful act, it is not possible to revive that element in all its past vigour and freshness. The decay or death of the element will leave a vacuum in the cultural life of the people concerned which will almost be impossible to fill in.

We are an integrated people. To put it more exactly, we are a people who are being integrated every day that passes. National integration is a process, like other processes. We should like to be a literate people and we have been trying to remove illiteracy; we are not yet an industrialized nation but we are trying to industrialize ourselves; there is widespread poverty which we are trying to *hatao* by a fairer distribution of wealth; there is filth and squalor in our midst which we are trying to eliminate by various measures. We are doing so many other things in order to make the people happy and the nation strong. In short we are building ourselves up. This is exactly what national integration means and intends to do. We are spending every minute of our lives in the process of national integration. No section of our people is being left out in the evolution of this process. In fact, no section can be left out, to whatever community or region it might belong. Our Constitution will take care of the unity of the country and its people and there are compulsions of the modern age which demand co-ordination at every level of work and activity, and a minimum of co-operation from all and sundry. Co-ordination and co-operation are the modern ingredients of making a nation, any nation, completely integrated. This takes time, as any nation-building process does.

What should we do in the meanwhile? First, let us not cry ourselves hoarse over lack of integration. If it is lacking, so are most of those other qualities which together make a strong nation. Secondly, we should accept unreservedly that ours is a composite culture which we have inherited and which has been woven into its present pattern over a period of centuries. This pattern has to be passed to the succeeding generations, intact and untarnished, but with some little touches of our own.

Some Constitutional Aspects of Secularism

V. R. Krishna Iyer

Is India societally and constitutionally secular? Both ways it is a mixed bag. A motion to declare the Republic secular was lost in the Constituent Assembly. But Jawaharlal Nehru minced no words in asserting that India was a secular state. But what is secularism? Pedantic scholarship on the subject heaps up dictionary definitions, semantic distinctions and philosophic nuances, forgetting that secularism is a way of life, a social objective and a policy of state. A pragmatic concept, on which legalese and lexiconese cannot be the last word, suffers when subjected to academic refinements. But plainly, secularism separates religion and cognate influences from the material affairs of mankind and directs that the social order be governed only by rational and moral considerations.

Sacerdotalism is out of bounds here, which does not mean, as M. N. Roy argued, that secularism is anti-religion. Nor does it mean, as Dr Radhakrishnan rather simplistically proclaimed, that it is just an equidistant reverence for all religions. The soul of secularism is a scientific attitude towards life hostile to both the old bigotry and the new barbarianism. The proposition that earthly affairs shall be guided by earthly considerations, and not by dubious reliance on other-worldly or sacred factors, does not reject the existence of the Infinite or Cosmic Spirit. Indeed, while irrational myths and religious faiths are irrelevant in civil matters and social concerns, the denial of supra-mental powers and extra-sensory perceptions, at this infant stage of civilization, is itself unscientific. Man's inner eye has a ken of the unknown mysteries and his inner experience attests the communion with Reality towards which science today gropes its way. In the larger perspective, Reason v. Religion is a false dilemma and the Science of Matter does not contradict but merges in the Science of the Spirit, a synthesis which Nehru achieved later in life.

For all practical purposes, secularism is the liberation of temporal affairs from the hold of the sacred and the superstitious, humanism being its very essence and crude godism its very enemy. Broadly speaking, the secular line is best drawn in Jesus's words: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's." The sceptre must prevail over the mitre where human happiness and social good are at stake. M. N. Roy was right in equating secularism with "the desire for freedom in social and political life, being an expression of the basic human urge for spiritual freedom." Marx, in dismissing religion as "the opium of the people", generalized from the operational strategy of the ecclesiastical orders in Europe and Asia and the social impact of Christianity on the people; but all generalizations fall short of the whole truth. Dr Hu Shih exaggerated his case to drive home a point when he observed: "The most important contribution that the religions of the world could make to modern societies in the world today would be to commit suicide." The corrective to this assertion is administered by

Romain Rolland who said : “. . . many souls who are or who believe they are free from all religious belief, but who in reality live immersed in a state of super-rational consciousness, which they term Socialism, Communism, Humanitarianism, Nationalism and even Rationalism. It is the quality of thought and not its object which determines its source and allows us to decide whether or not it emanates from religion. If it turns fearlessly towards the search for truth at all costs with single-minded sincerity prepared for any sacrifice, I should call it religious; for it presupposes faith in an end to human effort higher than the life of humanity as a whole. Scepticism itself, when it proceeds from vigorous natures true to the core, when it is an expression of strength and not of weakness, joins in the march of the Grand Army of the religious Soul.”

Secularism is not an end in itself but a means whereby society secures the moral and material well-being of its members without injurious interference by religion and para-religion, superstition and communalism. The symbiosis of the secular and the spiritual is possible but the strategy to push “religion” out of secular areas is shaped by the social conditions of a given time and country. The American historical background warranted the building of the Jeffersonian “well of separation between the Church and the State.” The march of science and technology also affected that society and so the Court construed the relevant constitutional provision in tune with the times. “Separation is separation, not something less,” the American Supreme Court observed, and its connotation went beyond discrimination between religions. The state must abstain from fusing functions of government and of religious sects, not merely . . . treat them all equally,” the Judges wrote. Thus the freedom to believe or disbelieve and the neutrality of the State in matters of religion are part of the constitutional culture of the American people. While the British have an established church, freedom of religion and of atheism is not a social reality. The Soviet Union is at one end of the spectrum while the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is at the other end. Only a Muslim can be a President of the latter and only a practising communist can aspire to be the President of the USSR. I hasten to mention that the Soviet Constitution ensures freedom of conscience, separation of church from the state and school. “Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens.” Thus, constitutionally, anti-religion gets a weightage and God is gradually withering away with the older generation from a society which is hospitable to dialectical materialism. Some socialist countries even run the church and pay the priest but society slowly grows allergic to the stuff of God. Society, in India, is making headway towards a secular ethos and culture and the state, in its Constitution, has a vaguely secular promise. One thing is certain. As Dr Gajendragadkar says : “Without secularism no community can come to terms with modernism and unless

the whole of the Indian community comes to terms with modernism, obscurantism and fanaticism will continue to pose a grave danger to our democratic way of life.”

Ideologically, our century belongs to Marx and Sartre. The striking successes of science in unlocking the secrets of outer space and the chemistry of the living cell make for a secular mentality. Politics, which is all-pervasive in the modern world, is secular although politicians exploit religion *a la* Jinnah, for their own purposes. Even the bomb irreligiously kills Christian and heathen alike. The United Nations and subsidiary agencies and the Declaration of Human Rights have shot the cultural texture of mankind through with humanism. Contemporarily, the swell of the secular tide is high and the mind of modern man is conditioned against a medieval world view.

Even so, our social fabric, cultural heritage, sacred-secular equation and current history decide the pace and progress of secularization. A discovery of India unfolds the panorama of the original Dravidians, the Aryan arrival, the crystallization of castes, the Brahminical hold, the Buddhist revolt, the Muslim waves, the Jewish settlements, the European traders and the boost to early Christianity, the coming of Gandhi and the chapters on the freedom struggle and India after Independence. The story of man on this subcontinent is ancient, and a great past gives a sense of stability. Different races, cultures and religions have met and mingled and a mosaic society is our legacy. The depth and diversity of our history reinforces its secular destiny because Brahminical persecution of Buddhism, Hindu-Muslim conflicts and conquests, European missionaries operating under imperial flags are but one side of the medal. The long chronicle of India highlights the absorption of cultures, the peaceful coexistence of religions, the eclectic blend of schools of thought and ways of life to produce the fine brew we call the Indian spirit. From Asoka through Akbar, to Nehru, from the Upanishads, through Sufi mysticism, to Vivekananda's rational religion, we have evolved the Religion of Man. Rabindranath Tagore and Narayana Guru, and the luminous Aurobindo, have bequeathed a spiritual, yet humanist, vision of cosmic creation. The Gandhian zeal for humanizing and unifying religions, to reveal the gold of Truth in all after shedding the dross of fanatical falsehood that divides and darkens, the reforming battles fought by great souls among Hindus and Muslims — all this is the cultural essence of India. Among Muslims, Sir Syed Ahmed laid stress on science and education and separation of religion from politics. Even Jinnah, in the forenoon of his life, was a perfect secularist and in later days concocted Pakistan as a cult of politics. With the hindsight of history some knowledgeable men say that had Jinnah been tackled differently in the course of the national movement, the tragedy of the two-nation theory could have been avoided. Indira Gandhi's leadership has, a quarter of a

century after Partition, rewritten a secular chapter with blood, tears and triumph.

The curse of communalism that plagues the Indian polity, the bane of bigotry and obscurantism that bedevils Indian society, the feudal sin of petrified groups walled in by castes, subcastes and sects and a hierarchical social structure, the bloodshot eyes of two major "religions" — all these stem from our multireligious legacy, totalitarian trends in Hinduism and Islam, and colonial mentality. Job reservations, communal elections, inter-religious clashes and gang-up of orthodoxies against humanistic and socialistic measures are other dangerous anti-secular byproducts of our imperialized religiosity. Our British masters blistered Indian social life by inflaming religious discords as part of empire-building operations. And "divide and rule" became "divide and quit" during "Operation Ebbing Away". They planted mines on our soil which exploded into communal bitterness and riots. We must sweep the communal mines away by Project Secularism. The British periodized our history religion-wise and now we must rewrite it objectively and with a secular slant. They stained our language and education with a communal brush and apartheidized our laws, public services and politics with religion, pampered our superstitious backwardness and created a vested interest in divisive national life. The British Indian cultural estate has to be liquidated if we are to fulfil Gandhiji's behest. "India's salvation consists," he wrote as early as 1909, "in unlearning what she has learnt during the last fifty years." Addressing the Round Table Conference, Gandhiji said : "So long as the wedge in the shape of foreign rule divides community from community and class from class, there will be no real living solution, there will be no living friendship between these communities . . . but immediately you withdraw that wedge, the domestic ties, the domestic affection, the knowledge of common birth, do you suppose that all these will count for nothing? . . . You will find that Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Christians, untouchables will all live together as one man." We have betrayed his promise from the eve of Freedom; for, in the blood-thirsty days of 1947, the Mahatma told a reporter, when asked for a message : "I have run dry." This man of God was killed in the name of a god and his birth centenary was observed by macabre Bhiwandi. We have no British alibi to plead now. And yet, right now, we are nearer solution than ever before. Not that platitudes of politicians, ritualistic Integration Council meetings and revolutionary election manifestoes can work the trick. But we, in the context of the lunar age and closer ties and treaties with Socialist countries, with electoral mandates for socialistic programmes and scotching of communal politics, with chauvinistic Pakistan cut to size in a superb battle for the human rights of erstwhile East Pakistani brethren, with the People's Republic of Bangladesh having been midwived by India into a secular

neighbour, we are at the watershed of viable secularism in India. There is a tide in the affairs of nations and we must take it at the flood.

Manu condemned women to bondage and the followers of Muhammad banished the fairer sex behind the *purdah* — both with a religious flavour. Currently a woman presides over the vague destiny of this country and has loosely become the symbol of its aspirations. Communalism was our largest political party but the new *Shakti* has broken its back in most States. Political opportunism to inflame communal feelings was attempted in vain in the Bihari Muslim issue. The Indian sky has more secular hues now and the Indian earth less communal men.

No battle can be won without strategy and tactics. How, then, can we alter the genetic chemistry of Indian society? Let us begin. Schools cannot be categorized or named Hindu, Muslim, Christian or Catholic. So also eating-houses, sports clubs, orphanages, hospitals and other institutions rendering social service. Special exceptions such as for Harijans or Muslim women are desirable, depending on our larger goal. Caste names and mention of religion must quit schools, public record offices, public services and private enterprises. The electoral rolls must delete castes and religions except of the Scheduled Castes and tribes. Vocations going by community must stop. Dynamic state policy may subsidize upper caste barber saloons and butcher's bills and employ high caste fishmongers, coconut-climbers, sweepers and the like. Likewise, Harijan priests in temples, Muslim or backward caste cooks in hostels for students and Muslim members in the personal staff of Hindu ministers and top-officers and vice versa, should be practised. Special financial impetus for Hindus to study Arabic and the Quran, and Harijans and Muslims to learn Sanskrit and the Vedas will be a forward step. No public function should ordinarily start with religious prayers, embarrassing non-believers and those of different faiths. High dignitaries of State should dissociate themselves from functions of a communal colour and desist from public display of official pomp in religious shrines. Religious heads being honoured at civic receptions by local authorities should be tabooed. Enterprises should not, through advertisements, donations or otherwise (deductible from income-tax) encourage communal or religious institutions or movements. Oaths need not be administered in the name of any God nor need the All India Radio propagate Islam on Fridays, Christianity on Sundays and Hinduism on other days. Ethics and moral lessons are a different thing. A hundred other simple measures will inject secularism into our social life if the state wills it. And a casteless society can be evolved only by a massive programme of mixed marriages subsidized by the state and with special quotas in public services for such "progressives" and their offspring. Ban on conversions, except on proof before court of conscientious conviction, will remove one cause of communal irritation. The state should not share the solicitude

for the cow with the Hindu or allergy for the pig with the Muslim; and public slaughter-houses should secularly but painlessly kill by scientific methods and not through Muslim religious functionaries. Animal sacrifices to God or gods should go and music before mosques, as also *bhajans* late at night, shall be controlled, not in the name of religion, but to avoid nuisance. Communal militia are in evidence in our land but it is a challenge to our secularism. No socialist revolution can be negotiated in a feudal, anti-secular milieu, and an atrophied social conscience is a secular misfortune. Today, communalism has poisoned the best minds and anything done by anyone is attributed to his caste or religion.

Shall we not subject all money-making shrines and saints to wealth tax and income-tax, ceiling on land ownership and strict control by civil authorities of the administration of these trusts, regardless of religious denomination? Should we not prohibit the perversion of "minority" rights by certain communal vested interests in the field of education? Religion did play a historic role in promoting fine arts, education, etc., but now a new evaluation of that role is needed. Values change.

Some early British rulers were humanist and secular, banished the barbarous "suttee" system and substituted a modern penal law displacing the Muslim criminal law. But when the segregation of the major communities became an art of imperialism, family laws were compartmentalized religionwise. Marriage and divorce, succession and inheritance, guardianship and maintenance, are civil matters involving no religion, no matter of the spirit, no communion between God and man. Indeed, even in such matters as transfer of property, the Muslims were treated separately, as in the case of the formalities for making gifts. A Hindu making a gift of land to his Muslim concubine must execute and register an attested deed while a Muslim donor can give the same land to his Hindu mistress orally; and this difference in the name of Allah and Iswara is a meaningless religious discrimination as I explained in *M. Rauther's case* (AIR 1972, Kerala 22). Hindu undivided families are treated in a special way even by tax laws while Muslim families are put on a different footing. Interests in property, like life estates, are recognized in one system but not in the other, although one fails to see what the scriptures have to do with a life estate in modern Indian law. Are our courts still to listen to the voices from the grave? More illustrations can be given of the non-secular civil laws in India and yet these colonial anomalies in the *corpus juris* remain untouched and untouchable, twenty-five years after Independence.

Again, is it fair or secular to continue, in the Penal Code, offences relating to Religion (Chapter IV of the IPC)? John D. Mayne regarded these sections as dangerous, and there is no reason why religion should not take its chance with anti-religion and other social factors in the field of criminal law. Myth and legend, idols and processional worship,

cannot have special precedence and protection under the law, if ours is a secular state. The rule of law must run close to the rule of life and so our legislatures can no longer slumber over their duty to secularize our legal system.

The supreme law of the land which regulates and governs the principal instrumentalities of the state and sets the norms of national behaviour is the Constitution — which is what the judges say it is — and must be examined in that light for its secular substance.

Constitutional law is basic social engineering; and the creation of secular humanism and a forward-looking faith in enlightenment and free enquiry is possible only through a suitable constitutional machinery. The keynote of the Constitution, which promises “Justice, social, economic and political,” is secular. But the pledges of the Preamble prove teasing illusions unless programmes for fulfilment follow. Secular equality is a founding faith of ours and the fasciculus of egalitarian articles inhibits discrimination by the state on the ground of religion or caste and ensures equal protection of the law. Nor shall any disability due to religion or caste be imposed in any public place or shop; and the use of wells and bathing facilities and places of public resort “maintained wholly or partly out of state funds or dedicated to the use of the general public” shall be available to all castes and communities. Yet, India even now lives with medieval rashes (and ashes) all over its body. Private untouchability, denial of entry into private temples, religious self-torture and obscenity, and the like, religiously mar our secular escutcheon because the Constitution, in Articles 17 and 25, is not wide enough. The secular spirit of the Constitution expresses itself in Articles 25 and 26 by reserving the power of the State to interfere with religion in matters of public order, morality and health, and for social welfare and reform. Secular activities of religious institutions are amenable to state regulation by law (Articles 25 and 26). Freedom from taxation, the proceeds of which are specifically appropriated for a particular religion, is guaranteed by Article 27 while freedom from religious instruction in state-owned educational institutions is declared in Article 28. Even in other institutions, if recognized or aided by the state, religious instruction or worship shall not be compelled. Freedom of conscience, which presumably covers the right to be a non-believer, is upheld by Article 25, but, curiously enough, unlike in socialist constitutions, freedom to propagate religion, but not anti-religion, is a fundamental right. The Dravida Kazhagam and other anti-God movements are right to this extent about the pro-religious slant of the Constitution. A permissive amendment allowing propagation of anti-religion as fundamental right is not a revolutionary step when man walks the moon instead of worshipping it. In the social-political climate of Tamil Nadu, the demand is no academic exercise. Can Nehru’s India say “no” to this needed secular direction in a country whose leading

journals still sickeningly thrive on the credulity of people by publishing astrological predictions? The suppression, over the ages, of the socio-religiously downtrodden, called, in constitutional terminology, the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, is sought to be wiped out by special electoral privileges, reservation in public services and other measures to level up these backward human areas in line with the rest of society. This set of special provisions in Part XVI and Article 15(4) and Article 16(4), are necessary to neutralize a past anti-secular injustice, and so understood, are really secular. It is a just tribute to the framers of our Constitution that a great secular job has been done having regard to the then backward background of India.

Nevertheless, gaping holes in the secular heart of the Constitution require to be plugged. What are they? Before proceeding further, one general remark calls to be made. Our Constitution has borrowed profusely from the made-in-Britain Government of India Act, 1935, and the legal pundits who shaped the clauses were experts in Anglo-American Constitutional Law, but ill-informed about the socialist constitutions. They were more busy with mandates to the state, American style, than with mutation of society, Soviet fashion.

Some general criticisms, from the secular angle, may be first ventured. The fundamental rights are largely obligations only of the state or allied agencies but a society is wider than a state, more so where the private sector is all-pervasive. For example, a law cannot discriminate between Hindu and Christian nor can a government college or industry show preference to one caste or religion in admission or employment. But any private institution can act arbitrarily and any private industry may show caste and communal bias openly with impunity. Even such public sector industries as do not necessarily constitute "state" may constitutionally act communally. Private wells, tanks and roads, places of entertainment and worship may practise casteism nakedly. Poor consolation that government is bound to be non-communal while the whole caste-conscious community may indulge in the vice with a constitutional conscience. Another marginal danger. There is a communal touch in Article 15(4) unless applied scientifically. The Supreme Court secularly construed the expression "backward class" in Balaji's case (AIR 1963 SC 649) and exposed the popular but convenient confusion the not-so-secular political governments made between caste and class. While caste is clearly a relevant factor in deciding backwardness, "class" is a wider social concept. But in some States caste-conditioned politicians projected unalloyed communalism into their educational and employment reservation policies, under Article 15(4) and Article 16(4). The courts are criticized for many ills but no secular democrat can agree that casteism can be constitutional when a casteless society is the national goal. The battle for secularism must be fought on the front of socio-economic backwardness.

Unless a social campaign is set in motion, aided by state policy and constitutional provision, to obliterate caste by intercaste and interreligious marriages and conversion, by voluntary legal declaration of masses of people into a casteless category who agree to live in Harijan hostels as students, Harijan areas as families, and in every other way castelessly, we cannot make headway. The maze of subcastes and associated social ills, among backward castes, must be ended. The State should ban, by law, communal student organizations, labour unions and the like, and encourage, by subsidy and special advantages, all organizations which fight caste, promote mixed marriages and embrace the casteless life. More positivist provisions in our law are needed if non-communalism is to be taken as a credible constitutional objective. If we fail therein, communal claims, including division of secular offices like ministerships and judgeships communitywise, will become more militant. A set of objective tests may be constitutionally laid down to check periodically on job and examination performances of communal groups so that "reservations" may be progressively re-fashioned. Moreover, extra facilities for backward communities is a more rational and national solution than treating substandard stuff as better, by legal fiction.

A note of caution needs to be sounded, however, against a pseudo-secular communalist movement. Castes have socio-economic connotations, groupwise, and in special situations a caste may spell backwardness; and so, in measures to level up backward groups some importance to caste or religion — not *qua* caste or religion but as *indicia* of backwardness — is legitimate. The vice is in overlooking other significant factors which the Court discussed in Balaji's case. The upper castes draw the red herring across the trail by striking a socialistic pose and ignoring the reality of caste downtroddenness. In Rajendran's case (AIR 1968 SC 1012) the same Court accepted caste as an index of backwardness, the opposite not having been proved. A scientific and progressive approach would be not to play down merit overmuch in the name of caste or backwardness but help the weaker person outlive his pathology by special educational and social care. In the short term, caste disabilities must be recognized along with other factors like rustic surroundings, illiterate parents, occupational backwardness and poverty of the family. A composite system of marks for several factors, including caste, may reach social justice for the disadvantaged and take us nearer the goal. Eventually, socialism is the panacea for social disparities. But political manipulation with communal equations has come to stay, and there is the rub!

Eminent jurists have stated that Indian secularism is not anti-religious because all religions are welcomed by our Constitution. A slightly more correct statement may be that the constitutional solicitude for all religions is the Achilles's heel of that great document. Even judicial

secularism has come under a cloud after the cow slaughter cases. Article 48, which thinly conceals with a secular veneer, the sacred cow superstition of Hindus, has now been sanctified by a high judicial verdict. Why the slaughter of cows should have been prohibited in the name of organizing agriculture and animal husbandry puzzles a secularist. More bizarre is the rather sentimental pronouncement of the Supreme Court which upheld a *total* ban on slaying cows, even if useless and old, as constitutionally good but denied that sacred immunity to bulls and buffaloes. Hanif Quoreshi's case (AIR 1968 SC 731) hardly brings more secular credit to the judges than to the legislators. Perhaps Kashmir shows better regard for "minority" dietary sentiment by banning beef! A more serious challenge to judicial secularism springs from its pronouncement on the rights of religious minorities beginning with *In Re Kerala Education Act* (AIR 1958 SC 956) and ending with the *Kerala University Act* case (AIR 1970 SC 2079). Article 29(2), quite sensibly and secularly, interdicts denial of admission of students into institutions maintained by or receiving aid from the state on grounds only of religion or caste. You cannot use state funds and discriminate between citizens without being guilty of religious tyranny. Article 30(1) guarantees the right of minorities "based on religion or language" to establish and administer educational institutions. The plain democratic sense of this provision is that religious and linguistic groups must have the freedom to foster their language and religion (and the two are often intertwined). The next sub-article directs the state not to be hostile to such minorities in the grant of aid to educational institutions. The democratic (and secular) spirit of this provision is that the majority shall not use financial coercion on religious minorities through withholding of state aid. No canon of democratic fairplay demands that minorities should be enthroned above majorities and be a law unto themselves at the expense of the state. And when the champions of these minorities are reactionary and seek financial advantages and economic power they do not really speak for their masses. When they do not organize the institution for promotion of religion or language as such and yet claim special treatment, a constitutional counterfeiting takes place. Yet, one must say with great reverence for their Lordships, the meaning of the "minority" provisions, judicially interpreted, indirectly hampers healthy university education in the country and calls for a constitutional second look and amendment, if need be. The crux of the matter is that the cultural identity (a religio-linguistic complex) of denominations and groups shall be preserved but "autonomy" shall not invade other areas.

Before examining the law, the democratic perspective of a pluralist society *vis-a-vis* its cultural minorities should be clear. A majority can carry the day by numbers but not so a minority, so that special concern to preserve the cultural personality of the minority is essential to the

democratic way of life. Religion and the outgrowth of song and prayer, dance and worship, festivals and fasts, are part of its identity. Justice to religious minorities implies protection of its individuality and opportunities to develop it. But distortions of minority rights must be disregarded lest the secular basis of the polity be subverted. For example, a medical college run by a Christian, an engineering institute established by a Muslim or a teachers' college started by a Jew, where admissions are open to outsiders and the curriculum is like any government-run institution, cannot invoke the status and constitutional immunities of a minority institution without doing violence to the concept. Maybe, if religious instruction, education in cultural peculiarities and special training in any religiously fostered pattern of medical, musical or other subject concerning a minority, is sought to be imparted to the members of that group, there is perhaps a nexus and claim to protection. Not otherwise. But it is unfortunate that an interpretation of the constitutional provisions has expanded "minority" rights (and property rights) to cover "religious exemption" from legislative regulation of regular schools and colleges, teaching ordinary secular subjects and subsidized by the state, in the matter of admissions, appointments, promotions and management. Who is a "minority?" Every caste? What is the scope of the religious protection? To thrive by running, as you please, medical, engineering or arts and science colleges? New lines must be drawn clarifying the intendment of the founding fathers. The Kerala University Senate has already raised the issue because the Kerala State has suffered most. Anyway, a national debate is overdue.

There is one national controversy now bitterly going on. Article 44 in Part IV of the Constitution articulates a present wish of Indians to have a common Civil Code. Constitutional provisions, Stalin said in 1936, are not ideals but realities. Part IV formulates principles fundamental to the governance of the country and so a common family code for all Indians is not a remote project. Even so, a few flaws in the noisy demand require to be noticed. When Hindu chauvinism raises the clamour, Muslim minority sensitivity suspects the motivation to be imposition. Indeed, Hindu militants facilely assume that their present family code may virtually become a common code, abolishing Muslim polygamy and masculine right of divorce at will. The truth is that there are some aspects of Muslim matrimonial law which deserve to be incorporated in the common Indian Code and thus imposed on the Hindus. For instance, the Muslim idea of marriage as a solemn contract is more secular and modern than the Hindu-Christian claim that it is a sacrament, and should figure in the common code. Breakdown of marriage beyond repair as a ground for divorce is part of Muslim law and has been recently accepted in some Commonwealth countries as good ground. Why not Hindus borrow this from their Muslim brothers into the common

code? More examples can be cited. Curiously enough, in advanced Kerala, even now among Hindus, family laws castewise, and among Christians sectwise, exist.

The point is that the Indian Code will be Indian — both Hindu and Muslim concepts contributing to its personality. Secondly, it is psychologically important that a minority must be educated to accept and not forced to swallow. The sense of identity of the Mussalman suggests two tactics. There should be, as was done by Nehru with the Hindus, Muslim chapters first enacted; e.g., Muslim Reform of Marriage and Divorce Act — as eventually leading up to a common code. Secondly, the reforms should be justified or reinforced as far as possible, by interpreting the Quran and the Prophet and eclectic choice from the schools of Muslim Law. Monogamy can be traced to Quranic injunctions as President Bourguiba did while banning polygamy in Tunisia. Right of divorce for the woman is of venerable Islamic vintage and can be upheld on the Prophet's own sayings. I held so in Souramma's case (AIR 1971 Kerala 261) and Muslim opinion in the country has given broad assent to it. Enough authority exists for writing statutory conditions against unjustified divorce into the Muslim marriage contract, as Danial Latifi, in a learned paper, explained at a recent seminar. We should go to the original source, study what many other Muslim countries have done, and evolve organic changes in the family law. Unfortunately, secular judicial activism could have done much in this direction, but has not.

Government also has been timid and tepid. Progressive organizations of men and women should have been encouraged, as a policy, to speak up and propagate secular views. Muslim women's education should have been given expensive priority by the state. Tiny bits of secular legislation to improve the lot of women and children can even now be tried. For instance, an indigent, unprovided divorcee, until remarriage can be made eligible for summary maintenance under Section 488 of the Criminal Procedure Code. A mother can be made the legal guardian of the child in the absence of the father. Now father, father's father and their testamentary guardians displace the mother. It is good to inform Muslim opinion, not offensively but persuasively, that even now cases of Muslims like Moplas and Cutchi Memons, are not governed by Muslim law in many matters. Waiting for the last fanatic to be converted before progressive legislation will be undertaken evidences indifferent secularism. A case in contrast is the state programme on family planning overruling obscurantist objection. But forcing the step without reaching a ripe stage and sufficient social preparation may be a blunder.

Language in India has religious overtones — Urdu and Arabic, Hindi and Sanskrit, Cyriac and Hebrew. Gandhiji wanted Hindustani and Nehru went a secular step further to champion the Roman

script If only we could make Sanskrit popular among non-Hindus and Arabic among Hindus, the Quran and the Gita would not quarrel but combine. If our script were Latinized a new secular bond and a wider awareness may dawn on the people. At least a directive principle, by amending Part IV, is desirable in this behalf. Currently, many social areas live untouchably apart — castes and sub-castes monopolize separate streets. Muslims, Anglo-Indians and Jews and Harijans segregate themselves religionwise. To secularize is to churn them up and make a good mix. Should not the state, in its rural housing programmes and urban colonies, by proper social planning abolish this pseudo-apartheid? A constitutional mandate is necessary in this behalf, too.

How long shall we remain static? The people are awake. In a sense, Gandhi-Nehru-Indira is a secular continuum but the last has the best chance.

Any programme, however good, may fail unless inspired leadership and active cadres exist. Nehru's charisma, vision and drive proved operationally ineffective, surrounded as he was by lieutenants who neutralized him ideologically, and suffering, as he did, for want of an army of trained young Indians who could officially execute the new policy. Cadres are everything, Lenin remarked, and the secular-socialist Indira phenomenon may well be an ephemeral phase and her name relegated to the footnotes of history unless a bold strategy and numerous cadres can be conjured up — not haphazardly but in an organized, official way. An institute for secularism, which will study the legal constitutional deficiencies from the secular standpoint and suggest measures, legislative and pre-legislative, to decommunalize politics and administration, to organize secular propaganda through trained cadres from all communities, is desirable. The institute may lay down secular guidelines for officials, politicals and working class people and prescribe syllabi in secular socialism which must be compulsory subjects. Our traditional society cannot be transmuted into secularism without an activist socio-legal campaign. No nobler tribute to Nehru by his great daughter can be offered than to execute his secular-socialist bequest to his dear countrymen. And Indira Gandhi is sage enough to know that unkept promises can be boomerang bombs. Being a rule-of-law community we need constitutional changes and new laws to achieve the breakthrough and cannot stop with oral secularism and gimmicks. The current leadership has some credibility.

Secularization and secularism form the centre of thought in western theology. Dietrich Bonhoeffer is considered to be the high priest of Secular Christianity.¹ *The Secular City* (Harvey Cox), *The Secular Meaning of the Gospel* (Paul van Buren), *Radical Theology* and *The Death of God* (T.J.J. Altizer/W. Hamilton) *Honest to God* (J.A.T. Robinson), *Religion in a Secular Age* (John Gogley), *The Meaning of the Death of God* (Bernard Murchland), *Religion and Secularization* (Vernon Pratt), *Secularization* (A. S. Loen) and a host of other works have dwelt on the meaning and significance of secularism. It may sound strange that the whole doctrine has been largely sustained by Christian priests and has been considered to be the logical outcome of the writings of stalwart theologians such as Karl Barth, Rudolf Bultmann and Paul Tillich.

Following closely the post-1960 writings on the subject, we can define secularism as the doctrine which seeks to promote worldly human well-being by exploiting all the available physical-social resources through science and technology. Naturally secularization means the pushing up of the claims of technocraft to the uttermost limit of scientific resources. This modern and secular world, according to Bonhoeffer, does not take recourse to God as a working hypothesis or as a solver of human² problems. He further observes that science, art and even ethics have become independent of God.

“As in the scientific field, so in human affairs generally, what we call ‘God’ is being more and more edged out of life, losing more and more ground.”³

He fears that even the ultimate religious problems of death and guilt are also likely to be solved without taking any recourse to God.⁴ The net result is that

“God is teaching us that we must live as men who can get along very well without him. The God who is with us is the God who foresakes us. . . . Before God and with him we live without God. God allows himself to be edged out of the world. . . .”⁵

Pastor Bonhoeffer would not recommend any apologetic attack on secularism for, according to him, this would be pointless, ignoble and unchristian.⁶ But it might be asked: what is the relevance of this theological doctrine of secularism for the Indian scene?

First, secularism has been adopted in the west in the wake of science and technology. India has opted for western science and technology along with democracy. Therefore, the logic of events would force the Indian intellectuals to take up various positions which have already been taken in the west with regard to secularism. Secondly, secularism is taken to be an inseparable aspect of deicide in the west and psychological-cultural atheism is also deep-rooted in the Indian heritage of Jainism and Buddhism. Therefore, secularism need not be foreign to Indian tradition. But more importantly, socialism, communism and various forms of humanism have invaded Indian thought and secularism as a sister doctrine of these political

philosophies is becoming a creed for the vast majority of Indian leaders. Mechanization of farms and planned industrialization of the country are bringing the fruits of secularization within the easy reach of the vast majority. The victory of the secular army over the theocratic forces of Pakistan and the consequent acceptance of secularism by Bangladesh are having a telling effect on the people. Hence, secularism and its various implications have to be studied by all serious thinkers in India

Secularism has become a contender of traditional religions. Therefore, its relation to religion has to be brought out.

1. In the early stage of secularism, it was considered to be a part of religious life. This may be called religious secularism.
2. Later on, secularism became autonomous and remained indifferent or even hostile to religion. This may be termed secularized secularism
3. As spiritualism or other-worldliness alone constituted the meaning of life, so some important thinkers have become dissatisfied with the implications of secularized secularism. Most of the theological thinkers holding on to secularism prefer secularized religion.

We shall deal with each of these positions taken up with regard to secularism.

Religious secularism : Religious secularism in India is as old as the doctrine of Pravritti-marga or the doctrine of *lokasamgraha* in the Gita.⁷

Not only the Gita, but even Jainism permitted warriors to kill the enemies for safeguarding the interests of the state. The same is true of the Buddhist tradition even for King Ashoka. The modern emphasis of Tilak on the Karmayoga of the Gita is not quite foreign to Indian tradition and it is not quite true to say with Henri Bergson⁸ that Vivekananda derived his secularist doctrine from western writings. However, the most distinguishing mark of secularism is its insistence on science, technology and industrialization and in this form it is distinctively western

No doubt Auguste Comte (1798-1857) had announced his religion of Humanity and had stated that heavens do not declare the glory of God but of man. For him humanity itself was the Supreme Being and the ultimate object of worship and the great figures of culture were its saints. However, the clear formulation of religious secularism is found in the Humanist Manifesto of May 1933 by the left wing of Unitarianism whose leader was John H. Dietrich.

“Humanism asserts that the nature of the universe depicted by modern science makes unacceptable any supernatural or cosmic guarantees of human values . . . Religion must formulate its hopes and plans in the light of the scientific spirit and method. Nothing human is alien to the religious . . . The distinction between the sacred and the secular can no longer be maintained.”

Albert Schweitzer who dedicated his life to alleviation of human suffering certainly would belong to religious secularism, for, according to him, by serving his fellowmen one can attain one's perfection.⁹ Most probably the germ of religious secularism is contained in the statements of Jesus concerning the last judgment (Mt. 25 : 34-46).

Even now the socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the People's Republic of Mongolia think it their religious duties to serve their neighbours by exploiting the full material resources of life.¹⁰

However, the scientific humanism of Jawaharlal Nehru had no illusion about religion. Nehru was not interested in supernatural entities and was also fully aware of the obstacles which religion had put in the advance of science.¹¹ Man cannot serve two masters, the secular and sacred, world and God, the profane and the holy, all at once. A tension remains between them. The commitment to one of the two terms in the dualism prevents man in attending to the other. This is specially the case with Indians who have their religious loyalties to various competing spiritual values. The reason is not far to seek. (a) The very nature of religious commitment is absolute and total and no amount of liberal outlook can help a religionist to transfer his loyalties to secular and mundane concerns of life. He tends to be other-worldly at the core of his inmost being. (b) Religions and their rise in the pre-scientific era and their actual policy of action involves outmoded taboos about food, sex, family planning, and so on. Religious ethnology may contain other dangers too at the time of war. (c) Hinduism, in its long history from the time of the Vedas up to the present time of Mahatma Gandhi and Radhakrishnan, accommodated the relativity, plurality of religions and their changing ideals in its scheme of things. In recent times Christianity under the influence of secularism and probably also of Advaitic Vedanta accepts the plurality and relativity of religious symbols and activities. But both (Hinduism and Christianity) have some implicit absolutist claims. For Hinduism there is one religion of the Supreme Spirit which underlies all other religions and, for the other, Christianity alone contains the standard for evaluating the claims of all other religions. Naturally the absolutist claims belie the tolerance preached about other religions. The distinction of sheep and goats, according to John Dewey,¹² is fundamental to all religions. Therefore, religions cannot release full intercommunal and intercasteist drive for promoting secular aims and projects. Therefore, religious secularism succumbs to its dualism of the sacred and profane. Should we look forward to the secularized secularism for yielding a *Weltanschauung* in the socialist interest?

Secularized secularism : Secularized secularism is professed and practised in the Soviet Union. It has no room for religion which is taken to be an opiate for the masses and is generally taken to be a superstitious other-worldly attitude to life. In the United Kingdom, and America, though religion is not denounced, yet all the state activities have been made

independent of any religious influence and moorings. Education, industry, sports, literature and all cultural activities have become fully secular, with the result that character, aesthetic tastes and style of life have become non-religious in their nuances and meaning. Secularism has been pushed in every branch and religion has been edged out. Technical efficiency has been praised, "anonymity" replacing personal relationship in bank, railway, postal services has been encouraged, project-oriented planning has been enforced and terrestrial considerations have been encouraged. Is this secularized ideology satisfying?

Religion with all its shortcomings provided wider horizons of intellectual pursuits and opened up new dimensions of subtle and profound experiences.¹³ Narrow and anthropocentric goals have filled the secular west with loneliness and despair. There has been a loss of meaning which has been well reflected in the literary expression called "the theatre of the absurd."

Religion, by virtue of its theistic or supernatural conceptual framework, provided for meaning. If there is no supernatural design, then there is no meaning and no ontological goal for man. In a very deeper and tragic sense man has become this-worldly like the fowls of the air or the beasts of the field. In this encircling gloom secularized religion affords a ray of light.

Secularized religion : Secularized secularism is only a "surface" ideology. The ultimate concern of man felt in the depth causes restlessness and dissatisfaction in him. The dualism of the sacred and profane is not unified in secularized secularism. In secularized religion the other-worldliness is totally denied and even its shadow. The programme of Nietzsche following the death of God and the rise of supermen has been elaborated by Paul van Buren, Harvey Cox, William Hamilton, Gabriel Vahanian and T.T.J Altizer. Their tones and emphases are varied and even conflicting. However, they, one and all, hold that God has died in our age and that they are the witness of his funeral. But man "Jesus" still is an object of veneration and inspiration for them because he is "man for others". Jesus is the exemplar of a secular man. They imply in general that secular activities themselves have to be regarded as sacred and holy. Here they have been forestalled by Bertrand Russell and Paul Tillich. Russell noted that life in general has no purpose. But men have purposes. As long as they are alive they should follow their purposes with resolute ends.¹⁴ Even Freud counsels men to resign themselves to the inevitable without taking recourse to infantile comforts of religion. In the same way perhaps with the full implication of life without any ontological meaning, Camus makes Sisyphus an exemplar of a secular man. Sisyphus is condemned to a life of endless and aimless repetitiveness. But even then Camus makes Sisyphus derive enjoyment from physical exercise. For this reason, Camus thinks that life is to be loved and death despised. However, the teaching of Tillich is remarkable here. He holds that the "ambiguity" and tension of life between the extremes

can never be finally overcome. The Protestant principles of deification and undeification will go on and with each undeification there is a search and a waiting for the burst of a new dimension of meaning and a new concrescence and emergence of the ultimate and the unconditioned. Should we wait for a new symbol of the holy which will invest secular activities with meaning?

I think that in India secularism means breaking down the barriers of casteism and communalism, warring against poverty, investing scientific pursuit with the zeal of samadhi practices and living through redemptive sufferings at the hands of feudal and pseudo-religious forces. Behind the dams we build, behind the key industries we instal, behind the legislation we draw up for family planning and communal harmony there is the ideology of secularism which should inspire the teeming millions of India. Very old are we men and very old is the dust that we tread, but we are just a link between the past and generations yet unborn. Let us not be an object of derision for withholding the goods and services from future Indians. Through our secular dreams and ideologies the freedom of creative thought, knowledge and activities have to be steadied, opportunities for enjoying life have to be rendered more plentiful and easier within the approach of all and barriers which divide men have to be broken down.

The war against superstitions, feudal forces, supernaturalism, communalism, and casteism is far more difficult than the war against Pakistan or other hostile powers. But just at this crisis in the history of India we have a leader, Indira Gandhi, whose decisiveness, indomitable courage, forcefulness and strength of will, coupled with persuasiveness of her personal power can achieve wonders. May the battle of secularism be won under her supreme leadership.

References

- ¹ Letters between June 8, 1944 and July 16, 1944, contain some of the most oft-quoted lines in favour of Secular Christianity. Vide, *Papers from Prison*, Fontana Books, 1969.
- ² *Ibid.* pp. 107, 121.
- ³ *Ibid.*, 107.
- ⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 107-8, 112.
- ⁵ *Ibid.* p. 122.
- ⁶ *Ibid.* p. 108.
- ⁷ Specially Gita Chapter XVIII: 42-47.
- ⁸ *Two Sources of Morality and Religion*, p. 203 (Macmillan 1935).
- ⁹ *Indian Thought and its Development*, Chapter I. Wilco Book 1960.
- ¹⁰ This was disclosed to the author by the protestant theologians of Hungary during the stay of the author there in 1970.
- ¹¹ *Glimpses of India*, Vol. I-p. 58; Vol. II-p. 685; *The Discovery of India*, pp. 11-12, 524: *An Autobiography*, p. 377.
- ¹² *A common faith*, pp. 66, 84
- ¹³ *Walter Kaufmann, Critique of Religion and Philosophy*, p. 307.
- ¹⁴ "A Free Man's Worship," *Mysticism and logic*.

Our Civil Religion and the Secular State

Mirza Hameedullah Beg

The secular state has no state religion in the commonly accepted sense of the term religion. It does not accord preferential treatment to any one of the various systems of belief, thought, and feeling about a supra-natural being or beings or of worship or propitiation of the divine powers which particular religions, named after either their founders or their special characteristics or origins, signify. It regards each religion as an equally permissible means adopted by individuals for obtaining that solace or psychological satisfaction, relief, help, or strength, which man, in the course of a troubled existence, filled with recurring crises and baffling problems, has sought throughout the ages.

Primitive and medieval outlooks on life, based on very limited stocks of scientific knowledge and understanding and much that was superstition, prejudice or bigotry, gave religion an all-embracing character. For them, it enveloped all aspects of life — social, economic, political, legal, normal, cultural, aesthetic. It even regulated matters such as food, dress, and deportment. The progressive secularization of life and thought, with the increasing application of scientific knowledge and thinking to every department of life, involved separation of the strictly religious from what are, properly speaking, other spheres of civilized existence. This modern attitude of man, contrasted with the medieval, was summed up by Alexander Pope in his “Essay on Man”, where he said :

Know then thyself, presume not God to scan;

The proper study of Mankind is man.

A general acceptance today of more enlightened utilitarian concepts of individual and social welfare as touchstones of all that is worth preserving and cultivating enables modern man to decide for himself what is beneficial for him, even in matters of religion, and what is pernicious and deserves to be discarded. Individuals and not the state are left free by our Constitution to judge for themselves, within broad limits laid down by the requirements of “public order, morality, and health”, what particular religions they will “profess, practise, and propagate”. Theocratic and totalitarian theories and practices are regarded as means of oppression and not of benefaction by those who prize, as we do, the individual’s freedom of belief, thought, and expression.

In the past, so powerful was the grip of traditional religion on human thought, feeling, and action that those who administered it tended to become repositories of power over secular affairs also. Even rulers who did not claim a divine right to rule sought the support of men of religion to consolidate their hold over the ruled. Unscrupulous individuals and exploitative forces found in religion a convenient cloak for their nefarious purposes.

The record of the misuse of traditional religion by rulers as well as by the humbler purveyors of piety has been so black and gory that it is not every secular state which has looked upon religious belief and

expression with such benevolent neutrality as ours does. There are secular states which have, especially during certain periods, not only frowned upon all "men of religion" but have practically persecuted them. There are people in this country who think that our constitutional provisions leave room to do much mischief under the misleading banner of religious freedom, and to obstruct morally imperative social reform through the law. The fact, however, remains that our secular State is characterized by a tolerance, regarded as excessive by some, which eschews even the appearance of an imposition in matters which may, by some stretch of imagination, be connected with religion. Perhaps this is so because our Constitution does not give more than a bare indication of what religious profession and practice may mean.

The Constitution, however, contains the basic "tenets," if one may call them that, of a "civil religion" — using the term "religion" in a broader derivative sense of a binding force, from *religio*, to "bind together." Its Preamble places "Justice, social, economic, and political" as the first of the common quests of citizens. The other objectives mentioned there may be viewed as either prerequisites for securing or facets of that Justice which is the primary concern of every modern state. Our faith in it sustains the whole social fabric. The pursuit of it binds together citizen and citizen, the citizen and the state, and the various organs of state. It animates them with a sense of high purpose and instills in them a spirit of dedication transcending all differences.

The Supreme Court of India, describing the effects of promulgation of our republican Constitution, said, in 1954, in *Virendra Singh v. State of UP*: ". . . at one moment of time the new order was born with its new allegiance springing from the same source for all, grounded on the same basis; the sovereign will of the peoples of India, with no class, no caste, no race, no creed, no distinction, no reservation."

The cynic may lift his eyebrows and wonder whether the Supreme Court was expounding the law or merely giving expression to sublime poetic sentiment, whether it was dealing with realities or with a pleasing fiction. The wise philosopher, shaking his head more knowingly, could point out that even romance, of which law is not devoid, often operates as a powerful reality which moulds our lives and destinies. The Constitution, at any rate, does not recognize, for purposes of state action, many of the distinctions which may, in actual fact, exist today in the minds of citizens. It charts the courses of action for our secular democratic state so that these differences may be actually removed. It lodges the power in the hands of the ordinary people of our land to move, by making wise choices between alternatives, towards the attainment of what may appear to many as still a dream for the future.

We must remember here that, before our countrymen could wrest the power to shape their future themselves from the unwilling hands of

powerfully entrenched foreign rulers, before there could be a Constitution containing the directions in which our secular democratic republic must move, and before what appeared to be a dream could come within the range of realization, there had to be — and the country was fortunate enough to produce — those who had the capacity to dream, to organize and lead the people, to sacrifice and suffer for their causes, to ponder deeply, to look before and after, in order to determine correctly the character of our state, to chart wisely its future course, to formulate and plan its policies unerringly and then to pursue them courageously and unflinchingly.

Among those who suffered and sacrificed for the liberation of the country there was none more majestic than Motilal Nehru. Nothing made a greater impact upon the minds of our suppressed countrymen of all classes, and, particularly, the more enlightened and thoughtful sections, than his decision to give up, under the influence of his heroic son, a life of princely luxury in order to follow Gandhiji and to tread the path of sacrifice and suffering and enter the prison-house which broke his health. It may be recalled that in his historic report on constitutional reforms, Motilal Nehru laid the foundations for a declaration of protected fundamental rights in our Constitution. The proposal was, as we know, adopted and elaborated by the framers of our Constitution. The achievements of Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the great philosopher-statesmen of modern times, to whose ideas we owe so much of the character and contents of the Constitution, are still fresh in our minds. It was, however, left to his daughter, Indira Gandhi, to move more resolutely and courageously than her predecessors in office towards the attainment of the goals enshrined in our Constitution. I join in paying my respectful tribute, by means of this short article, to the great tradition of impeccable secularism and impartiality in speech, policy, and action, both private and public, built up by the Nehrus. It soars above attachment to any particular creed or religion, and conforms to what is best in our civil religion.

The future of our country must seem bright when the foundations of our civil religion are so well laid. The masses of India certainly look upon Indira Gandhi as the living embodiment of that prophetic vision of our country's march forward which Annie Besant had when she wrote :

Hark the tramp of marching numbers,
India, waking from her slumbers,
Calls us to the fray,
Not with weapons slaughter dealing,
Not with blood her triumph sealing,
But, with peace-bells loudly pealing,
Dawns her Freedom's Day.

Justice is her buckler stainless,
Argument her rapier painless,
Truth her pointed lance.
Hark her song to Heaven ringing,
Hatreds all behind her flinging,
Peace and joy to all she's bringing,
Love her shining glance.

The civil religion I have spoken of postulates not merely patriotic fervour but devotion of all citizens to the constitutionally prescribed principles of the common good. The political theorist may expound them as those of democracy. The jurist may view them as constituting the "rule of law." The economist may explain them as those of socialism. The educationist may consider them broadly as a part of secularism, or, from narrower ethical or moral points of view, as those of non-violent progress of citizens towards greater self-discipline and selfless service of each other. At its lowest, this civil religion insists on the observance of certain minimum standards of behaviour without which civilized social life is not possible. These standards are enforced by the State by visiting their violations with punishment so that individuals feel constrained to observe them. At its highest, it embraces the altruism and self-sacrifice of the best individuals who serve humanity without any compulsion and without expecting any reward other than the satisfaction such service gives them.

The state, which does not discriminate between those who profess, propagate, or practise any of the traditional religions, cannot treat equally those who uphold and those who subvert the civil religion because one of its most important positive functions today is to propagate and protect and strengthen the civil religion. This religion demands absolute honesty, impartiality, and efficiency from all those, from the highest dignitaries to the humblest servants, who may be entrusted, in any way whatsoever, with power to operate the mechanisms of government either in making, or, in declaring and interpreting, or, in administering and enforcing the law through which the state acts. The Constitution confers no power without corresponding duties attached to them.

Ordinary citizens, whose welfare is the whole object of this civil religion, must understand what it means and what is required from them. They must carefully and closely and constantly watch the operations of all organs, agencies, and officials of the state. And, they should be able, by invoking the aid of courts if necessary, to correct aberrations of any authority in the state. Our Constitution arms courts with powers of correction against the state itself and its officials. But these powers can be exercised only if invoked by citizens, the politically sovereign ultimate guardians of the civil religion, and when wrongs done to them are duly proved. Every citizen has a right to abandon any one of the traditional

religions and follow another. But no citizen has the right to discard the basic civil religion which binds him to the state that protects his life and liberty. He must, therefore, be able to detect and beware of those who, under the cloak of some traditional religion or disruptive ideology, seek to undermine the basic civil religion or its progressive ideology' which sustains our secular political, social, economic, and legal orders. He must remember that there are no rights without corresponding obligations.

Secularism: Kashmir's Richest Heritage

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed

A secular way of life is Kashmir's richest heritage; it has come into being as a result of a happy blending of cultures, and tolerance and sympathy towards the ideas and beliefs of others.

During Kashmir's long and chequered history, people came into contact with different civilizations and assimilated all that is human. Thus, when the earliest form of Naga worship was replaced by Brahminism, there was no tinge of religious persecution. Indeed, even today Nagas are worshipped by a large section of the people.

Kashmir can take pride in the fact that it exercised an intellectually tolerant attitude towards change from the earliest times. The rest of the country witnessed religious feuds when Buddhism came into ascendancy in the second century B.C. In Kashmir, on the other hand, Buddhist kings and ministers built *viharas* and temples dedicated to Buddhist as well as Hindu deities. And when Buddhism had its day, "the change was marked by a conspicuous absence of force or bigotry."

Islam entered Kashmir in the fourteenth century A.D. The people welcomed its exponent, the great Shah Hamadan, with open arms and the synthesis of Hindu and Islamic religious thought found its greatest exponents in Lalleshwari and Sheikh Nur-ud-Din, who continue to be held in great esteem by both Hindus and Muslims. Kashmir has witnessed dark periods of religious persecution by ignorant and fanatical foreigners. But the people, true to their tradition, have lived like brothers, giving solace and shelter to their brothers in distress.

Two names that come very easily to an average Kashmiri's lips are of Lalitaditya (724-760 A.D.) and Zain-ul-Abdin (1422-1474 A.D.). Lalitaditya ushered in an era of national glory, prosperity and peace. He was tolerant towards all schools of religious thought. Buddhism and Hinduism, the two prominent creeds of the time, received patronage at his hands — a Hindu ruler who constructed temples for the Buddha as well as for Shiva, Vishnu and other gods. The king offered liberal patronage to men of letters. Learning flourished and Kashmir became the "cynosure of foreign scholars and many cultural missions set out from the country." His faults, as recorded by Kalhana, notwithstanding, he was above religious bigotry. His commander-in-chief was a Buddhist and so were many of his high officials. To talented men of all nationalities he showed great respect and regard. He brought from Kanauj the two famous poets Bhavabhuti and Vakpatiraja and installed them in his capital in Kashmir.

Zain-ul-Abdin, popularly known as Bud Shah (the great king), was not a conqueror but remains a beacon light for the people of Kashmir for their cherished principles of tolerance and fraternal living. "Possessed of a broad and tolerant outlook," says Pandit Anand Koul, "and dominated with a desire to benefit mankind, he ruled with such equity and justice and did so much to improve the material prosperity of the people

that one cannot fail to admire him. . . Zain-ul-Abdin was deservedly surnamed Bud Shah or great king. In spite of six centuries having rolled by since he lived, his name is still remembered with genuine reverence and gratitude. Take the name of Bud Shah before a Kashmiri and at once he will with a happy countenance rhyme it with 'Pad Shah.' "

During the reign of Sıkandar, Zain-ul-Abdin's father, the Hindus suffered enormously through the persecution of his minister Siya Butt, a new convert to the Muslim faith. It is said that the Hindus fled away and only eleven families remained in Kashmir. With Zain-ul-Abdin's ascending the throne, confidence returned to them. He sent messengers to them inviting them to return to their homeland. They responded with pleasure. He gave the pride of place in his court to Shri Butt, a great physician, and Jonaraj, a great historian who updated the chronology *Rajatarangini*. Himself a scholar of Persian and Sanskrit, he encouraged the translation of a major portion of the Upanishads from Sanskrit into Persian. The *Katha-Sarit-Sagar* was also translated into Persian during his reign. A general toleration of all faiths was proclaimed and practised. The king built temples and penalized the killing of cows, and himself abstained from meat-eating during the holy festivals of the Hindus. The *Rajatarangini* gives a detailed account of how the king took part in the annual Nagyatra festival when he would don the robes of a Hindu mendicant and perform the journey in the company of other pilgrims.

Two other names that come easily to the lips of a Kashmiri are of Lalleshwari, more popularly known by the homely name of Lal Ded (Mother Lal), and Sheikh Nur-ud-Din, better known as Nund Rishi. They are believed to have been contemporaries. Both of them, as mystics, saints and poets, continue to have an equal claim on the affection of both Hindus and Muslims. In fact, both communities hold forth contested views as to the community to which either originally belonged.

Lalleshwari was a follower of Shaivism. Born towards the middle of the fourteenth century A D., she preached the message of truth and peace in the language of the people. Her poetry, known as *vakyas*, is committed to memory by thousands regardless of their religious faith. Her verses are quoted even in daily conversation and their wide use has given a healthy direction to individual and community ideals.

In one of her sayings, she exhorted people not to differentiate between a Muslim and a Hindu. "They are not different," she said. "Know thyself, if you are sane," she advised. In a verse, she castigated the fanatical followers of so-called "religion" and said :

"O Mind, why hast thou become intoxicated at another's expense?
Why hast thou mistaken true for untrue?

The little understanding hath made thee attached to others' religion,
Subdued to coming and going, to birth and death."

Lal Ded criticized the cold and meaningless way in which religious rituals were performed. She said that God did not want meditations and austerities. The abode of bliss could be reached only through love.

Nund Rishi, born in 1377 A.D., was a pious man. His fame as a saint and the glory of his spiritual attainments travelled far and wide, attracting to him a great number of followers. His verses have become stamped in people's memory. He preached against the snares of false preachers :

“I saw a priest blowing out fire (and)
Beating a drum to others,
The priests have nice big turbans on their heads,
They walk about daintily dressed,
Dressed in priestly robes they indulge in mutton,
They run away with cooking pots under their arms.”

The Rishi exhorted his followers to perform good actions. He wanted people to lead disciplined lives in which they cared about others. In one of his sayings, he asks :

“Thou hast eaten six platefuls, one like another,
If thou art a priest, then who are robbers?”

No wonder, King Zain-ul-Abdin was the chief mourner at Nund Rishi's funeral. During his lifetime, he founded an order of Rishis which exercised tremendous influence on Hindus too. The last of the great Hindu mystic poets, Parmanand, who died towards the end of the last century, contributed a great deal towards uplifting people morally and spiritually.

This rich tradition in history and literature has had its impact on the life of the people of Kashmir. The family of a Hindu emissary who was deputed to negotiate with Ranjit Singh to rescue the people of Kashmir from the tyranny of Pathan rule was given protection by a Muslim shawl merchant who preferred death to the betrayal of trust. The holy cave of Amarnath, which was declared “lost” during Pathan rule, was rediscovered by one Malik of a village in the vicinity of Pahalgam. To this day, the Malik family receives a share from the offerings made by the thousands of Hindus who visit the holy cave annually. The shrine of Shah-i-Hamadan and the temple of Mahakali exist together at Khanqah Mohalla in Srinagar city. The shrine of Makhdoom Saheb and the temple of goddess Sharika at Hari Parbat are also similarly situated. Be it Id or Shivaratri, the participation is not only of one or the other community but of the people of Kashmir as a whole. One may even say that the spectacle is unique to Kashmir.

This tradition has had its natural impact on the political life of the State. The freedom movement of the State was led by a truly secular party called the National Conference. It received constant support and assistance from the Indian National Congress. The two in fact were one.

Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and other leaders of the bigger national movement came to the aid of the people of Kashmir. In 1946, when the historic "Quit Kashmir" movement was launched, Jawaharlal was arrested by the State authorities when he entered the State to help the people, in defiance of the ban on his entry. When Kashmir was invaded by Pakistan in 1947, the people maintained such exemplary communal harmony that Mahatma Gandhi himself remarked that in the dark days of Partition, he had found "a ray of hope" only in Kashmir. True to their secular tradition, the people of Kashmir rejected the argument that Kashmir belonged to Pakistan because of religious affinity. Kashmir symbolizes certain ideals which have been inherited and have to be defended and enriched.

Emotional Integration and Ancient Tamil Literature

N. Subbu Reddiar

Even reputedly authoritative books of Indian history continue to perpetuate the fallacy that the unity of India is the product of the British contact with India. But a student of Tamil literature, especially the Cankam classics, can see in these works, 2,500 years old, many pieces of evidence to show that the ancient Tamils thought in terms of India as a unity.

As early as those times, Tamil Nadu accepted the Ramayana as its own epic. There are indications to show that Tamil was the first among Indian languages to make translations or adaptations of the two great epics. That the national epics had become the subject of reverential study by the Tamil people during the Cankam age can be easily inferred from the assumptions of the authors of the Cankam works that the readers of those works had intensive knowledge of the stories of the epics. Instances can be cited to substantiate the fact that the two epics enjoyed the highest esteem among the people in the Tamil country.

The religious and cultural influences of Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism were thoroughly assimilated into the Tamil country and they acclimatized themselves there completely. As in the case of Hinduism, which gave common gods to the different parts of the country, evidencing complete emotional oneness, so in the case of Buddhism and Jainism there are many features of both the religions that could be identified as common to the whole country although with local variations. The contributions of the Buddhists and the Jains to the development of Tamil literature are phenomenal. Unless there had been complete oneness and the spontaneous willingness to accept the doctrines that originated in north India on the part of the Tamil people, Jainism and Buddhism would never have been such great social forces as they were in the Tamil country.

Cankam literature has reference to the great rivers of India like the Ganga and the Yamuna which the Tamil poets pride themselves in calling rivers of their own country. References to these rivers in *Perumpanarrup-patai*, *Maturaikkanchi*, *Pattinappalai* and *Purananuru* may suffice to show how these rivers were of as much common knowledge among the Tamils two thousand years ago as the Kaveri and the Vaikai rivers of the Tamil country. These instances are sufficient to establish the truth that the Ganga has been India's national river from time immemorial.

The Himalayas have been used by almost all the ancient Tamil poets in figures of speech and in comparisons as well as in direct mention and description. In *Purananuru* alone there are nearly a dozen contexts in which the Himalayas figure prominently. In one of them the reference is to the stability and permanence of the mountains. Quite a number of verses in this anthology refer to the grandeur of the mountains and their lofty peaks. In *Patirrup-pattu* (verse 2) the boundaries of India are given in unequivocal language. The general impression gained from the study of these references is that the Himalayas constituted the northern boundary

of the large geographical and cultural unit of India, that the Himalayas were thoroughly familiar to the common man as an integral part of India, that the Kumari-Himalaya combination in the delineation of the south-north boundary was natural with the writers of the past, and that a good many features of the Himalayas had been known to the Tamils.

Tamil literature and history contain a large number of aspirants to the coveted title "the emperor with the Himalayas as his northern boundary" (Imayavarampar). History would indicate the possibility of at least one or two rulers having realized in part this ambition, though conclusive proof is still to be had of Tamil expansion northward to the extent of either the tiger-banner of Cola or the bow-banner of Cera having been planted firm on any of the peaks of the Himalayas. However, the idea or the vision contained in the ambition is suggestive of the concept of One India which the Tamils had in their mind, though very rarely in the political sense. Whether political unity was achieved or not, the geographical unity and the cultural and emotional identity had never been lost sight of at any time. Any suggestion of a separate Tamil country or Andhra country is as unhistorical as it is dangerously frivolous. Historians may, with justifiable reasons, question the historicity of almost all the north Indian campaigns of Tamil rulers of the classical period on grounds of improbability due to difficult communication, lack of corroborative evidence from north Indian historical sources and the fact that Tamil influence in northern India was never perceptibly pronounced. But our aim is not to establish the historicity of the various north Indian exploits of the Tamil rulers, even though Tamil enthusiasts are not wanting who would accept these exploits as historical, but to emphasize that the Himalayas were known and acknowledged as the northern boundary of India and no ruler in the southern end of the country ever considered the mountains as foreign to his culture, religion or sentiment. The ambition of every great Tamil ruler was to bring the entire Bharatavarsha under one "umbrella", although it turned out to be nothing more than a romantic dream.

While the Tamils looked up to the Himalayas as the height of their ambitions, rulers in the north cast their eyes on the fertile and beautiful south that could boast of a more uninterrupted cultural history and philosophy of peace and tranquillity. The south was known even to Megasthenes who in his *India* referred to the Pantiyan. The Vedas did not ignore the south. The epics are full of references to the Tamil country as an integral part of Bharatavarsha. Arjuna took a wife in the Tamil country. A good part of Rama's sojourn was in the Tamil country. Not a small number of Ramayana incidents had their location in the Tamil country. The north Indians were fully conversant with the manners, traditions and customs of the Tamils as the Tamils were familiar with those of the men in the north. For example, the peculiar custom of

decorating oneself with flowers which the Tamils had is admired in Valmiki Ramayana. Likewise, important landmarks, cities and features of the Tamil country were familiar to the people in the north. The phrase “*Yuktanam Kavatam Pandyanam*” is a beautiful example of how in the north of India the southern gateway of India had been understood.

The Vedas were known to the earliest Tamil literature. By the time Tamil literature started its fertile productivity, the caste system had become an integral part of social life. The three castes, the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas had become well-known groups of Tamil society. The earliest Tamil work extant, *Tolkappiyam*, mentions these castes. The fourth division was not the *Sudra*, but the peasant or the Vellala who was not the low menial that he was in the north-Indian caste system. The Vellala was as much respected as the Brahmin or Kshatriya. The theory of Karma which in classical Tamil literature is described as *Ul* became one of the accepted doctrines of Tamil philosophy.

The Vedic religion spread quickly in the south, and while the religion was adapted to suit the region, the Vedas were the scripture of the entire population from the Kumari to the Himalayas. The *Purananuru* contains references to a large number of Vedic doctrines and practices evidencing the currency of the Vedic religion in the Tamil country. *Pattu-p-pattu* likewise refers to the rule of Vedic religion in a number of contexts. There are references to practices like the singing of Vedic hymns, the Vedanta religion, the Vedic language, and the Vedic gods. Quite a number of Tamil rulers take the credit for performing Vedic sacrifices even during times when the practice had gone out of vogue in north India.

The Dharmasastras also became as much the possession of the south as of the north. The Agamas have been common throughout the country for centuries. Temples dedicated to Vishnu, Siva, Indra and Muruga (Lord Subrahmanya) are referred to in the earliest works. Some of the common Indian traditional religious practices and customs such as bathing in the Ganga and other holy rivers (*Kangai Atuthal*), the marriage ceremony (this was adopted in the south after the establishment of Vedic religion there) and the funeral modes are indicated in the Cankam works. Tamil literature mentions some of the common feasts and festivals of the country. The importance of Margasirsha or Markali had been recognized at least twenty centuries ago in the Tamil country. The festivals of Krishna and Indra were celebrated with equal eclat. The festival of Manmatha was also known to the Tamil people.

Any student of Tamil literature can state categorically that the Tamil mind had always been at one with the Indian mind. It may be asserted with pardonable pride, however, that while the Tamilian was an Indian, his catholicity of outlook, breadth of vision and capacity to accept and absorb good ideas and values were unmatched. To him every place was his own; every person was next of kin: *Yatum ure Yavarum kelir*.

Secularism and Theocracy in Sikh Rule

J. S. Grewal

There was hardly any religious belief or practice of his times, whether Hindu or Muslim, which Guru Nanak did not denounce in clear and unequivocal terms. Though he came to assume the role of the founder of a distinctive religious path, yet it is difficult to think of a religious leader more essentially tolerant in his attitudes than the founder of Sikhism: he believed in suasion and not in coercion. The use of coercion, or even earthly inducement, in the propagation of Sikhism has found as little favour with its followers as with its founder. No Sikh of any consideration has ever disclaimed the exclusive validity of his faith. But no Sikh worth the name has ever thought of persecuting those who did not belong to his faith. In the writings of Bhai Gurdas, there is no contempt for the beliefs of others; in the words of Guru Gobind Singh there is no bitterness against his enemies.

In this perspective, the attitude of Sikh rulers towards their political enemies and towards their non-Sikh subjects acquires significant meaning. Banda Bahadur was the first Sikh to proclaim formally the establishment of sovereign rule in the Punjab in the second decade of the eighteenth century. Many atrocities have been attributed to him by the Persian chroniclers and by those of the modern historians who have leaned heavily on them. He did sack a few towns. Also, he appears to have been guided by a feeling of vengeance upon the persecutors of the Sikh Gurus. For example, the town of Sarhind suffered the most at his hands, for the *faujdar* of Sarhind had executed the two younger sons of Guru Gobind Singh in cold blood. Ordinarily, Banda treated his opponents humanely; he was never wantonly cruel, particularly in peace. Muslim soldiers are known to have fought on his side.

After Banda's execution at Delhi in 1716, the Sikhs suffered severely at the hands of the Mughal governors of the province of Lahore for over thirty-five years. But during these very years of persecution they organized themselves for the acquisition of power. The foundations of Sikh rule were re-laid in the late 1750s. Even Ahmad Shah Abdali, who had ousted the Mughals and the Marathas from the Punjab, was obliged in the early 1760s to relinquish his control over the province of Lahore which the Mughal Emperor had formally ceded to him. However, in his anxiety to annihilate the Sikhs, Ahmad Shah had razed the Harmandir Sahib at Amritsar to the ground and filled the tank with earth and bricks and dirt. Also, he had inflicted a heavy blow on the Sikhs in 1762, killing over ten thousand in a single day. Thus, during the fifty years after Banda's death, the Sikh aspiration for independence had brought persecution to one generation and the Sikh struggle for independence had brought suffering to another. During these fifty years of survival and struggle the Sikhs too killed the civilian supporters of their persecutors; also, in retaliation, they occasionally destroyed places of worship.

Against this background, the Sikhs as rulers showed a remarkable

degree of tolerance and benevolence towards their non-Sikh subjects. A few instances of the eighteenth-century Sikh chiefs who were inimical towards their non-Sikh subjects, particularly their Muslim subjects, are certainly known. They all belonged to the first generation of chiefs who had borne the brunt of Mughal and Afghan animosity. Their proportion in the total number of eighteenth-century Sikh chiefs was very small, almost negligible. Alha Singh, the founder of the Patiala State, is well known for his humane treatment of all his subjects, irrespective of their creed. What is not so well known, however, is that Alha Singh in this respect was a typical Sikh chief of the eighteenth century. Much before Ranjit Singh became the Maharaja of the Punjab, the Sikh rulers had employed Hindus and Muslims, as well as Sikhs, in their governments. They kept up the *qazi* and his court which continued to perform nearly all of its old functions, just as the *qazi* continued to enjoy the old grants of revenue-free land. In fact, the Sikh rulers confirmed all old grants as a matter of policy. They gave fresh grants to Sikhs, but not to them alone. The patronage of the Sikh States was extended to Hindus and Muslims as well. Ranjit Singh's catholicity and liberality in these matters assimilate him to Akbar. This has been often emphasized by historians as a remarkable trait of his statesmanship. Evidence brought to light only recently leaves no doubt that in this respect the pettiest of Sikh rulers resembled the best of the Mughals. Much of that liberality may be explained in terms of exigency and may be attributed to the practical good sense of the Sikh rulers. But the secret of that liberality has to be found also in their faith, the faith of Guru Nanak.

Guru Nanak's primary concern was with religion. It is equally important to know, however, that in his theological thought all earthly concerns were given a place subordinate to the primacy of salvation. It is well known that he exalted manual labour to the level of religious merit. It is forgotten, however, that he equated all honest work with manual labour. Thus, a just ruler was as honourable as a carpenter. The condemnation of contemporary politics and government by Guru Nanak springs from his belief in the ideal of justice, an ideal which appeared to be flagrantly violated by the holders of political power in his days. He denounced the pursuit of political power if it ran counter to the path of salvation. He did not denounce power consecrated to the cause of justice and human welfare. This positive aspect of his outlook on politics has been generally ignored amidst too facile an insistence on his condemnation of contemporary politics.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the Sikhs had come to form a distinct socio-religious group, a community closely knit by its common and unqualified allegiance to the Guru. It had no political aspirations, much less a political programme. But it was a veritable state within the Mughal Empire. It was at this juncture in Sikh history that Guru Arjan

was put to death through the orders of Jahangir in the first year of his reign. Guru Hargobind, the son of Guru Arjan and the fifth successor of Guru Nanak, reacted sharply to the execution of his father and predecessor. He trained himself and the most zealous of his followers in the art of warfare; he encouraged the Sikhs to send gifts of horses and arms; and, above all, he constructed the Akal Takht, or the Immortal Throne, beside the Harmandir Sahib at Amritsar. A new idea was born, the idea of self-defence against physical aggression. Guru Hargobind gallantly fought three battles against the *mansabdars* of Shahjahan. From here, as a British historian puts it, there was no turning back for the Sikhs to the doubtful merit of mendicants, if at all they had been mere mendicants even in the days of Guru Nanak.

In 1675, Guru Tegh Bahadur was executed in Delhi on Aurangzeb's orders. He had refused to acknowledge Aurangzeb's right to interfere in the affairs of the Sikhs. Guru Gobind Singh, the son of Guru Tegh Bahadur and the grandson of Guru Hargobind, did not take long to revive the practices of his grandfather in preparing himself and his Sikhs for self-defence against external aggression. With his headquarters at Anandpur, he came into conflict with the chief of Kahlur (Bilaspur). To avoid further conflict he settled down at Paonta on the borders of Nahan and Garhwal. There, the chief of Garhwal chose to attack him, but only to suffer ignominious defeat. Guru Gobind Singh returned to Anandpur. From there he sent his men to fight on the side of the rebel hill chiefs against the Mughal *faujdar* of Kangra. Two unsuccessful campaigns were sent against him by the Mughal *faujdar*. And then, for a few years he was left undisturbed at Anandpur.

It was during this interval of peace that Guru Gobind Singh instituted the Order of the Khalsa in 1699, nearly twenty-five years after the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur. This measure was meant in the first place to consolidate the Sikh community, for only those who gave their complete allegiance to the Guru, without the mediation of the *masands*, were regarded as true Sikhs, in fact the only Sikhs. Their distinct identity was further sharpened by a distinctive outward appearance. Also, they were asked to wear arms. They were prepared to defend themselves against external interference. Though the aims of Guru Gobind Singh were not political aims directly, his measures had serious implications for politics. His belief in the justness of his cause and the injustice of the state was likely to result, and it did result, in an open conflict of arms. Guru Gobind Singh suffered heavy losses in this conflict, including the loss of all his four sons. But he did not compromise his conscience. Upon his death, his followers rose against the Mughal authority and wrested political power from the hands of its functionaries in the Punjab. The establishment of a sovereign state under the leadership of Banda Bahadur logically stemmed from the measures of Guru Gobind Singh.

Banda's achievement was ephemeral but it served as a source of lasting inspiration for the Khalsa of Guru Gobind Singh, even if they disowned him as a Guru. Banda had struck coins, the indubitable token of sovereignty, with an inscription that attributed the political success of the Khalsa (literally the victory of Guru Gobind Singh) to the True Lord through the grace of "the sword" of Guru Nanak. The inscription on Banda's seal had a similar import. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, when Sikh rule was re-established, the coins struck by the Sikh rulers bore the inscriptions used by Banda. The link was provided by the first generation of leaders after Banda who had refused to accept the authority of the Mughal government and continued the struggle for independent existence against heavy odds. The Sikh writings of the early eighteenth century reveal that the followers of Guru Gobind Singh had come to believe in their ultimate destiny to become rulers. Thus, to the belief in the exclusive validity of their faith was added the positive idea of self-rule, in place of the idea of self-defence. The faith of the Sikhs therefore served partly as the motivation force of their politics. No mere adding up of other factors would ever explain their rise to power without invoking this essential factor.

The common bond of faith and interest enabled the Sikhs to take collective decisions through *gurmata*s at Amritsar during a most crucial phase of their history. It also enabled them to take collective action through the Dal Khalsa either in defence against the Afghans or in acquiring power and territories.

Having said so much, we have said nearly all about the bearing of Sikh faith on the polity of the Sikhs. The Sikh rulers derived their authority from God, or, in a few cases, from an earthly potentate. In either case, however, they held the substance of power in their own hands and used it in accordance with the dictates of their interests or their common sense. Completely autonomous in their territories, they appointed their own *diwans*, *nazims*, *faujdars* and *kardars*. Even before the rise of Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler was a kind of Mughal ruler in miniature. The petty scale of his operations should not oblige us to raise a difference of degree into a difference of kind.

This is not to suggest, however, that the Sikh rulers were arbitrary in the use of their power. As a rule they were against innovation in their administrative practices. So much so that they liked to refer to the Mughal rulers as their predecessors and tried to imitate them, if and when they could. They found little incentive for change in fresh directions. Their public policies were seldom guided by religious considerations. Though they were closer to their predecessors in their theocentric view of the world, they were more akin to their successors, the British, in their secular outlook on matters of government and administration.

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Language and National Unity

S. A. H. Haqqi

“One of the major facts of India’s political evolution during the last hundred years,” as observed by the States Reorganization Commission, “has been the growth of regional languages. They have, during this period, developed into rich and powerful vehicles of expression creating a sense of unity among those speaking them. In view of the fact that these languages are spoken in well-defined areas, often with a historical background, the demand for unification of such areas to form separate States has gained momentum.”

The strength of the different principal language groups in 1961 was as follows:

	Population in millions	Percentage of total population
1. Assamese	6.8	1.5
2. Bengali	33.9	7.7
3. Gujarati	20.3	4.6
4. Hindi	133.4	30.4
5. Kashmiri	1.9	0.4
6. Kannada	17.4	4.0
7. Malayalam	17.0	3.4
8. Marathi	33.3	7.6
9. Oriya	15.7	3.6
10. Punjabi	10.9	2.5
11. Sanskrit	0.0003	—
12. Sindhi	1.4	0.3
13. Tamil	33.6	7.0
14. Telugu	37.6	8.6
15. Urdu	25.3	5.3

Besides, there were at least 47 other languages and dialects, especially those of tribes, each claiming over a hundred thousand speakers, e.g. Marwari (45,14,737), Mewari (20,14,874), Jaipuri (15,88,069), Santhali (2,81,578), Gondi (12,32,886), Bhilli (11,60,299), etc. Not all of them are, however, languages of literary record, which are far fewer in number.

India could therefore be described as a Tower of Babel, there being no less than twenty-five languages which can claim over half a million speakers. But there is nothing strange or unusual about the number of languages spoken in India, if it is borne in mind that the number of languages spoken in Europe far exceeds that of India, that no less than fourteen languages are spoken in the Soviet Union, and that even Switzerland, smaller in size than most of the States in India, is divided into three linguistic regions.

The 1961 census noted in relation to certain languages "strong undercurrents of assertion, displacement, reassertion, erosion and insecurity as well as instability not always apparent on the surface." It observed that "there was no doubt in one's mind that the big fish makes a bid to gobble up the small fish, that for some time some small fish feel content to stay inside the belly of the big fish but at other moments they kick back and get out of the bellies again, their strength diminished or increased for no apparent reasons."

There is, in theory, no reason or justification for linguistic communalism or conflict between groups speaking different languages. But there are a number of factors or forces which tend to breed ill-will and create tensions between different linguistic communities. Not the least important of them is the establishment of a democratic set-up, the enactment of adult franchise and the reorganization of States on linguistic basis.

The reorganization of States failed to solve all the old conflicts and has given rise to some new conflicts and tensions, especially in regard to the rights of linguistic minorities, the claims of various States on areas of bordering States, and now the role of Hindi as the official language of the country. The reorganization of the States fostered and strengthened the growth of linguistic loyalties, almost bordering on chauvinism. Demands have arisen for the use of the regional language not only for purposes of administration but also as the medium of education at all levels — primary, secondary and post-graduate — and as the vehicle of local culture.

The extent and variety of the linguistic conflicts and the complexity of our linguistic problems can be easily understood by a reference to the language riots in Assam and Bombay, the violent disturbances in Madras State (now named Tamil Nadu), the demand for the recognition of Urdu as a regional language in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, the border disputes between Maharashtra and Mysore, the bifurcation of the truncated Punjab on the basis of language into Haryana and Punjab, the activities of the Shiv Sena in Bombay, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam's agitation against the "imposition" of Hindi, the adoption of English as the State language by the Nagaland Assembly, etc.

The new linguistic set-up added to the number and kind of minorities in the country in the form of the linguistic minorities, which were suspicious of the dominant linguistic group, proud of their language and literary heritage and keen and anxious about the exercise and enjoyment of their rights and privileges under Articles 29 and 30 of the Constitution. It also added a new dimension to our linguistic problem, namely, the need to search for a *lingua franca* amidst a large number of developed languages with distinct scripts. The problem has become more complex, having become a part of the political game with manoeuvres to foster and develop, and even impose a favoured language over others. Sometimes such attempts are given a communal twist. There are also

chauvinistic appeals (for or against linguistic claims) in the name of patriotism, national interest, etc.

The linguistic tensions and conflicts have a popular basis in the fears, hopes and aspirations, pride and prejudices of communities and regions concerned: the deep attachment of the people to their own language and literature, their anxiety about or fear of being “submerged” and “assimilated,” and/or of being at a disadvantage in the new linguistic set-up.

“In India,” as the historian of Indian culture, Professor Abid Husain has observed, “past traditions and present circumstances favour the growth of a peculiar type of nationhood which is federal more in the cultural than in the political sense — which promotes a common national culture but at the same time ensures various communities freedom to maintain and develop their culture and religious traditions, so long as they are not detrimental to national unity and general welfare.”

Aware of our “past traditions and present circumstances,” the founding fathers of the new Indian polity adopted and enacted a Constitution which should secure and safeguard what has been throughout the ages the basic characteristic of Indian life: unity in diversity.

To preserve and promote unity in diversity, the Constitution recognized no fewer than fourteen *national* languages, and Hindi in the Devanagiri script (along, at least till 1965, with English) as the official language of the Union but *enjoined upon the Union Government to so encourage the development of Hindi as to assimilate simple and commonly understood words, forms and styles from all the Indian languages and thereby serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India*, and also laid down that the change-over from English to Hindi should be gradual and with due preparations so as to obviate the possibility of any wrong or harm accruing to the legitimate interests of any section of the people or the larger interests of the country as a whole (Article 351). The Constitution further assured and guaranteed the right of every minority having a distinct language, script or culture of its own “to conserve the same,” and prohibited the State from discriminating against educational institutions on the basis of language and culture while giving them grants (Articles 29 and 30). Moreover, the President has been empowered “if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognized by that State, (to) direct that such language shall also be officially recognized throughout that State or any part thereof for such purposes as he may specify (Article 347).

The Constitution had thus assured, besides linguistic autonomy to the States, educational and cultural rights to the minorities having a distinct language, script or culture of their own, and unity of the nation by means of a *lingua franca* or “link language,” easy, expressive and up to date.

There is no denying the necessity or utility of having a link language for a multilingual country, and the fact that Hindi is capable of serving as a convenient link in our multilingual society. But, unfortunately, it has become the source of bitter friction and conflict between the different sections of the Indian people.

Under Article 344 the Constitution envisages the appointment of a commission, at stated intervals, to report on the progressive use of Hindi as the official language. Clause 3 of the Article says : "In making their recommendations, under clause (2), the Commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India, and the just claims and interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas " It is, therefore, the responsibility and the duty of the Union Government to see that the switch-over from English to Hindi should be gradual and with due preparations so as to obviate the possibility of any wrong or harm accruing to the legitimate interests of any section of the people or the larger interests of the country as a whole. For, as stressed by C. Rajagopalachari, "*On the English medium hangs the unity of the universities and colleges in India; and on this hangs the solidarity of the elite of India.* The replacement of English by the respective regional languages is a reckless adventure which will lead to the disintegration of the intellectual life of the country. It is a dangerous pitfall. . . . *The masses remain in their respective regions. The elite have now the privilege of mobility and feel they are members of one body.* If this solidarity of the elite is deracinated and lost, the unity of India will disappear into a mere memory."

Moreover, none of our national languages is sufficiently developed to replace English as the medium of higher learning or as the means of educational, judicial and administrative inter-communication. It is, therefore, in our national interest that English should be given an important place in our educational system and be retained as a medium of instruction *at least* in one university in every State.

It is also equally necessary that the Union Government should re-examine its language policy. In this connection the proposal for the adoption of a simplified Hindi written in a modified Roman alphabet (renamed as Hindustani to distinguish it from Hindi) as the official language of the Union deserves careful consideration.

The adoption of the Roman script may also facilitate the implementation of the Three-Language Formula as the burden of teaching and learning three scripts would be reduced.

To facilitate as well as accelerate the process of building *a strong and united nation with a new national culture*, it is both necessary and desirable that the Union Government should take greater interest and more energetic measures for: (a) the due observance of the safeguards provided for the linguistic minorities under the Constitution; (b) the provision by

the State of adequate facilities for instruction in the mother-tongue to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; (c) the recognition and retention of English as our window on the world and as one of the passports to higher learning and culture; and (d) the development and enrichment of *all* the languages of India, especially of the federal language, with a view to making it *a real medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India.*

Scheduled Castes: Then and Now

T. K. Oommen

Free India's commitment to a socialist secular democracy requires the State to inspire and institutionalize change in tune with her national objectives. Our political leaders have shown initiative and imagination in effecting change in several vital sectors of social life. An important example of this is the induction of institutional mechanisms not only to protect but also to promote the welfare of Scheduled Castes.

In understanding the conditions of the Scheduled Castes "then" and "now," we need to know the base line from which change started. The base-line data will be comparable to the data relating to present conditions, only if the concepts, terms and definitions employed in the collection and analysis of the data at both points of time are the same. We are not in a position to command such criteria. The concept of the Scheduled Castes is essentially an administrative-legal notion introduced through the Government of India Act 1935. The 1931 Census referred to "Exterior Castes" and "Depressed Classes," but the Scheduled Castes are not equivalent to these social categories. Therefore, the earliest base-line data one can secure on an all-India basis are that of the 1941 Census. The 1941 Census itself was a very limited operation owing to the Second World War. At the other end, we are handicapped at the present moment as the Census data of 1971 are not yet available. Moreover, several items on which data are available in the recent Census are not available in earlier ones. In such a situation I am constrained to embark upon a general qualitative analysis of the change that has occurred among the Scheduled Castes.

The Scheduled Castes constitute 15 per cent of India's total population. They were designated as Panchamas, those of the Fifth Order, by traditional Indian thinkers, the ritually clean castes having been grouped into the first four categories. While temporary untouchability obtained *vis-a-vis* the life-cycle crises of all castes, the Scheduled Castes were supposed to be born in pollution, and to live and die in pollution. They were denied access to common temples, wells, schools, etc. Although they were outside the Varna scheme, the Scheduled Castes constituted a vital segment of the population, in that they performed most of the manual and unskilled occupations, particularly those considered ritually unclean, without which the very existence and continuance of the traditional system would have been impossible. Involved in the Hindu Jajmani system, which provided the economic foundation for the caste system, the Scheduled Castes served the upper castes as leather-workers, sweepers, scavengers, village messengers and the like. The services of the priest, the barber, the washerman, etc. were denied to them. There were no food transactions between them and the clean castes. Although the tillers of the soil (35 per cent of the Scheduled Castes are agricultural labourers), a majority of them did not own any land. Consequently, they earned meagre incomes, were perennially indebted and were coerced

to work as attached labourers to their upper caste masters on low wages and also as forced free labour (*begar*). Their economic subservience was reflected in their political impotence. They did not have any voice in the decision-making process of the community. Even disputes among them were arbitrated by the upper caste masters. The Scheduled Castes were prohibited from learning the Vedas. They were not allowed to take to education of any type. They did not speak the sophisticated language of the upper castes, used a different dialect and the speech differences reflected the disparity in status. Generally, Scheduled Castes were ecologically segregated from the rest of the community. They lived in the outskirts of villages and towns, mostly in *kutch*a houses made of mud and clay and with thatched roof, situated on land not owned by them. Their dietary practices differed from those of the clean castes in that they were non-vegetarians (and this often meant consumption of carrion), rarely took a balanced and nutritive diet and consumed country liquor. The Scheduled Castes were also different in their dress and ornaments from clean castes; the males used only a small piece of cloth to cover their nakedness; the females were not allowed to cover their breasts. Gold ornaments were prohibited for them — and they could not afford them either.

The religious practices of the Scheduled Castes too were distinct. They did not follow or understand sophisticated Hinduism. They were animists and worshipped trees, plants and other totemic objects. Belief in magic, miracles and spirits was widespread and they offered pig, sheep or fowl as sacrifices to propitiate their gods and goddesses, instead of milk or flowers like their clean caste masters. They practised widow remarriage and bride-price. At their religious functions priests drawn from among themselves officiated.

My attempt so far has been to draw a general profile of the Scheduled Castes in earlier times. It is obvious from our description that the Scheduled Castes were in a very real sense “marginal men,” nay, “outsiders” to the system; they lived *in* communities but were not *of* it. It is against this background that we must try to understand the on-going process of integration of Scheduled Castes into the mainstream of Indian life.

Broadly speaking the sources of change among the Scheduled Castes are three : social reform movements, state action, and political action. Some of the social reform movements have been of national coverage, such as those initiated by Mahatma Gandhi, or of regional coverage, such as those initiated by Mahatma Phule in Maharashtra or Thakkar Bapa in Gujarat, or only of local coverage touching a few villages. Some movements were initiated by the leaders of the Scheduled Castes such as Ambedkar, others by upper-caste leaders. Some were confined to specific castes such as the Shiv Narain or Dadupanthi movement among the Chamars of Uttar Pradesh, or they encompassed a large number

of Scheduled Castes simultaneously.

Generally speaking, the social reform movements among Scheduled Castes emphasized an imitative process of the norms and values of the upper castes. The underlying logic of these movements was that if the Scheduled Castes practised the norms and accepted the values of the upper castes, their *status* would improve; the motivation for change was *status mobility*. However, the constraints of such a channel of social mobility were two: (i) The upper castes should permit the lower castes to imitate their norms and values, and (ii) the Scheduled Castes should be psychologically prepared to attempt the process of imitation. Moreover, to the extent the imitative process was confined to the style of life of the upper castes, it effected changes only in the socio-cultural dimensions, leaving the politico-economic dimensions relatively untouched. Whenever the Scheduled Castes attempt the "Sanskritization" of their style of life, it is likely to result in stresses and strains between them and the clean castes. However, some of the Scheduled Castes have gained a higher status as compared to their previous status, by taking to vegetarianism, abandoning widow-remarriage, refusing to have commensal relations with other Scheduled Castes, changing their caste names, changing occupations, adopting new religion, sect or cult, or taking to rituals of upper castes, etc. It is important to note that the very nature of Sanskritization was such that it led to *group mobility*. Thus fissions and fusions took place, based on new identities leading to formation of new castes and sects. Admittedly, the change that took place was *positional* in character and not *structural*. The caste system continued intact, the status of individual castes *vis-a-vis* other castes went up, remained static or went down, depending upon their response pattern to the social reform movements.

An important variant of social reform movement was conversion to other religious faiths. Conversion took place to Christianity, Buddhism, Sikhism, the Arya Samaj, etc. To the extent the conversion was in large numbers the Scheduled Caste converts remained as "social isolates" within the framework of these religions. Their low ritual status and poor economic resources coupled with occupational identification prevented them from establishing equalitarian relationships with the higher caste converts. However, this is not to deny that the Scheduled Castes improved their material conditions and ritual status to a certain extent through conversion.

The second major source of change among Scheduled Castes has been state action, that is, legislative and administrative measures. In the traditional legal and moral code of India the Scheduled Castes were denied equality. With the ushering in of the Indian Constitution in 1950, the Scheduled Castes became equal before law. With the passing of the Anti-Untouchability Act, 1955, the practice of untouchability became an offence punishable under law. Apart from this, under the policy

of protective discrimination certain special provisions were made for the quick development of the Scheduled Castes through reservation of seats in the political, educational and occupational spheres. Special developmental funds were set up for their uplift under the Five Year Plans. For instance, Rs 7 crores were earmarked for special programmes among the Scheduled Castes in the First Five Year Plan and the amount was increased to little over Rs 40 crores in the Third Five Year Plan.

Out of the 500 seats in the Lok Sabha, 15 per cent are reserved for the Scheduled Castes. It has become a convention to include a few persons from the Scheduled Castes in top political and administrative bodies. Out of the 3,563 seats in the Legislative Assemblies, 503 are reserved for Scheduled Castes. In almost all State cabinets one or two ministers are drawn from the Scheduled Castes. A Scheduled Caste Chief Minister is not unheard of today. However, it is important to note that Scheduled Caste members elected to the Lok Sabha and Legislative Assemblies from unreserved constituencies have been steadily dwindling. Thus, in 1952-56, there were four or five such members in the Lok Sabha, and by 1967 there was none. Over the same period the number dwindled from seven to four in Legislative Assemblies. With the introduction of Panchayati Raj institutions, systematic efforts have been made to give representation to the Scheduled Castes in all the statutory bodies at the local level: Vikas Panchayat, Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad. Thus, in formal legal terms the Scheduled Castes are represented at all levels of legislative bodies proportionate to their population. However, it is difficult to say that these inductions are effective in that they really can and do participate in the decision-making process, particularly at the local level.

Apart from representation in elective bodies, seats are reserved for the Scheduled Castes in government services at the Centre and in the States. Reservation of seats of the Scheduled Castes in services, however, does not automatically result in their entry. For example, of the 100 seats in the Indian Administrative Service, 16 are reserved for Scheduled Castes. However, only five had been actually filled by them in 1957, although since 1962 all the 16 positions reserved for them have been actually filled. In 1967, there were a total of 128 IAS and IPS Scheduled Caste officers, which amounted to a little over 5 per cent of officers belonging to these categories. In general terms, the representation of the Scheduled Castes remains deplorably poor. Only 2.08, 3.10, and 9.33 per cent of class I, II and III officers were drawn from the Scheduled Castes in 1968 as against a reservation of 12.50. As against this, the percentage of Scheduled Castes in class IV posts was nearly 18. This figure excludes sweepers, an overwhelming majority of whom are drawn from the Scheduled Castes. In the case of the Armed Forces, representation of the Scheduled Castes, particularly in the commissioned ranks, seems to be

virtually nil, although no statistics are available to support this observation. Similarly, although several universities agreed in principle to reserve non-teaching posts to facilitate Scheduled Caste entry, no effort has been made hitherto to induct them into faculty positions. In the case of the private sector no formal attempt has been made so far to provide representation for the Scheduled Castes and most of the very highly paid and lucrative jobs in the country are in the private sector.

By the early sixties, the Scheduled Castes had risen to a level of ten per cent literacy, from a state of virtually total illiteracy. Most educational institutions extend scholarships to Scheduled Caste students. In 1967-68, some 1,04,098 post-matriculation scholarships were awarded to them, involving a sum of Rs 5.14 crores. This is a tremendous progress considering the fact that only 655 such scholarships were awarded in 1947-48. While in 1947-48 only two Scheduled Caste students secured overseas scholarships, by 1967-68 the number increased to ten.

The acceptance of the maxim "land to the tiller" by the State has led to a series of agrarian reforms including land ceiling measures. Whenever land is distributed to the landless, an important segment of the beneficiaries are the Scheduled Castes as they constitute the largest single landless category dependent on land. Maharashtra leads in land allotment to the Scheduled Castes. Between 1947 and 1965, that State allotted 1,785,000 acres of land to them. The second rank in this respect goes to Rajasthan, with 822,927 acres.

It is not my intention to convey a sense of complacency in regard to the changes initiated by the State. But it needs to be recognized that certain definite gains have been made by the Scheduled Castes through state action. However, it is necessary to take stock of the unanticipated consequences of the state measures as well. It is a matter of common knowledge that certain of the Scheduled Castes, particularly the more populous ones, have practically monopolized the developmental benefits. Thus, Chamars and Dhobis of northern India, Namashudras and Rajbanshis of West Bengal, Malas of Andhra Pradesh, Mahars of Maharashtra, Pulayas of Kerala, to mention but a few groups, have benefited from the developmental measures much more than other Scheduled Castes. This is perhaps built into the very logic of the situation. Given the importance of numerical superiority in a democratic set-up, the political representatives of the Scheduled Castes will be invariably drawn from the more populous castes. This in turn helps such castes to utilize their connections and networks as resources to gain admission to educational institutions and to obtain jobs in government. Thus, a cumulative process starts operating favouring the castes with certain initial advantages. This leads to substantial disparities between the various castes among the Scheduled Castes.

Although developmental benefits are extended to the Scheduled

Castes as social categories, the actual beneficiaries are individuals and families belonging to these castes. This means the unit of mobility is the individual and not the group in the context of developmental benefits. This has certain consequences, the foremost among them being a social differentiation between the Scheduled Caste "elite" and "masses" eventuating in the emergence of a new prosperous class. This in turn leads to the disappearance of the unity and uniformity among particular castes and gives birth to intra-caste divisions based on income and wealth. Groups of dominant individuals emerge out of this situation. They are highly educated, usually urban-based professionals or white-collar employees. Many of them maintain their identity as Scheduled Castes and continue their connections with the less fortunate members of their caste, often taking initiative for their development and change. Over-zealous in their mission of helping their caste men, they are likely to invite accusations of being partisan, although their actions are nothing but routine obligations in a traditional system. A variant consists of those who quickly snap all their connections with their caste men and try to pass off as upper caste people. If successful they are assimilated; if unsuccessful they are alienated.

The third important source of change among the Scheduled Castes is political action, initiated by political parties through the process of mobilization. The accent of political action is on power. The axis around which castes get organized is ideology. It is certainly anomalous to suggest that particular castes belong to specific political parties and profess differing ideologies. However, it is a matter of common observation that for a variety of reasons a large proportion of a particular caste comes to be identified with one or another political party in a given region. This, I suggest, is the logic involved in the process of mobilization of a populace which is communal-based. Familial, kinship and caste ties are important resources in the context of political action. Thus, if a group of leaders from a caste come to support a political party, a substantial number of their caste members fall in line. This brings several benefits for the caste as a whole. To start with, the leaders of their caste will be inducted into leadership positions of that party at the local level, to move up in the political hierarchy gradually as and when they acquire sufficient political skills and demonstrate their unqualified commitment to the party and the ideology. At the same time, these leaders come into contact with the higher echelons of the party which in turn is a feed-back resource. Acting as political brokers and bridges at the local level, they become resourceful in many ways.

The involvement of caste in political action has two important consequences. First, the caste gets politicized, mobilized and subsequently become ready for confrontation. A process of political education starts with political involvement in the form of electoral participation, strikes,

lock-outs, Satyagraha, organization of labour unions, etc. The caste certainly suffers some casualties as its members are likely to be engaged in violent conflicts which in turn earn for them martyrs. The radicalization of the group also results in political pay-offs — party tickets, funds and positions. Admittedly, only a few individuals move up in the social hierarchy through the acquisition of power, formal or informal. They may establish caste associations, *sabhas* or councils or the existing ones may be invigorated. Anyhow, a political elite emerges among them. Of the two types of this elite, one operates at the village and district level, usually rural-based, semi-literate and with a traditional style of life. And the other operates at the macro-level, usually urban-based and is represented in the political and governmental bodies at the State and national level. Placed in an advantageous position, the political elite among the Scheduled Castes amass great influence and advantages. Their sons and daughters get educated in top schools, get recruited into top professions, acquire social skills to mix with the mainstream elite and thus come to be identified with them, culminating in the process of social assimilation.

In trying to sketch the major sources, patterns and consequences of change among the Scheduled Castes it was my intention to portray their position in India today. If I have conveyed the impression that substantial changes have occurred among them, it was not unintentional. Let me add, however, that much more needs to be done as the lag between the existential conditions of the Scheduled Castes and the general population is substantial even after a quarter of a century of freedom. Even today, frequently one reads press reports relating to the harassment of the Scheduled Castes in various parts of the country and the Elayaperumal Committee (1969) lists a variety of practices of untouchability prohibited by law. However, this should not be taken as an indicator of deterioration in their conditions.

In conclusion I should like to draw the attention of the reader to a few general trends of change among the Scheduled Castes. The social reform movements which encompassed the process of Sanskritization and conversion to other religions gave an initial impetus for change among the Scheduled Castes. The unit of climbing up was caste and the motivation for change was *status mobility*, leading to the enhancement of ritual status of the castes concerned. The kind of measures introduced through state action resulted in the emergence of a new prosperous class effecting social differentiation among the Scheduled Castes leading to *class mobility*. State action, which was group-based, led to the acquisition and exercise of power by Scheduled Castes resulting in *power mobility*. The net result of political action was power gains for them. Although it is extremely difficult to mobilize the Scheduled Castes on an all-India basis owing to their geographical spread, differential cultural backgrounds

and varying pace of development, it is crucial for their progress that a process of mobilization should be initiated in order to consolidate the leads and gains made so far and to avoid a possible relapse. The only way out seems to be a more vigorous programme of politicization, although this may generate certain amount of anomie manifested in conflicts and confrontations of various types.

Integration of Tribes in Indian Society

Sachchidananda

In the years which have rolled by since the attainment of our Independence, our nationhood has been under severe stress. The intensity or duration of the stress has differed from time to time but its sources could be easily located in communalism, radical extremism, casteism, linguism and tribalism. In the face of external aggression these forces remain dormant for a while. They re-emerge on the national scene after the restoration of normalcy. The most important task before the country is primarily one of nation-building, that is, the creation of a morally unified political community out of a multitude of ethnically and culturally discrete communities between which adequate standing and goodwill do not exist. In the tribal regions in the country, this sense of integration with the rest of the Indian society is rather weak and needs to be considerably strengthened.

The problem of integration is not unique to India. It exists in all the new nations in Asia and Africa and also in some of the politically old and economically developed nations. The hostility of the Welsh against the English and the slogan of an independent Wales are examples of insufficient integration between two communities of the British nation. Integration becomes an acute problem if the population is divided into distinct groups on the basis of race, language, religion, caste, etc. But integration is an ideal which has been achieved in several nations which have been divided on similar pattern. Switzerland or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics present successful examples of integration, even though they are characterized by ethnic-*cum*-cultural pluralism. They have been able to evolve a strong sense of belonging to the nation.

It will be useful at this stage to clarify the meaning of the term "integration." Myron Weiner identifies five uses : (i) national integration or the integration of diverse and discrete cultural loyalties and development of a sense of nationality; (ii) territorial integration; (iii) value integration; (iv) elite-*cum*-mass integration; and (v) integration of individuals into organization for purposive activities. In our context it would be useful to think of the problem of integration as basically having two aspects: (i) administrative/political and (ii) emotional. The first aspect involves the general acceptance by the majority of the people of a country of an administrative network covering every part of the country. Political integration can be established and maintained by means of coercion as under colonial rule. Emotional integration does not necessarily follow it or precede it. Emotional integration involves the acceptance of a common and consistent set of values, norms and attitudes by most, if not by all, sections of a country's population. The intensity of integration depends upon the extent of value consensus. It may be remembered that only this kind of integration makes for a stable, healthy and lasting nationhood. At the moment in India, we have achieved political integration to a far larger extent than ever achieved in the

earlier course of our history, but emotional integration in terms of acceptance by the people of a common set of values and norms is still a far cry. It is recognized that the task of achieving such integration in a country of the size and diversity of India is beset with difficulties. It does not necessarily flow from administrative extension or welfare schemes for the economic uplift of the masses of people. It is not a one-way process and requires adjustment on the part of both dominant and minority communities. It emerges out of sustained friendly interaction. The absence of conflict quickens the pace of such integration. It has also a psychological dimension which takes into account the experiences of the minority community in regard to a majority-minority interaction in the past. Thus, it is a time-consuming process; nevertheless it needs constant attention and endeavour on the part of all communities concerned.

Generally the word "integration" is treated as a synonym for "assimilation" not only by politicians and bureaucrats but sometimes also by scholars. This is indeed most unfortunate. Integration must be clearly distinguished from assimilation. Assimilation involves a total loss of cultural identity for the group that is being assimilated. It is absorbed into the dominant group by adopting the norms, attitudes and values of the latter. The minority psychology is to harbour a fear of losing its cultural identity. This makes the minority extremely suspicious of the actions of the majority. Thus both the communities are increasingly alienated from each other and in this process the minority develops defence mechanisms aimed at safeguarding its cultural identity. This is a serious obstacle to the acceptance of a common set of values, norms and understanding, so essential for the emergence of nationhood.

Building different communities into a nation does not necessarily involve the removal of cultural differences between them. But there are certain basic values, such as democracy, secularism, equality of opportunity and freedom of thought and speech, which have got to be accepted by all irrespective of caste, creed or religion. The acceptance of these values is strengthened by the growth of economic interdependence and the development of communications between different sectors of the population. The tribals' fear of losing their cultural identity is reflected in the following statement of a Naga intellectual:

Today in India nationhood is still in a process of becoming. Many talk about incorporating or assimilating the minorities into a larger society under the concept of equal citizenship. . . . India is declared to be a secular state but there are visible signs of the nation becoming a monolithic society where the majority may define the limits of national society and where the majority are often confused with the national society.¹

Any effort to produce a monolithic uniformity in the cultural patterns can be extremely dangerous. The essence of Indian unity lies in its

diversity. Any attempt towards unity to succeed must be within the framework of cultural, religious and ethnic pluralism. India provides one of the extreme examples of cultural pluralism. The only hope for the emergence of a feeling of nationhood lies in working towards integration rather than towards assimilation. The call of certain parties in the country for Indianization is in this context dangerous in the extreme. Far from creating conditions for strengthening Indian nationhood, it would strike at the roots of national unity by sowing in the minds of the minority a fear of the loss of cultural identity.

The tribes of India present a difficult problem. More than 30 million in number, they are scattered more or less in different parts of the country. They are divided into hundreds of small communities differing not only from the dominant populations of the region in which they live but also a great deal among themselves. They differ among themselves on the basis of ethnic composition, religion, beliefs and practices, means of subsistence and patterns of socio-cultural integration. They live in different ecological backgrounds. Their interaction with the dominant population of the region differs from area to area. They speak, in many cases, different languages. By no means can they be said to be a solid entity in Indian population as they are scattered throughout the country.

There are three main zones of tribal concentration. The first extends from the borders of Gujarat right up to Orissa. This belt of middle India houses two-thirds of the entire tribal population of the country and includes such large tribes as the Bhils, Gonds, Santals, Mundas and Oraons and several other smaller tribes sprawling over Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Bengal. Most of the tribals of this zone belong to the Proto-Australoid stock. The other zone is located in North Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya, Arunachal, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram and Tripura. The tribals of this zone exhibit a Mongoloid ethnic strain in different measures. This zone is coterminous with our borders with Nepal, China, Burma and Bangladesh and is, therefore, extremely vulnerable from the defence point of view. Except in North Bengal and Assam, the tribal population in the other States of this zone is in preponderant majority. It is in this area too that the resurgence of tribal subnationalism is extremely powerful, especially among the Nagas and the Mizos. The ethnic composition and the linguistic affiliation of these tribal communities draw them closer to people living in the countries on our borders and it is their integration that demands immediate attention. In the third zone, that is, in South India, their numbers are very small and they are comparatively very backward.

By far the vast majority of Indian tribes are settled agriculturists and

live in permanent villages. Their problems of economic development are almost the same as that of agriculturists in other parts of the country. Less than ten per cent live by shifting cultivation. This indeed poses a problem for which solutions are being sought. The number of such communities who live wholly on hunting, gathering or cattle grazing is very small. Some tribals are now employed in industrial undertakings and as tea garden labour and their problems are subsumed in the labour problems of the area concerned.

These communities are known as tribes. The word "tribe" is derived from a Latin root meaning the three divisions into which the early Romans were grouped. With the Romans the tribe was a political division but with the Greeks it was synonymous at one time with their fraternities and at others with geographical divisions. According to the Oxford Dictionary the term is applied to a race of people, more especially to a primary aggregate of people, in a primitive or barbarous condition under a headman or a chief. There are large numbers of people included in this category who do not answer to this description and by and large this definition does not seem to meet the relevant social situation in India. In ancient India we have records of a number of autonomous communities residing either on the frontiers or in the forests. Examples of such Janas are the Savaras, the Kollas, the Bhillas, the Abhiras, the Khasas, the Kinnaras, etc. Indian literary tradition does not make a distinction between these Janas and other Janas such as the Gandharvas, the Kambojas, the Koshalas, the Angas, the Magadhas, etc. There is record in the Mauryan period of Atavik Rajyas or forest kingdoms. Samudragupta is said to have brought under his rule a number of such peoples. There is hardly any evidence to show that in the minds of Indian intellectuals there was any consciousness of a difference between two sets of Janas, except in the matter of Jati, that is, in socio-religious and economic organization. Some of these Janas were outside the complex of Jati and their interaction with the society was limited. Some of these communities were defeated by the advanced people and driven to the hills and the forests. But in course of time some of these communities were assimilated into the Hindu fold and this process has gone on from time immemorial. These communities were called tribal castes by Hutton. Tribal castes were assimilated in Hinduism not necessarily at the lowest level but even at higher levels. A community which had gained economic status either through accumulation of land and more control over agricultural products or by trade and commerce was given higher status.

Examples of interaction between these so-called tribals and the Hindu population are many. In the Ramayana itself Rama, Sita and Lakshman penetrated into the Dandakaranya area. Samudragupta defeated many forest communities. In the middle ages Chaitanyadeva with his

followers must have passed through the forested regions of Chotanagpur on their way to Orissa. When people went on pilgrimage to Badrinath, Kedarnath or to Dwaraka and Puri, they crossed these areas and the tribal communities must have had their impact. In Assam the interaction between the non-tribals and the tribals is of long standing and a kind of symbolic relationship developed between them in certain regions. But the fact remains that the interaction was limited and by and large these communities were left in virtual isolation. It was only in the British period when the arms of administration began to expand that these areas experienced greater and more sustained impact. A large number of civil and military officials went into these regions taking with them contractors, middlemen, traders and shopkeepers. Following on their heels went the Christian missionaries. They penetrated very deep into these areas, converted a large number of the people there and brought education and public health to them. Within the last hundred years or so tremendous changes have taken place in the lives of the tribes. In some areas where interaction was intense there has been large-scale detribalization. In central India a large majority of these people regard themselves as Hindus and have been enumerated as such in the census. The extent of the integration with the majority community differs from area to area. In the mixed areas, the tribals have lived along with the non-tribals for several centuries and the feeling of alienation between the two is not very strong. But in north-eastern India, where most of these communities are living in their own distinct areas, this kind of feeling is entirely lacking. According to one line of thinking, the separatist demands which generally emanate from such areas reflect the lack of the feeling of integration with the body politic of the nation.

Some European scholars, who have brought out excellent monographs on their life and culture, stress this fact a great deal by giving a holistic account of the distinctive culture of each community. The similarities between the tribal way of life, tribal religions and the larger Indian way of life were never sought to be studied or brought out. But some scholars have admitted that there is so much in common between tribal religious beliefs and Hinduism that it is difficult sometimes to distinguish between them, especially at the popular level. Hutton even went to the extent of saying that tribal religions represent, as it were, the surplus material not yet built into the temple of Hinduism. The naturalistic character of the tribal faith and its polytheism make the transition from the tribal faith to Hinduism extremely smooth and easy.

Similarly if we consider various aspects of their social system there is a vast amount of common ground between the two. The composition

of the family, intrafamilial relations, patterns of avoidance, forging of artificial kinship links, the position of elders in society, the systems of inheritance, etc. are more or less the same among the tribals and the majority population. While the distinctiveness of tribal culture need not be overlooked, it is equally necessary not to emphasize it too much. The cause of integration would be promoted by stressing the common features of the tribal and the non-tribal social systems.

The political trends visible in tribal India are both conjunctive and disjunctive. On the one hand, a new tribal solidarity is being forged and, on the other, tribes as a category are being alienated from the rest of the country's population. Tribalness is now a powerful political factor. To exploit its full potential tribal groups on different techno-economic levels and representing different cultural ethos and patterns are forging links between themselves. This trend minimizes inter-tribal friction and to that extent it is welcome. But where it alienates them from the rest of the country it impedes the course of national integration. Such a trend has been evident in recent years, as we find that in other areas also the politics of agitation and of separatism has paid off. It is therefore necessary to view the unrest in the tribal areas not in isolation but from the wider context of the happenings at the national level. The causes of unrest are economic exploitation by outsiders, loss of rights in land, growing unemployment, poor communications, problems of health, etc. These are common problems of Indian rural masses.

This, however, does not imply that there are no problems that are uniquely tribal. Undoubtedly they do exist and they need to be explored in their own regional perspective. Sociopolitical movements in tribal areas and such processes as revivalism, nativism, syncretism, etc. have to be documented and studied in depth. The problems of tribals living in non-tribal environment, such as big industrial cities, also merit attention. It is possible that such studies will bring out the facts as to why many development projects launched with great hope in tribal areas fail to achieve the desired results. They might also reveal the incongruence between innovation and culture, communication gaps between extension agents and the masses in the village, the failures of the bureaucracy and the soundness or otherwise of planning and implementation of developmental schemes. We shall thus be able to have valuable insights into the problem of emotional integration between tribals and non-tribals.

During the British rule the government largely maintained a policy of isolation towards the tribals. The reasons for such a policy were obvious. The tribals were located in hills and forests, and the cost of administering these areas would have been extremely heavy. Secondly, the British administrators did not want the tribal communities to come

into the mainstream of Indian life as otherwise they would be contaminated with the national movement. Thirdly, some British officers sincerely believed that the tribals lived a better and happier life than the so-called civilized Indians and so need not be disturbed. After India gained Independence such a policy of isolation was neither possible nor desirable. The very fact that our Constitution had guaranteed equality to all sections of the population implied that the State would actively take up large programmes for tribal development. The tribals also enjoyed adult suffrage and were able to influence state policies and demand more attention to themselves to compensate for centuries of stagnation. The exploitation of mineral resources, which in a large measure are located in areas inhabited by the tribals, also necessitated the penetration of these regions by the state. In other areas, too, the compulsions of rural development led to the building of a vast network of communications. Reasons of border security accelerated governmental efforts in this direction especially in north-eastern India.

It was, therefore, extremely important to evolve a positive programme for tribal welfare giving up the legacy of isolation. For some time the hands of the administration were completely unfettered and the same policies were implemented in tribal and non-tribal areas, sometimes with disastrous results in the former. Such an approach was halted by the policy of the then Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, who realized that assimilation could be no solution for the problems of the tribals. He therefore evolved a national tribal policy which is known as "the Tribal Panchsheel". According to this policy the tribals would be allowed to develop on the lines of their own genius. Tribal rights in land and forests were to be respected in implementing development schemes. Officials were cautioned against over-administration of the tribal areas by non-tribals and result of such a policy was to be judged not by official statistics put out by the development departments but by the quality of human character developed. It was recognized by our national leaders that the country's salvation would lie in the doctrine of "unity in diversity". Indian culture was said to be a mosaic whose varying patterns added to its richness. The concept of a monolithic culture for the nation was discounted. This in effect is our concept of integration in which each constituent unit maintains its cultural identity and autonomy but each shares certain basic values, attitudes and orientation which are enshrined in the Constitution.

The integration of tribes in the larger Indian society is extremely important and urgent for reasons of national security. The north-eastern region is vulnerable to foreign influence and infiltration, and it is necessary to take steps to counteract such influence. The introduction of adult franchise and the development of communications have resulted in heightening political consciousness and stimulated demands for regional

autonomy in varying degrees. Such demands, which are a characteristic of emergence from stagnation, are also expressions of discontent due to fear of loss of cultural identity and the exploitation by the economically more advanced groups. In the long run, the demands facilitate articulation of interests and lead to more effective integration of the groups concerned. All problems of group identity and autonomy, however, must be solved within the framework of the Indian Union. The demand of each area could be judged on its own merits. In order to bring economic opportunities to people in the interior it is necessary to build feeder roads to the main roads in the border areas. There is also the need to provide a more permanent economic base for the well-being of the tribal people. The long-term answer to these problems would be rapid economic development of the country as a whole and the backward regions in particular.

In the case of persons displaced owing to establishment of large-scale industries, besides compensation, the state should provide help and training to enable them to adjust themselves to new conditions. The integration of such persons in the new economy would create a climate favourable for taking up other projects in neighbouring areas. Wherever possible tribal entrepreneurs should be encouraged so that they may play the role of a bridge between the tribals and the industrial economy.

The weakest links among the Scheduled Tribes should be identified for purposes of swift and all-round development. A commission of inquiry may be appointed to go into their problems. Rather than leaving it to the vagaries of state governments this commission should also examine the existence of anomalies in the schedules. The mass media, such as the radio and the press, should see to it that economic rivalries do not develop into inter-group tension. They should explain the genuine aspirations and difficulties of the tribals to non-tribals to foster a better understanding between the two. It must be urged upon them that their problems are common with the other weaker sections of the Indian society with whom they can join forces to find common solutions. They must be given credible guarantees against the submergence of their group identity. At the same time the entire policy should be directed towards more interaction between the tribals and non-tribals. As national economy develops and all sections of the population are drawn into it, integration will become broader and deeper, and a more robust culture will arise which derives strength from the contribution which every section makes to it.

¹ P. Moaso Sang "Naga Search for Identity" in R. Mitra and B. Das Gupta (Eds.) *A Common Perspective for North-East India*, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 51-57.

Problems of the Scheduled Tribes

B. K. Roy Burman

There are 427 communities in the list of the Scheduled Tribes throughout the country. Some of them, however, are sub-tribes of larger tribes. They constitute about seven per cent of the total population of India.

One way to look at the tribal problem is to consider them as a minority in the country as a whole, but there is the other way as well. There are 287 *taluks* where the tribals constitute the majority of the population and nearly 50 per cent of the total tribal population lives in these *taluks*.

In the traditional social order the technological base and the standard of living of the tribals were low. Their literacy was low, and the orbit of their social interaction was also limited. Their aspirations were mainly confined to the local level where they were numerically predominant.

However, the self-image of a considerable number of tribal people in India is that they are the majority rather than a small minority in the country. The numerical aspect apart, there is another sense in which the tribes consider themselves dominant. Whether historically true or not, the tribes are considered to be the autochthones in many of the areas currently inhabited by them. Even if they are not numerically dominant in those areas today, they carry with them the idea of historical domination—a sort of moral imperative—and it influences their world view and attitude orientation to a considerable extent.

With the spread of education, expansion of communications and intensification of administrative and welfare activities in the tribal areas, a rapid change is taking place in the objective conditions of tribal life, as well as in the mental horizon of the tribals. Whereas in the past, pre-agricultural and rudimentary agricultural practices, forestry, animal husbandry and cottage industries based on simple technology prevailed among the tribals, now a small but significant number of them are found in other avocations, such as mining and plantation labour, industrial labour, professions and services. “The primitive world of the tribals” is a “vanishing trail”, but tribes as historical social entities are very much there.

There are a number of reasons for this. For instance, there are networks of social relations, both internal and external. While it is easy to break one or two knots, it is a formidable task to break the entire network. Again, there are short-range processes of continuous adjustments of the social boundaries. Sometimes, in order to become viable, two or more tribes recognize close links among themselves and establish secondary social entities. For this purpose, the myths, legends and various symbols of identity of the communities concerned are reinterpreted and invested with new meanings. The quality of the surrounding civilization has also a contributing role. To begin with, the fact that on being incorporated in the Hindu society, the tribes were assigned a low position in the caste hierarchy inhibited to a certain extent their positive orientation towards the Hindu society, even when they adopted Hindu gods and goddesses in their pantheon.

As a result of the interplay of all these factors, tribes continue to

persist as distinct social entities, even when there have been massive deviations from their traditional ways of life.

In the modern world, however, a "secondary tribalization" seems to be on the way. The complex institutions of the so-called civilized societies strike the tribals as being bereft of human dimensions. Tribal elite seem to feel that there is no single great tradition to emulate. They therefore tend to search for new meanings in their age-old traditions, invest them with those of universalism, and to protect tribalism as an alternative great tradition in itself.

The growing self-consciousness of the tribals in terms of the modern world has a practical implication. It reinforces their minority complex, and encourages in them a consciousness of their right to be accommodated in the larger national system without loss of their identity.

The replacement of the primitive complex by the minority complex in its turn radically alters the nature of the tribal problem.

In so far as the tribals are a group of people with arrested technology and substandard conditions of life, the primary task in respect of them is the satisfaction of their immediate needs, requiring a humanitarian approach. The next phase is that of creation of an infrastructure of growth on a long-term perspective, requiring a development approach. With secondary tribalization and minority complex coming into focus, a more complex social engineering approach is called for. It requires the formulation of a balanced programme for the satisfaction of the political and social aspirations of the rising middle class and the educated elite on the one hand and the mass of the toiling workers on the other. The interests of the various tribal classes are also to be linked with the corresponding classes and segments of society at the national level. At the same time, tribes as distinct ethnoses reflecting historical continuity, reflected in infra-, proto-, and subnationalistic movements, will claim special attention. In the case of tribes living near the international borders, a geopolitical perspective is also to be kept in view and the internal developments should be harmonized with the strategy of meeting external challenges.

It is obvious from the foregoing, that a dynamic tribal policy must be a flexible one and should be related to the specific contexts of the different categories of tribes.

The cardinal considerations in the categorization of the tribes may be considered along two axes. The first axis is that of the key factors of social development among the tribals. They are: (a) habitat, (b) nature of relation with productive resources, (c) level of technology, and (d) level of education. The second axis is that of the nature of the problems of the tribals in terms of their relative importance.

Taking these two axes in view, the tribal communities can be categorized into:

- (i) tribes in pre-growth stage;
- (ii) tribes in rudimentary growth stage;
- (iii) tribes in truncated growth stage;
- (iv) tribes in unbalanced growth stage;
- (v) tribes in balanced growth stage; and
- (vi) tribes in dynamic growth stage.

We might now examine what policy frame would be required in handling each of these categories.

Tribes in pre-growth stage: They are not alienated from traditional resources like land, have a low level of technology, low literacy, live in outlying regions and lack in infrastructure of growth (e.g. the Wancho of Arunachal, the Abujhmar of Madhya Pradesh, Onge of Little Andaman).

For this category, land is both an economic resource and the nexus for the identity of the community. It is a symbol of command and signifies as much a proto-political relationship as economic relationship.

An integrated policy-frame in respect of such tribes should give the highest priority to protection against alienation of resources. Almost equal priority should be given to humanitarian and welfare activities. Development activities to provide the physical infrastructure of growth and individual-oriented programmes to stimulate the growth of forward-looking elites should be introduced only after rapport has been established with the tribal communities concerned.

Tribes in rudimentary growth stage: They are not alienated from traditional resources like land, though some transfer might have taken place for public purposes. They have a low level of technology and low literacy, though a small section of educated elite is coming up. Besides, they live in outlying regions where the infrastructure of growth is in a rudimentary stage (e.g. Adi group of tribes in Arunachal, Juang in Orissa).

For this category of tribes also, protection against alienation of land should continue to receive the highest priority. Simultaneously, development activities to provide a physical infrastructure of growth require to be stepped up. Humanitarian and purely welfare activities should supplement the development activities. A strategy of building up forward-looking elites is also to be carefully planned.

Tribes in truncated growth stage: They are considerably alienated from traditional economic resources, particularly land; have a low technology, low literacy, live in mixed regions where the infrastructure of growth has been fairly developed. The bulk of the tribals in west and south India belong to this category.

For this category, land is primarily an economic resource: only in limited pockets is it a symbol of command and in those areas, if the transfer goes on beyond a threshold point, it assumes a political dimension.

The policy-frame for this group should be concerned not only with

protection against further alienation of land but also with restoration, wherever possible, of the already alienated land. Introduction of improved technology and marketing opportunity in traditional economic pursuits, diversification of economic activities supported by manpower planning, encouragement of non-official servicing agencies with greater participation of forward-looking elites of the community should also receive due attention.

Tribes in unbalanced growth stage: They are not alienated from traditional economic resources and have a high level of technology and education. But they live in distinct regions where the infrastructure of growth has not been developed to the commensurate extent (e.g. Mizo group of tribes).

For this category, guided political mobilization for strengthening development-oriented programmes and building up of human resources with the aid of systematic manpower planning should receive the highest priority. Besides, the forward-looking elites with positive orientation towards the nation-society are to be given political and other support for creating the appropriate climate for growth.

Tribes in balanced growth stage: They are not alienated from traditional economic resources and have a fairly high level of technology and education. But they live in distinct regions where the infrastructure of growth has also developed to a considerable extent (e.g. Khasi of Meghalaya).

For this category of tribes, priority is to be given to strengthening the political-social base of the forward-looking elites, particularly those who are interested in the reform of the traditional agrarian structure, and making it more egalitarian and democratic. Voluntary organizations with a local base, but also with multi-level and multi-channel linkages, involving the nation as a whole, are also to be encouraged. Development planning should aim at building up hierarchy of linkages, involving micro-, meso-, and macro-regional levels. As a concomitant, a strategy of building up and making optimum use of the manpower resources is to be adopted.

Tribes in dynamic growth stage: They are mostly divested of the traditional economic resources, but have a high level of technology and education. They live in mixed regions where the infrastructure of growth has been developed to a considerable extent.

The policy in respect of such tribes should give the highest priority to the building up of human resources with the help of systematic manpower planning, keeping in view the perspective of growth at various levels. Simultaneously, economic opportunities for the individuals belonging to the community have to be diversified and development-oriented programmes have to be stepped up. Besides, security of the land resources of the individuals belonging to the community should be assured by

restricting transfer not only to tribals but also to non-tribals. For this purpose, there should be a machinery both at the administrative and at the political levels, to review the transfers.

The classification attempted here not only provides a typology of tribal areas but also the locus of shift from one class to another in the wake of development. The goal of development is to transform all tribal areas into dynamic areas of the present scheme.

Integrated development of tribal areas would obviously require detailed and interlinked economic planning, social planning and political planning. A few basic strategic questions may, however, be mentioned here.

1. Recognition of the development of tribal communities as part and parcel of over-all modernization process.
2. Intensification of symbiotic relationship between tribal and non-tribal areas.
3. A strategy of area development, taking care that it does not divest the tribal communities of control over traditional resources.
4. Review of basic approaches relating to the recognition of communal rights, as well as latent rights of households (particularly over lands under shifting cultivation), during the preparation of record of rights.
5. Review of the following enactments with particular reference to their economic as well as politico-social implications:
 - (a) Restrictions against transfer of tribal land;
 - (b) Indebtedness and regulation of the activities of moneylenders, co-operatives and financial institutions;
 - (c) Rights over forests and forest products.
6. Regulations of basic institutions like family, property, village organisation, chiefship, etc.
7. Conversion of official and non-official exogenous servicing organizations into endogenous community organizations.

Notwithstanding the great volume of publications on the tribes, the questions of basic strategy do not seem to have received adequate attention even in the academic circles. However, there is a hazard in deciding the basic strategic questions in isolation. Any over-all strategy must be decided only through national debate and consensus. In this task planners, academicians, social workers and politicians, belonging to tribal and non-tribal communities, must get together.

Defence Services—Symbol of National Integration

K. Subrahmanyam

The ideological struggle in the subcontinent that culminated in the liberation of Bangladesh had many facets. It was a struggle between secularism and theocracy, democracy and totalitarianism, socialist development and neocolonialism. It was also a struggle between the ideology of representative government and militarism. The Indian army by its victory not only liberated Bangladesh, it also helped Pakistan to liberate itself as well, and the people of Pakistan for the first time in their history have an elected government. Militarism in Pakistan was brought to an end after thirteen years. The Indian defence services when they were directed to assist in the liberation of Bangladesh bore an awesome responsibility in attempting this role under very difficult conditions, in minimum possible time and with as little damage to the infrastructure of Bangladesh as became inescapable. This task they carried out in a way as to win the acclaim of the world. The Indian Armed Forces have carried out similar liberation tasks earlier in Kashmir (1947), Hyderabad (1948), Goa (1961) and in Katanga (1961).

The armed forces of India and Pakistan have the same background and inherited initially the traditions and value system of the British Indian armed forces. But in the last twenty-five years the two armed forces have played very different roles. While the Indian armed forces have been an instrument of policy for a democratic government, the Pakistan armed forces became a praetorian guard and used the State to further their own interests at the expense of the people of Pakistan. In this they were part of a world-wide phenomenon in which the United States trained, equipped and provided the philosophy for militarists to seize and maintain themselves in power all over the world as part of its global neocolonialist system. Portugal, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Jordan, Pakistan, Thailand, Cambodia, South Vietnam, Taiwan, South Korea and various other states in Africa and South America fitted into this system. In the Indian armed forces, too, to begin with, we had people who looked back nostalgically to the colonial value system and wanted to perpetuate the neocolonialist links. In the fifties and early sixties there were many influential people who wanted to push India into a western alliance, import equipment from the western countries instead of developing our own indigenous defence production base, and talked about democratic system not being suited to Indian conditions. Some talked the language of Ayub Khan, of restoring order and discipline where the politicians had failed. These tendencies were encouraged by western intellectuals who talked in terms of the modernizing role of the military in the developing world.

But such a development did not take place in India and the reason for this must be traced to the fundamental factors and not attributed to individual behaviours and accidents. The cardinal factor which influenced the development of the personality and ethos of our armed forces is the

composite character of our nation and the diversity and wide-ranging composition of our armed forces. The honours and awards lists at the end of the recent war and the names of commanders who led the operations in different sectors showed that the Indian armed forces, unlike the Pakistani forces, were not drawn from restricted areas and specified classes. Pakistani armed forces were by and large a Punjabi-Pathan force drawn from six districts. This factor was responsible for the development of praetorianism among those forces. The Indian armed forces are drawn from various parts of the country. Though some areas contribute to them more than other areas, this contribution is not so large as to affect the catholicity in outlook and composition of the forces. With the green revolution and industrialization some of these imbalances are likely to get further redressed in a natural way.

While the Pakistanis maintained that Bengalis were not good fighting material, in India Bengali officers became chiefs of staff of all three services. Our commanders during these operations included two Parsis, two Malayalees, a Tamilian and a Jew, not to mention those from communities which were generally regarded as martial. The Param Vir Chakra went, among others, to a Christian tribal. For the first time the Nagas fought for the Indian Republic.

The thesis that there were martial and non-martial races was a political myth devised by the British. A little reflection will show up the absurdity of this myth. The British conquered India primarily by using the Madras and Bengal armies. Once they completed the conquest they declared the people of these areas as non-martial. They wanted to placate those people who were last brought under British rule. Secondly, they felt that men from relatively backward areas and less educated sections of population would create less problems for them. Thirdly, geopolitics and their fear of Russia compelled them to concentrate on the north-west frontier. Unfortunately, some of these convenient political myths continued to survive even after our Independence. Conscious efforts are being made to overcome some of the entrenched prejudices; necessarily it is a time-consuming process.

However, in respect of recruitment to the Air Force and Navy, and in all arms of the Army, except Infantry, the recruitment in India is on a transregional basis. As education spreads and inter-regional communication improves, the infantry will also become more composite in character.

Entry into the officer cadre of the Indian armed forces is a multipointed one. Approximately a third of the officers are promoted from the ranks. Another third come in through the National Defence Academy as cadets through an all-India competitive selection. The remaining third are university graduates who enter directly through the Indian Military Academy and the technical institutions of the other two services. At this

point special mention must be made of the Sainik Schools which have started contributing a significant proportion of the cadets to the National Defence Academy. These schools were started in 1961 and there are now seventeen of them, one each in seventeen states. (Himachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Tripura, and Meghalaya are the only four states which do not have separate Sainik Schools as yet.) Very generous scholarship schemes are available, which have made it possible for around eighty per cent of the boys in these schools to come from lower middle class and working class homes. The Sainik Schools prepare the boys for entry into the National Defence Academy. These schools serve to ensure that the officer cadres of the Indian Armed Forces are drawn from all parts of India and not preferentially from certain areas. Secondly, they also draw the officers from relatively lower strata of the economic hierarchy. These two factors are intended to reduce the possibility of regional imbalance and a spirit of praetorianism developing.

Our armed forces today reflect by and large the unity in diversity of our country itself. Just as our Constitution and political system provide checks and balances to ensure that there is no abuse of political power, so do they ensure that the power of the armed forces will not be used in any manner except for national purpose and by any authority except the highest civilian authority of the land. The national integration within the armed forces of our country was made possible by the continuous civilian control exercised over the armed forces and a conscious policy of drawing them from different areas and from different strata of our society developed over the years. In countries where the armed forces intervene in politics it leads to intranational tensions. The armed forces become a factor in politics. This in turn leads to two deleterious results. Once the armed forces get into politics then their officer cadres get involved in politicking. Coups and counter-coups follow and the armed forces lose their professionalism. This happened to the Pakistan army, South Vietnamese army and the Kuomintang Chinese army. One sees this phenomenon also in Arab, African and South American countries. Secondly, such an armed force is riven by factionalism. Our former Chief of Air Staff, Air Chief Marshal P.C. Lal, speaking to students in Agra, rightly pointed out that an armed force can be efficient only when it functions as an instrument under civilian political control.

In the last twenty-five years of our history, our armed forces were called upon to defend our national security — both territorial integrity and sovereignty — on seven occasions (Kashmir in 1947-48, Hyderabad, Goa, the Northern borders against China, Kutch and Kashmir in 1965 and the Bangladesh war of liberation). In addition, they have been involved in tasks of national consolidation like counter-insurgency measures in Nagaland and Mizo hills. All these are tasks calling for high national purpose. Their constant deployment in the difficult high-altitude regions and difficult

desert terrains again calls for a commitment to nationalism. In the earlier days, under the British Indian Army, their motivation came primarily from concepts of regimental pride and honour. Today the nature of limited wars, the constant vigil on the borders, higher degree of mechanization and increasing education and consequent sophistication of the soldier make it more difficult to depend on regimental pride and honour alone for motivation, and lead to concepts of nationalism and national ideologies serving as mainstays in motivation. The British were compelled to adopt regimental honour and pride as the main motivating factors since they could not use nationalism for the purpose. This is no longer so. Hence national purpose and ideology become compelling factors in shaping the motivation of our forces. Perhaps this has not been recognized widely as yet but, as time goes by, it will become increasingly clear. The President has been designated as the Supreme Commander, and the national emblems and symbols are liberally used in standards, badges of ranks, etc., to identify a career in the armed forces with the national purpose.

During the British days, except for the periods of war, the armed forces were comparatively smaller in number. They were mostly infantry units formed on the basis of regimental class composition. The position now is vastly different. We keep now around nine hundred thousand men in arms all the time, and of this, infantry units on regimental basis form only a minor proportion. The majority of personnel are in units and formations where, necessarily, jawans recruited from different parts of the country are trained together and live together. They are taught Hindi and the language of inter-personnel communication is also Hindi. Their further technical instruction is carried out in Hindi. Life in the armed forces is not analogous to different communities living together in a metropolis in an atomised way. On the other hand, they live a corporate life in which the normal divisions of our national life such as language, religion and caste dissolve and they get integrated into a national community. There is no other organization where this integration goes on more systematically and effectively — whether it is in acceptance of Hindi as language, standardizing our food habits, or daily mode of living. Above all is the development of deep comradeship arising out of performing a common task and serving a common purpose.

Nothing integrates a nation more than common joys, sorrows and memories shared by the people. The long struggle for independence is one such memory which strongly unites this nation. The charisma of Gandhi and Nehru were derived from their leadership of the struggle. Since Independence the various wars we have fought, short though they were, have served more than any other factor to integrate this nation. The country never achieved at other times the unity of purpose and self-discipline it had during the days of struggle against the Chinese aggression, the Pakistani aggression of 1965, and the long, nine-month

travail culminating in war and victory in December 1971. One could see how the internal and external challenges to our integrity and interests get attenuated as the country proves successful militarily. Very few countries in the world had to face so many challenges to their national security as India had to in the last twenty-five years of freedom.

In the earlier period, influenced by neocolonialist ideas, our elite tended to have the view that defence and development mutually compete for resources, and the country must devote itself to development exclusively. Simultaneously, a philosophy of development and a philosophy of national security were adopted which made this country and South Asia a primary objective of neocolonialism. Today it is realized that we cannot have development unless our security is safeguarded and that the struggle to complete the content of our Independence must go on, so that India is an independent decision-making centre. Self-reliance in defence and development is an integrated doctrine. Our efforts to bring about the desired social changes, to remove disparities within our population, and to transform society into a technological one cannot succeed unless the external threats to our national purpose and the external neocolonialist influences on our elite are held in effective check. This role is primarily that of the armed forces. Their role in ensuring speedy and orderly development of our country is therefore crucial.

In the century before Independence, the Indian Army was the potent instrument which, along with the Royal Navy, was used to establish and sustain the British Empire around the Indian Ocean. The Indian armed forces of independent India, on the other hand, have served to defend the country's integrity and sovereignty, to decolonize, to liberate, and finally to safeguard our country's development from neocolonialist pressures. Their motto could well have been “परित्राणाय साधूना विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम्” (To defend the gentle and to destroy the evil). This ideology, of which consciousness has developed only very recently, makes the Indian armed forces the vanguard of our national effort. A composite nation like ours cannot integrate without a well-identified national purpose and ideology. Having been cast in the role to defend these values the armed forces have become the symbol of our national integration.

Indira Gandhi and Indian Muslims

Rafiq Zakaria

Indira Gandhi's first contact with a Muslim was just after she was born. It was with Munshi Mubarak Ali, who had served the Nehru family all through his life. There are touching references to him in Jawaharlal Nehru's autobiography. In fact, his was one of the early influences on Jawaharlal's life. Dressed in a typical North Indian attire of *sherwani* and *pyjama*, with a patriarchal beard, he looked after all the creature comforts of Motilal's son. The latter's marriage to Kamala was a matter of great rejoicing to him. But by the time Kamala was to deliver her first baby, Munshi's health had deteriorated and he was almost on deathbed. Still, he went on asking, day after day, whether the child had arrived. As soon as Kamala had delivered the baby, Motilal Nehru took the granddaughter in his arms and rushed to the Munshi's bed. The Munshi took one glance at the baby and exclaimed: "May Allah be praised: May Jawaharlal's son be as worthy of his father as Jawaharlal has been of you." Before the Munshi's impression could be corrected, he had passed away.

The incident was typical of the atmosphere in the Nehru household which reflected some of the finest features of the confluence of Hindu and Muslim cultures. Jawaharlal's mother, Swarup Rani, spent many hours every morning in the recitation of the *slokas* from the Bhagvad Gita, while the father, Motilal Nehru, rejoiced in reciting at his evening parties some of the choicest gems from the Persian poetry of Muslim mystics. The language they spoke at home was Urdu, which again is a mixture of Arabic, Persian and Braj Bhasha. It was, therefore, natural that Indira should have imbibed the large-hearted cosmopolitanism of North India, developed over centuries as a result of the contacts between the Hindu and Muslim nobilities; it inculcated a warm intercommunal concord among the two communities.

Born and brought up under the multireligious influence of such broad humanism, with its roots in Indian heritage, Indira became immune to any kind of religious prejudice. Moreover, in Anand Bhawan, as she came more and more in touch with the leaders of our freedom movement, most of whom were ardent advocates of Hindu-Muslim unity, her education in secularism had a good start. At the time of the Khilafat agitation, Indira was about three or four years old; she saw the bearded Ali brothers in their flowing Muslim costume, conferring animatedly with the Mahatma and her grandfather and father, and the camaraderie that they displayed must have had an ennobling effect on the child's subconscious mind. Later, the ebullient and transparently sincere Rafi Ahmed Kidwai became a frequent visitor, acting as secretary to her grandfather. He was able to forge a further link. As years rolled by, these contacts multiplied, though sometimes the recurrence of communal disturbances, no doubt, spoiled the atmosphere. What shook Indira particularly was the fast undertaken by the Mahatma in 1924 for

Hindu-Muslim unity. This was followed in subsequent years by the holding of several unity conferences with Motilal taking a leading part. These helped to restore her faith in communal harmony.

It was still further strengthened when Indira went to Gurudev's Santiniketan. Tagore's humanistic teaching had an invigorating effect on the young girl's mind. Not only did Tagore kindle her interest in the fine arts of music and dancing, but his poems and lectures completely liberalized her outlook. Earlier, the atmosphere at the Pupils' Own School at Poona, owned by Mrs. K.J. Vakil, was no less helpful; her frequent visits to Gandhiji, who stayed in Poona at that time, had proved a boon. Jawaharlal Nehru took good care to see that his only child had the right type of education, not so formal as helpful to the building of character. During those days, among Indira's favourite dress was *salwar*, *kameez* and *odhni*, which has a Muslim touch about it.

Her years abroad during a formative period further broadened her horizon. As a student in London and Oxford, she absorbed the intellectual and ideological storms that were raging in Europe in 1936-37. Hitler's rise had given a frightening dimension to fascism and the persecution of Jews had deeply affected the conscience of humanity. Like her father, Indira experienced closely the anguish and sufferings of those people. Her meeting with "Earnest" Ernst Toller, the famous German Jewish poet, left a lasting impression on her mind. She recalls: "In his eyes there was such deep anguish, all the sufferings of the terrible years he had endured." Since then Indira determined that it should never be allowed to happen in India. That is why she reacts like a tigress whenever she sees any sign of persecution of any religious or caste minority.

Indira's decision to marry Feroze Gandhi, a Parsi from Allahabad, was as much a revolt against religious orthodoxy as a culmination of a deep emotional attachment. An act of courage, it unnerved even her enlightened father and caused some concern to the Mahatma, whom she always held in the highest esteem. The marriage, however, was solemnized with the blessings of both and, as Indira recalls, while "enlightened people felt it was a good thing and there should be more mixed marriages", the fanatical fringe never got reconciled to it.

A time of greater testing came when her dream of a united India, where the Hindus and the Muslims could live in amity and peace, was shattered. Partition was a blow to all that she had stood for. But what shook her were the communal riots and the senseless killings of women and children across the borders. For nights running she could not sleep. She could not bear the sufferings of her father. She was the mother of two lovely children whom she wanted to give her best; but how could she do so when gruesome killings surrounded her? It was an agonizing time, made worse by the pain it caused to her beloved Mahatma. She could not remain a silent spectator to all the suffering, even when her little

children needed her attention and care. One day she went to the Mahatma as usual and saw the toll these happenings were taking of his spiritual reserves. He hinted to her that there were not enough courageous people in India who could take up the challenge and stop the mad violence. The next day leaving her Rajiv and Sanjay in the care of a woman, Indira dashed out to help the work of relief and rehabilitation of the riot-affected Muslims in Delhi. Her constant companion during those dark days was Subhadra Joshi, who often risked her life to save them. Indira worked with great enthusiasm and the Mahatma was proud of the dedicated service of Jawaharlal's daughter.

One day Indira and her father were about to sit down for dinner, when news came that the Jamia Milia, the Muslim University founded during the heyday of the non-co-operation movement, was about to be set on fire. Both father and daughter ran out, jumped into a jeep, and without bothering about any security arrangements rushed to the spot and harangued the rioters and told them that if they did not desist from their wanton act, the two would fight and resist them till the last. Such was the effect of their appearance on the rioters that they ran away and the Jamia Milia was saved.

One of the persons with whom Indira came in close contact at this time was Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. She reported to him about her work every day and helped to restore his faith in human goodness. Indira had great reverence for Azad's patriotism and learning; she made him take heart when everything around him seemed to be collapsing. Many years later she fondly disclosed the hold Azad exercised on her and her father. "I remember Maulana Azad from the days of my early childhood. He was a pillar of strength to us during our struggle for freedom and, afterwards, when we laid the foundation of our democracy. I know how much regard and affection Jawaharlal Nehru had for him and how he sought his advice and followed it. Whenever Panditji had a problem he would think of Maulana Saheb and seek his advice. Often his advice turned out to be correct."

The days following Partition were the most trying and both father and daughter shared the sufferings caused by the terrible happenings engulfing many parts of the subcontinent; but what troubled them most was the deep anguish that the Mahatma suffered. Only a fortnight before his assassination, Gandhiji had declared: "Before I ever knew anything of politics in my early youth, I dreamt the dream of communal unity of the heart. I shall jump in the evening of my life like a child to feel that the dream has been realized in this life. The wish for living the full span of life, portrayed by the seers of old and which they permit us to set down at 125 years, will then revive. Who would not risk sacrificing his life for the realization of such a dream?"

To make this dream a reality, Indira worked hard, even at the risk of

her life. But fate willed it otherwise; Bapu could not live even for six months after Independence. The virus of communalism killed him. His death shook every fibre of Indira's being. But she recovered soon, remembering one of her favourite verses from Tagore:

In anger we slew him
With love let us embrace him now,
For in death he lives again amongst us
The mighty conqueror of death.

After Gandhiji's death, the resultant shock contributed towards a gradual reduction of the communal tension. The Nehru-Liaqat pact gave hope of improved relations between India and Pakistan. Indira worked hard to consolidate these gains, but new situations arose, creating new tensions. On her election to the Congress Working Committee in 1955 and subsequently to the Congress Parliamentary Board, she paid special attention to the grievances of the Muslims and tried to remove the frustration into which they had fallen. As President of the Congress, she even approved an alliance between the Congress and the Muslim League, "a sin" for which the Jana Sangh has never forgiven her. During the Jabalpur riots in 1962 she went from *mohalla* to *mohalla*, giving succour and relief to the victims; when she was returning to Delhi, after a stay of several days, some Muslims tried to prevent her from leaving. "What would happen to us, if you go away?" they implored. "Don't worry," she assured them, "You give me a call, and instantly I shall be in Jabalpur."

Soon after the 1967 General Election, when the Congress was badly mauled in many States and its majority even at the Centre was substantially reduced, Indira Gandhi, as the Prime Minister, proposed the name of the Vice-President, Dr Zakir Husain, for the Presidentship. Some Congress leaders were afraid that, being a Muslim, Dr Husain might be defeated; and other members of the Congress Parliamentary Board shared this apprehension. Indira Gandhi, however, refused to give in; she took it as a test of India's secularism. Mustering all the forces at her command, she worked ceaselessly and got Dr Husain elected by a comfortable margin.

The communal forces were, however, determined to create trouble; because of political instability, their efforts succeeded in many places. The worst trouble occurred at Ahmedabad where hundreds of lives were lost and a great amount of property destroyed. To India's shame it happened on the eve of the visit of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Frontier Gandhi, who was coming to this country for the first time after Independence to receive the Nehru Award for International Understanding. No crueller blow could have been struck at India; forlorn and dejected, Indira Gandhi did not know who to turn to and how to retrieve the situation.

Soon after the Ahmedabad outburst, Bhiwandi and Jalgaon were rocked with riots; the cup of Prime Minister's sorrow was full to the brim. Her speech on May 14, 1970, in the Lok Sabha was the strongest condemnation of Hindu communalism ever made by an Indian leader. It ran thus:

Sir: I am not speaking to score any debating point. I have never before, I think, interrupted any Honourable Member during his speech. If I did so on this occasion, it was with a very heavy heart and with a very grave sense of responsibility. I think that the Hon Member, Shri Vajpayee, has today done a great disservice to this country and to the minorities of this country.

This is too serious an occasion, too serious a subject to try just to pick on the points which he has made and reply to them. I have no intention of doing so. However, I am sorry that Shri Vajpayee has used this occasion to launch an attack on the Muslims in particular and, I think, on all minorities in general. With his arm upheld, he has harangued in the good old way of Hitler. I happened to be there at that time and I know how Hitler spoke and the words used. (How do these riots begin? This was the question asked by Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee in his speech. Indira Gandhi retorted:)

And I ask: Is it a little boy who threw a stone who began the riot? Is it the person who might have done the first killing who began the riot? Or is it the atmosphere that is created by speeches of the type which we heard here today? In my opinion, it is this atmosphere which starts all these communal disturbances.

And this is not a new thing. It is not something that has happened today for the first time. Is it a coincidence that when people who belong to the RSS or the Jana Sangh go somewhere, soon afterwards there is a riot more close to that place? It may be that it is a coincidence, I do not know; but to me and to all other people who have watched this situation, it seems a very strange coincidence. . . . Some Hon Members shouted, when Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee was speaking, that his remarks should be expunged. I am glad that the Deputy Speaker did not expunge them. I would like these remarks to remain on record and be read by future generations and by the people of India so that they can see what is really in the mind of the Jana Sangh, not the sweet-sounding beautiful Hindi that Shri Vajpayee paraded before us from time to time, but what is the reality behind those words. And today, we saw behind those words naked Fascism. This is what Fascism is and has been.

Answering the Jana Sangh charge that the Prime Minister was soft towards the Muslims, she said:

Communalism, whether it is Hindu or Muslim or Sikh or perpetrated by any other community, is deplorable. And it is not true to say that

we have not deplored it whenever or wherever it has taken place or that we have not deplored it or spoken about it strongly, when any Muslim organization or Muslim individual has said something which is capable of inciting or leading people to any kind of communal outbreak. But that does not mean that we can condone what a member of the majority community does

Elaborating on the special responsibility of the majority towards the minorities, Indira Gandhi declared:

Anywhere, where some people are stronger, they do have a responsibility towards the weaker section. In our country, in most places, the Hindus are in a majority, and, therefore, they do have a responsibility towards the Muslims, the Christians, and towards whoever else may be in a minority. But in those sections where the others are in a majority, certainly it is their responsibility to see that the small number of Hindus who live there can live in peace and security. So these brave-sounding words announcing that the Hindus are not going to stand for this and so on is merely a way of inciting people. This is what has poisoned the atmosphere of this country. Explaining the real cause of these riots, Indira Gandhi observed: We all know that most of these incidents are very small to start with. Why do they assume such large proportions? I was glad to hear Shri Vajpayee's remark that he had said in Ahmedabad that people should not take the law into their hands. But to me, at least, the rest of his speech appeared as if he himself was encouraging people to do just that. We are not going to stand by and see that this happens.

The speech created a furore, the communal press unleashing a flood of vituperation and even abuse against the Prime Minister; but the venerable and astute Gandhian stalwart, C. Rajagopalachari, who, as the founder of the Swatantra Party, had been opposing Indira Gandhi and her party bitterly for many years, acclaimed her stand in the following words in his weekly *Swaajya*:

The Prime Minister did splendidly in interrupting and rating the Jana Sangh's spokesman in the Lok Sabha. The slogans and private armies exploiting the memory of Shivaji do dishonour to the great man who fought an Emperor. The present slogans and organized private armies are directed not against an emperor but intended to intimidate a helpless minority whose only weapon, when driven to use it, is individual counter-crime. It is heroism to show skill and courage against a great and powerful ruler. But it is cowardly to be vainglorious about the greater number which is behind you to intimidate a small number who are not allowed to organise any sena.

Criticizing the Jana Sangh for wanting to Indianize Muslims, C.R. said:

If there are grounds for making an appeal to the Muslims to Indianize

themselves, there are stronger grounds for appealing to the vast majority of the people and their leaders to give up parochialism and Indianize themselves.

The landslide victory that Indira Gandhi won in the mid-term poll in 1971, trouncing the Jana Sangh everywhere, proved what she had always emphasized, that "from time immemorial the vast majority of our people are wedded to the concepts of secularism, religious tolerance, peace and humanity". Every time an effort was made by "small sections" to "arouse or exploit communal passions or promote disharmony, tension and violence", that vast majority had always frustrated it.

One of the unfortunate aspects of Hindu-Muslim relationship has been its linkage with the ups and downs in India-Pakistan relationship. That is why Indira Gandhi has always been careful about our approach to Pakistan. Despite many provocative words and deeds from across the border, she has refused to give up her composure. She has replied to abuse with dignified silence. The rulers of Pakistan took this, sometimes, as a weakness on her part; in fact Mr Bhutto had once remarked that with the passing away of Nehru, India had ceased to be a match for Pakistan. He wanted the war in 1965 to continue and was unhappy with the Tashkent Agreement. He genuinely believed that Pakistan could have defeated India and annexed Kashmir. To Indira Gandhi, on the contrary, the Tashkent Agreement has been a "commitment to peace" in the real Gandhian way. As she put it: "Despite the irreversible events of history, the future of the people of India and Pakistan demands co-operation. We share so many affinities. Our task is to build a better life for our peoples. Discord will weaken us both and retard our progress. We can prosper only if we live in amity."

Had the rulers of Pakistan understood the real significance of this approach they would not have been so stupid as to commit the terrible genocide in Bangladesh, causing the death of three million helpless persons and the flight of more than 10 million to India. For over nine months India bore the trials and tribulations in the wake of the horrors perpetrated in Bangladesh; any other leader would have reacted in anger and attacked Pakistan. But Indira Gandhi showed exemplary forbearance, and when the right time came helped Bangladesh to liberate itself from the iron heels of Pakistani barbarians. All through these months, what concerned her was the fate of the Muslims in India; with millions being driven out of East Pakistan the situation threatened to be dangerous. During her visit to the United States on the eve of the Pakistani attack on India, Indira Gandhi was pointedly asked, at the meeting of the National Press Club in Washington on November 5, 1971, what would happen to the sixty million Muslims in India if Pakistan were to succeed in ousting its remaining Hindus. The Prime Minister replied:

I trust and hope that they will be perfectly safe because we in India,

although we do have people who have some very wrong ideas — we have had riots which we feel are a cause for great shame — have been very firm on this matter. And I think that today all Indians, even those parties which do not normally support us in this, are supporting us. We want that peace must be maintained in India and our minorities must feel that they can enjoy the rights and privileges which are theirs under our Constitution.

It is due to Indira Gandhi's leadership at that critical juncture in India's history that communal peace and harmony prevailed everywhere and not a single untoward incident between the Hindus and the Muslims took place. In fact, by the break-up of Pakistan and the liberation of Bangladesh, a fatal blow was struck to the pernicious "Two-Nation" theory which had bedevilled relations between the two communities in the subcontinent for more than a quarter of a century. The subsequent developments culminating in the signing of the historic Simla Agreement on July 2, 1972, between India and Pakistan was the start of the reversal of history in the subcontinent; in bringing it about, Indira Gandhi's charismatic leadership and her superb handling of both the human and geopolitical situations have, indeed, been the decisive factor.

Indira Gandhi did not hesitate to face up to the challenge that some Muslim communalists threw on the issue of the Aligarh Muslim University; she took a personal interest in modernizing both the academic and administrative affairs of the University. She gave it a more democratic touch; at the same time she took care to see that its historic character was properly preserved and the special facilities for Islamic studies and West Asian culture was strengthened. She spent hours conferring with the Muslim MPs and tried her best to accommodate their viewpoints in the new legislation.

True, there has been some agitation in some sections of the Muslims against the new measure, especially in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. But in the rest of India, where the Muslims are hardly affected by the University, there has been little, if any, reaction. In fact, there are ten times more Muslim students studying outside Aligarh, who are in need of more and better educational opportunities; they confidently look to Indira Gandhi for bettering their prospects.

The martyrdom of Gandhiji and the intellectual crusade of Nehru in the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity are the shining lights of our freedom movement; they paved the way for the building of a secular India. But as a Muslim I have never felt more secure than now. Indira Gandhi has rekindled not only hope but a new confidence in me. I believe in her leadership because I love my children; it is their future that she has made much more secure. Millions of Muslims share this feeling with me; their faith in her can never be shaken.

Section V

The Regional Streams

Assam's Contribution to Indian Culture

P. C. Choudhury

Geography and people have created our national history, determined our philosophy of life and practices. The norms of conduct from Kashmir to Assam, from the foot of the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, whatever the vocabulary, the denomination and social behaviour, have been the same. Indraprastha, Dwaraka, Mathura-Vrindavan, Kasi, Puri, Chidambaram, Mahabalipuram are as near to Kamarupa-Kamakhyā as Sindhu and Ganga-Yamuna to the Brahmaputra. Just like these sacred waters, having a common origin and having been separated in the mid-course only to mingle again in the fathomless sea of Indian territorial waters, we also get united. Pride in the fact of our having been born in Bharatavarsha was so eloquently chanted by the fifteenth century Assamese Vaishnava preacher, Madhavadeva:

Dhanya dhanya kali kāl

Dhanya nara-tanu bhāl

Dhanya dhanya Bhāratavarīṣe

Assam as a land of hoary antiquity had a share in weaving the cultural pattern of India. Eminent scholars have written volumes on historical personages and cultural events without referring, for instance, to the period of Bhāskaravarman, the illustrious emperor of Eastern India of the seventh century A.D., of Suhung Mung (fifteenth-sixteenth century), one of the patrons of Jagannatha at Puri; of Rudra Sinha, of Naranarayana — Siva Sinha, the Vikramādityas of Assam of the sixteenth-seventeenth century; of Lachit Barphukan, the hero of Saraighat (Gauhati) of 1671; of Mulagabharu (sixteenth century), the Rani of Jhansi of the east; of Pioli Barua and Maniram Dewan, the martyrs of 1857, and of Srimanta Sankaradeva, the Assamese Sankaracharya, or Sridharasvami in the sphere of spiritual scholasticism.

In fact, this land, constituting an inseparable portion of the Indian mainland, “had significant history of her own and had intimate connection with both India and with a wider world beyond — that the special Assamese characteristics resulted from the absorption of varied elements and conditions of life, travelling to this land at different periods of its history, and that Assam’s culture constitutes a strong and vitalizing force in Indian life.”

This land presents one with the topography of varied physical conditions with hills and dales, great elevations and depressions, rivers and lakes, forests and marshes, luxuriant flora and variegated fauna, orange orchards and continuous tea gardens holding before our eyes a scene of panoramic beauty. The precious metals of the hills, mineral deposits of the rivers and river valleys, rich timber and medicinal plants of the forests and other gifts of Nature are yet to be fully utilized for the service of the people living in their midst as well as for our national prosperity.

The retention of Assam’s independent status till 1826 bears testimony

to the independent spirit of the people, a gift of physical environment. "Nothing perhaps better explains this independent character of Assam's history than an appeal to her geography." This independent nature of her people, distinguished by a sense of patriotism (all sections of the people at all times united to resist invasions), is a contribution to the fundamental cultural unity of India.

Lying at "one of the great migration routes of mankind"¹, Assam used to receive waves of people of divers racial origin, both from India and South-east Asian regions, who have left their substratum in the scattered regions; these belong to the Negrito, Austro-Asiatic, Aryan, Mongolian, and Tibeto-Burman linguistic groups, though a small proportion of Dravidian element has also been detected. While the civilization of the valley of the Brahmaputra has fundamentally been based on the Indo-Aryan system, showing also the legacy of an Iranian-Magian ethnic group, now called the Kalitas, that of the hilly regions has its non-Aryan predominance. Even so, there had been interdependence for centuries on each other, accounting for a linguistic interaction and homogeneity, and some sort of a cultural synthesis, the best evidence of which is provided by the vocabularies in the Assamese languages of the Indo-Aryan group, though derived in the main from Sanskrit and *Kamarupi Prakrit*.

Assam is one of the few regions in India which may be "looked upon as a federation hall, where the most ancient and the most modern, the most antiquated and the most up to date are found to meet together upon terms of perfect cordiality. In a word, with the ancient history of this glorious land is indissolubly bound up the social, religious and the national history of the whole of India."²

It is in the sphere of Indo-Aryanism and in the spread of Indian traditional lore through Sanskrit learning that Assam, through royal patronage in the main, contributed to the enrichment of Indian life. The very names Prāgyjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa, (the antiquity of which is evidenced by the epics, the Samhitās and other works including Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, Vārāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, by which Assam was known for centuries, bear testimony to the spread of the Aryan culture in the land. A noted centre of learning, to which men of high talents, according to Yuan-Chwang, came in search of knowledge and for studies, Prāgyjyotiṣapura, the well fortified prosperous city with palatial structures and of stately grandeur, as Yogihāti-Gauhati, Carhgaon, Hangpur at subsequent periods, served as the radiating centre, moulding the cultural trends of the people here and holding intimate contact with the contemporary Indian kingdoms through wars as well as peace missions. Kamarupa-Kamakhya throughout the ages have been standing for *Purusa Śiva* and *Prakṛiti Devi* respectively. With these two names are associated the ideas ranging from black arts of magic and necromancy to the refined practices of human behaviour.

The latter, whose emblem of worship is *trikopakāra*, stands symbolically for the geographical area of Assam, comprising the four sacred *pithas* of *Ratna*, *Kama*, *Swarna* and *Saumara*, extending from the river Karatoya in North Bengal to the river Dikorang in the present district of Lakhimpur, spread over 100 *yojanas* in length and 30 *yojanas* in breadth. This is confirmed by inscriptions and substantiated by the *Toginī Tantra*, a work of the sixteenth century.

Though, with the coming of the Ahoms and consequent on the foundation of the small principalities of the Chutia, Kamata Kachari, Jaintia and the Koch, beginning with the thirteenth-fourteenth century and with invasions, directed from both Gaur (Bengal) and Delhi, the political cohesion was lost, the Ahoms in the east and the Koch in the west, as worthy successors of the previous dynasty, tried to keep intact the traditional frontiers and succeeded in enhancing the glorious legacy of the land. Whatever the political divisions, the rulers of Kamata-Koch Bihar, beginning with the fourteenth century, like those of Kachari-Jaintia kingdoms, proved themselves as deserving co-partners with the Ahom ruling dynasty in their noble task of retaining the pace of Assam's progress in all fields and in maintaining contact with the other parts of India through exchange of envoys, and inviting and patronizing men of letters, skilled artisans, architects, masons, painters, musicians, and socio-religious reformers, contributing thereby, through common efforts of the local talent and that from outside the State, to the advancement of the cultural heritage of India.

The extension of Assam's political boundary and India's cultural frontiers to the extreme north-eastern region adjoining the mainland of China, Tibet, and Burma, is attested, among others, by the accounts of Yuan Chwang.³

The former political status of Assam, as known among others from the Buranji literature and Persian chronicles, was gradually lost during the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. And the closing scene in the tragic political drama shows the loss of independence to the British in 1826, brought about by the Burmese invasions caused by the follies of maladministration.

The story of the British occupation of entire Assam, step by step after 1826, has been an exciting chapter in the annals of the land in that the conquerors knew no respite, as both the plains and hills offered valiant resistance. In fact, the struggle for independence started from 1828 with Gomdhar Knowar, and it continued until India became a free nation in 1947. The modern period of the history of Assam (from the said Gomdhar of 1828 and Pioli Bar Phukan of 1830 to N.C. Bordoloi and T.R. Phookan of 1921 and to the Pandu session of the AICC of 1926 and thereafter) is therefore replete with examples of patriotic deeds of her inhabitants.

In cultural fields, the nature and extent of studies, in *vidyā* and *kalā* with an emphasis on the progressive realization of the Indian ideal, may be had from the wealth of manuscript treasures bearing on learning in Sanskrit, preserved at the Institute of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Gauhati.⁴ Munificent grants to institutions, including *deva* temples, other religious establishments and *agradhāra* settlements, were made by the rulers of all categories. As many as 205 high class Aryan families were given land in Chandrapurivisaya in North Bengal as early as the sixth century as shown by the Nidhampur copper plate grant of Bhāskaravarman.⁵ The Kamarupa king Dharmapala (eleventh-twelfth century) made a donation of land to a Brahmana from Madhyadesa.⁶ Scholars from Kamarupa were equally honoured by the contemporary rulers of India. Viṣṇusomācāryya from Kamarupa was given a grant of land by the Ganga King Anantavarman of Kalinga (tenth century). One Parmara king of the same period records that the brother of Vakpatiraja granted land to Vamanasvami from Kamarupa.⁷ It is not unlikely that Abhinavagupta, a rival of Sankaracharya,⁸ Visakhadatta and even Kautilya, whose knowledge of Assam was so great, hailed from this part of the country.

The best specimens of Sanskrit compositions in both prose and poetry echoing at places the style of Kalidasa and Baṇabhatta, in Brahmi, Devanagari, or old Assamese script, are to be found in the epigraphs of the rulers, some of whom were by themselves reputed writers. Besides, treatises of national importance were compiled here. To mention a few, *Hastāyurveda* by Palakāpya⁹ was produced here. So were *Kālikā Purāṇa* of the tenth century, containing a mine of information on the cultural history of India in general and Kamarupa in particular; and *Yoginī Tantra* and *Hara-Gauri Samvāda* of the sixteenth-seventeenth century. The composition of a few *Vajrāyana* texts, including the *Caryyacaryyavinsoaya*, of all-India importance, in old Kamarupi Prakrit during the tenth-twelfth century is attributed to a few *Tāntrik Siddhas* from Assam.¹⁰ A work of *chhanda*, *Vṛttamāla*, was compiled by Karanapura, patronized by Naranarayana. The *Sāradīpika*, a commentary on Jayadeva's *Gita-Govinda*, was composed by Tarnakara Kandali, patronized by the Koch General Sukladhvaja of the same period, who himself was the author of another commentary on the said treatise entitled *Saravati*. *Namaghoṣa* with 229 original slokas by Madhavadeva; *Bhakti-ratnakarya* by Sankaradeva and *Bhagavad-bhaktiviveka* by Bhattadeva, all works on Bhakti by these Vaishnava saints of Assam, of immense literary value, are great contributions to humanism based on Indian philosophic thought.

It is, however, in the domain of Ayurvedic science, *Smṛti* and *Jyotisa* that Assam enriched the Indian medical systems.¹¹ The name of Nagarjuna, the author of *Yogaśataka*, a work on Kamarupi pharmacopoeia, is a household word. Cakrapaniadatta, the writer of the *Samhita* of the

same name, Madhavakarara, the author of the noticed *Nidana*, and Sarangadhar, constituting the *laghutrayi* in *Ayurveda*, based on the original works of the Gurutrayi, Caraka, Susruta and Bagbhatta,¹² hailed from Kamarupa. There are many others of equal importance.

A land of *jyotiṣa*, Assam has contributed to the development of the twin sciences of astrology and astronomy from very early times. Copies of the texts by Varahamihira and other noted authors on *Samhita* and *Siddhantas*, including their commentaries, have been brought out here. A separate method of calculation, based on what is called *khadasadhya*, was long cultivated. *Dinakiranaṭali* by Kaviraja Cakravarti, composed in Saka 1646, and *Jyotirmukṭaṭali* by Vansivadan Dviṣa of the same period, to name a few, are noteworthy contributions to the Indian system. The advancement made in the studies in the *Dhamasastras* or *Smṛiti* texts and *dasakarmasamaskaras* and other *vidhis* have been greater still. Of all these texts, the eighteen *kaumudis* by Pitambara Siddhanta Vagisa of the sixteenth-seventeenth century are by far the most magnificent contributions to both the Kamarupi school and the Indian system of *samskaras*.¹³

The history of Assamese palaeography and the growth of the Assamese language shows the extent to which the Assamese literary products are Indian in origin and indigenous in character. While the Assamese script is based on the Brahmi alphabet, more particularly of the Gupta period, even since the ninth century we have ample evidence in the inscriptions of the use of expressions which are typically modern and which might have been derived from the common north Indian, more precisely, Maithili, rather Kamarupi Prakrit, and of specimens of a few characters indicating that the Kamarupi dialect, the mother of modern Assamese, began to take shape on independent lines. This was also the speech of eastern India, North Bengal in particular, for centuries. The antiquity of Assamese prose is attested by the text of the Ambari (Gauhati) stone inscription, dated Saka 1154, one of the earliest in India.¹⁴ This, together with the text of the Gachtal Fillar inscription, dated saka 1284¹⁵ proves that long before Bhattadeva's Assamese prose in *Katha Bhagvata* and *Buranji* literature, Assam was pioneer in the development of regional prose literature and that we need not show the influence of *Brājabulī* vocabularies on the works of the pre-Vaishnava and Vaishnava writers of Assam of the fourteenth-sixteenth century. The best specimen of early poetry is provided by the Ramayana, by *Madhavakandali* of the fourteenth century. Whether in prose or in poetry from Hema Saraswati and Harivara Vipra, the author of *Prahlada Carita* and *Babruvahanar Yuddha*, respectively, of the thirteenth-fourteenth century, to the Vaishnava saints Sankaradeva and Madhavadeva from whose immortal pen came out the *Kīrtana* and the *Nāmaghoṣa* in devotional verses, respectively, besides many other works including the *Baragita* and the *Ankia Nataks* (one act plays) and thereafter, the long glorious tradition of Assamese literature was maintained,

and through translations of the *Bhāgavata*, the *Gītā*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Ramayana* in particular, enriching thereby Assamese spiritual literature.

Assam's social life, though originally based on the *varnāśrama dharma*, has been moulded on the patterns of her population, under the impact of the Tantrik system and neo-Vaishnavism. Class distinctions with their attendant evils of rigidity, including the practice of untouchability, are almost nil. Interdependence on each other and a spirit of co-operation among all sections of the people, whether Hindu or non-Hindu, plains people or hills people, are the striking note of the Assamese social life. "Nay, marked by self-reliance in meeting abundantly the individual and collective needs of food and clothing, the Assamese (though not of the urban areas, characterized by cosmopolitanism) with their liberal, refined social manners in general have been but the assets of the country."¹⁶

Assam's economy has been based on agriculture, cottage industries and handicrafts including pottery, ivory work, stone, wood and cane work, not to speak of the rearing of cocoons like *Endi*, *Muga* and *Pat*. from the days of Kautilya, if not earlier, spinning and weaving of silk and cotton fabrics and embroidery, having a speciality of their own.

In the evolution of divers religious cults and rites ranging from animism to Vaishnavism, both the Aryans and the non-Aryans contributed their share. The cult of Aditya and Buddhism had their stronghold in Assam from the very early times. As in the colonization and spread of Indian culture in the scattered regions of South-east Asia including Burma, Cambodia, Sumatra, and Java, so also in diffusing the message of the Buddha in those countries, Assam played a significant part. A noted centre of Tantricism or Saktism developed by Kṛṣṇa Rām Nyayavagisa during the seventeenth century, Assam has contributed a lot to the festive, ritualistic side of the tenet. It has, however, undergone tremendous changes as a result of its fusion with the Hindu and later Buddhist usages. The flood of Vaishnavism, pervading the fourteenth-sixteenth century life of most people of India, found its adherents not only among the tribal people but also among Muslims — a unique contribution made to the Indian social system by Sankaradeva and his eminent disciples like Madhavadeva. Their emphasis is on one Absolute God, personified in Lord Krishna to be propitiated by all, irrespective of classes and communities, only through *Nāmakīrtana*, emanating from the pure *bhakti* of the *Gītā* and the *Bhāgavata*. This universal right helped in the creation of a broad-based integrated social order, devoid of distinctions, including birthright and untouchability — the Indian view of life, the philosophy of the Vedas, the Vedānta and the Upanishads, the state of *jīvanmukta* or bliss to be attained through services to humanity and to all living creatures.

The selfless *Bhaktas* have no attachment even for emancipation: this subtle truth in Assamese Vaishnavism which can well stand

comparison with the system of renowned preachers like Ramanuja, Sri Chaitanya, Nanak and Vallabhacaryya, is a great contribution to the Indian practices. The Vaishnavism of Assam gave us a wealth of literary treasures unparalleled in the regional languages of India.

Assamese architects, masons, sculptors, painters, musicians, etc., have made substantial contributions to Indian archaeology and fine arts. This is shown not only by the surface finds like the door-frame at Dah Parvatia (fifth-sixth century); the trefoil arch from Bemuni Hills, Tezpur (eighth century); the Venu Gopala (eighth century) from Kamakhya; the Vishnu icon from Deopani (ninth century), and many others discovered from the districts of Nowgong, Darrang, Sibsagar, Kamarup and Goalpara in particular, but also by the extant royal palace at Garhgaon. Marked similarities between the styles of the sculptures and icons of Assam and those of the Gupta, Pala, Pallava, Chalukya, and Orissa¹⁷ have been noticed. The Vaishnava temple architecture of Assam in particular, with sculptural details from the *Bhagavata* and other holy texts, has, with the Orissan style, added a new element of ornamentation to the Indian *Mānsara*. The influence of the Vṛndavaniya, Rajasthani and even Moghul styles is detected in painting, as shown by the profusely illustrated Assamese manuscripts like the *Hastividyāṇava*, *Sankhacudavadhakavya* *Dharmapurana* and *Gita Govinda*, all works of the seventeenth-eighteenth century. Even so, there has been a long-practised indigenous tradition in this sphere, as is shown by the elegantly woven cloth, designed on the patterns of tapestry, depicting scenes from the heaven by the Vaishnava saints. This meeting of art styles in almost all works of art, produced in Assam, from the *śilpasastras* and the indigenous school is also detected in the allied fine arts of music and dancing, as illustrated in and through the Śātrīya and Bihu performances, two vital strings in Assamese life, the former being aesthetically spiritual and the latter realistically earthy.

Whatever the similarities and differences, the temple establishments like those of Hajo, Kamakhya, and Sibsagar, showing presence of the Buddhist, Sauryya, Vaishnava and Saiva-Sakta architectural and sculptural details in a single monument, are indicative of a long tradition of religious unity attained by the people at large. Moreover, intercommunal unity is best illustrated by the Poa Macca at Hajo, and by the *zikira*, devotional songs in Assamese on Allah-Bhagavan, a great contribution to the Indian religious catholicism. While the conception behind the rock-cut image of Narayana, flanked by those of Siva, Durga, Suryya and Ganesa, constituting the *pañcāyatana* in Indian iconography, at Suklesvara is grounded on Pauranic tradition of attaching equal importance to the deities, the joint image of Hari-Hara (eighth-ninth century) from Deopani, is suggestive of the underlying unity in Hinduism, as the Ananta-sayi Vishnu icon of exquisite beauty at Asvaktanta symbolizes our theory of creation.

In fine, the Indian social order, philosophy of religions and ethical code, lying in the pages of holy scriptures, are found depicted in every work of Assamese art, whatever the variations that may have occurred therein. Archaeological excavation, which is yet to take place here, would help us to find out the missing links between the civilization of the valley of the Brahmaputra and that of the Indo-Gangetic plain in particular. For, these missing links, when discovered would serve as an index to the capabilities of the modern Assamese man who might take a leading part in weaving a new fabric for the variegated culture of India.

- ¹ J.P. Mill's *Assam Review*, March 1928, p. 24.
- ² N.N Vasu, *Social History of Kamrupa*, I, pp. 1-2.
- ³ Beal, s., Siyuki, II, p. 195 f, Waters, I, on *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, pp 185 f
- ⁴ P C. Choudhury, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts at the D.H.A.S.*, 1961
- ⁵ *Eph. Indica*, Vol XII, pp. 65 f, XIX m, pp. 245-50.
- ⁶ *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, VIII, pp. 113 f.
- ⁷ *Eph Indica*, Vol XXVI, pp. 62-68.
- ⁸ C.N.K. Aiyā, *Shri Sankaracarya*, etc. p. 56.
- ⁹ *J.B.C.HS* V, p 311.
- ¹⁰ G Tucci, *J.P.A.S.B* 1930, pp 133-35.
- ¹¹ P.C Choudhury I H.C. 22nd Session, Gauhati, 1959, pp. 22-30.
- ¹² D.N. Tarkatirtha & P C. Choudhury, *Vaidhyakasaroddhara*, Introduction, p. 9.
- ¹³ M.R. Sastri & P C Choudhury, *Smṛiti Jyotisāsārasamgraha*, Introduction.
- ¹⁴ P.C. Choudhury, *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum, XLVIII, I, pp. 99-101.
- ¹⁵ P.C. Choudhury, *Vishveshwaranand Indological Journal*, IX, March 1971, pp. 121-24.
- ¹⁶ P.C Choudhury, *History and Civilization of the People of Assam*, p. 333
- ¹⁷ T. Ramachandran, *A.R A.S.I* , 1936-37, pp 54 f.

The Heritage of Bengal

Kalyan K. Ganguli

Subā Bangāl of the days of Akbar had covered the entire West Bengal, Purnea, Rajmahal, Santhal Parganas, and Dhanbad in Bihar, Cachar and parts of Goalpara in Assam, as well as what is today Bangladesh. Darjeeling was, however, outside this area. This Bengal is in most parts a land of slow rivers, shallow marshes, flat paddy-fields, and tropical trees and vegetation of an extensive variety. Its fast disappearing wild animals include among others the magnificent Bengal tigers, elephants, rhinoceros, *chitals*, *sambars*, birds like the peacock, and apes of numerous variety in the jungle, while crocodiles, reptiles and iguanas abound in the rivers and marshland, contributing a richness to the life and Nature around.

The river Ganga which enters this area at Rajmahal has also divided into three natural constituents in a very significant way. After traversing some distance, the Ganga bifurcates itself near Murshidabad from where a branch of it, acquiring the name Bhāgīrathī or Hooghly, flows south to fall into the Bay of Bengal near the Sagar island. The main stream from here being called Baraganga or the Padma, flows in an east-south-easterly direction to meet the flows of Brahmaputra and discharge a swirling mass of water into the gulf near Chittagong. To the west of Bhagirathi is the traditional country of the Suhmas, also known as the Rārhs, to the north was situated the country of the Pundras, later designated as Varendri, while to the inner part down south is the land of the Vangas which had ultimately contributed their name to this land.

The present Bangladesh roughly constitutes the area covered by the country of the Vangas in the south and south-east, while its northern bounds approximately cover the whole of the country of the Pundras, both of which had, strangely enough, tended to unite, excluding the Rārḥ country in the west, many times in the past.

The history of the Vangas can be traced from the first mention of the Vanga people in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka (2/1/1) which signified certain cultural affiliations which distinguished the people and kept them separate from the Aryans following the Vedic tradition.

According to the *Mahābhārata*, King Bali had five sons — Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra and Suhma — who were given to rule over five kingdoms in eastern India from the days of yore. Nilakantha, a commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, stated that this Bali was an incarnation of the *asura* Bali of mythological fame. This association was probably responsible for the successors of Bali to be described as *asuras*, and as such different in some respects culturally as well as in their speech from the orthodox Aryan or *deva* worshippers of the upper Gangetic valley.

From the archaeological remains found from places like Pandurājārdhībī in Burdwan, and Berachampa and Harinarayanpur in the 24-Parganas, it may now be asserted that people inhabiting those parts of Bengal had evolved a fairly advanced culture about a thousand years before Christ, perhaps earlier. But probably there was a strong cultural barrier which

prevented the people in the upper Gangetic valley from associating themselves with the inhabitants of Bengal. That might also account for the non-mention of these people by the Buddhists, while Mahavira, the Jaina saint, is reputed to have received an unwholesome reception in the country of the Rārhs. Jainism appears to have entered Pundra country and Suhma fairly early but Vanga probably remained untouched by any so-called Aryan contact.

Mythology, however, recounts the bravery and martial strength of the people of Bengal from an early age. According to the *Mahābhārata* the Pundras, Suhmas, and the Vangas, along with the Angas and the Kalingas, had joined the side of the Dhārtarāstra (the Kurus) in the great war of Kurukshetra. In Kalidasa's *Raghuvansa*, the legendary King Raghu is credited with having defeated the Vangas who were highly proficient in fighting from boats.

History, however, opens its account in Bengal with the stone tablet inscription written in the Brahmi script of about the Maurya period, found from Mahasthangarh, identified as the ancient site of Pundravardhana, the capital of the Pundra country. The inscription is an official order of an unknown administrator for the storage of grains as a safeguard against possible scarcity. This highly mature administrative measure is an evidence of the advanced state of social development in Bengal several centuries before Christ. If the Pundra country was under Magadha rule during the Mauryas, it again came under the control of Magadha with the conquests of the Gupta emperor, Samudragupta, who probably had conquered and annexed both Pundravardhana as well as Suhma country to his empire by defeating the independent kings of these two regions, probably identifiable as Nāgadaṭṭa and Chandravarman of the Allahabad inscription. Samudragupta, however, did not conquer or annex Samatata stated as a *pratyanta* state in the Allahabad pillar.

Hsuan Tsang, visiting India during the time of Harshavardhana, located Samatata both as a city and as a kingdom situated to the west of Tamralipti. This would clearly indicate that Samatata of the inscription of Samudragupta was the same as Vanga country of age-old tradition. Vikramaditya Chandragupta II, the successor of Samudragupta, however, had probably defeated the Vangas and had brought the Vanga country also within the empire of the Guptas.

Since the time of Chandragupta II, the whole of Bengal, including the newly conquered Vanga country, was ruled by the imperial Guptas of Magadha till probably as late as 543 A.D., the date on which the last of the land sale documents was issued bearing the name of a Gupta ruler, the first part of whose name has however been lost. The reign of the Guptas had been an era of peace and prosperity in Bengal, when gold coins were quoted as price of land and when religious orders like Vedism, Puranic Vaishnavism, Jainism, and Buddhism were patronized

vigorously. In the year 188 of the Gupta era, that is, 507 A.D., a Gupta prince, Vainyagupta by name and donning the title Maharaja, is found as donating some land in the village of Gunikagrahara (present Gunaigar in Comilla district of Bangladesh), at the request of a subordinate ruler, Maharaja Rudradatta by name. A seal found from Nalanda records the name of Vainyagupta with the imperial honorific Maharajadhiraja. It is apparent from these records that Vainyagupta did not claim for himself the prestige of an imperial ruler though he was claimed as an overlord by others bearing the titles Maharaja and Mahāsāmanta.

As the power of the Guptas was on the decline during the middle of the sixth century a new power known as the Gaudas appeared in the political arena of Bengal. The Gaudas are first heard of in history from the Haraha inscription of the Maukhari King Isanavarman who, in the year 611 of the Malava era, that is, 554 A.D., had claimed to have defeated the Gaudas who lived near the sea. The well-known grammarian Pāṇini did mention a city, Gauda by name, and it is possible that these Gaudas of the later age had some connection with the ancient city noticed by Pāṇini. If the Gaudas are to be identified with the people who lived near the sea, that is, around Tāmralipti and Vardhamāna, then they were none other than the Suhmas and the Rārhs of the ancient tradition. After Vainyagupta, three kings — Dharmaditya, Gopachandra and Samacharadeva — had ruled over Faridpur area (now in Bangladesh), apparently in ancient Samatata, and also over Vardhamanabhukti which was identical with ancient Rārha.

The next most important king of the Gauda country was Śaśāṅka who might or might not have been related to those rulers of Bengal mentioned above. According to Hsuan Tsang, Śaśāṅka had his capital at Karnasuvarṇa while the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇabhatta referred to him as the king of Gauda. Śaśāṅka had made a powerful bid to extend his authority over a very wide area in north-eastern India and had reached the Maukhari capital of Kanauj, in his bid to establish himself as the most powerful king in North India. This bid of Śaśāṅka, however, did not meet with success. From the time of Śaśāṅka up to the rise of the Pālas, the forces in play were mainly concerned with attempts to establish themselves over the ruins of the empire left by the Guptas of Magadha.

After Śaśāṅka, ensued another period of instability in Bengal. Two Gauda kings had met with violent death in quick succession, one at the hands of Yasovarman, a king of Kanauj, and the other was killed at the instance of Lalitāditya, the king of Kashmir. This had put the Gauda country in a state of confusion.

The affairs in Vanga were in no better shape. A Buddhist dynasty known as the Khadgas were ruling in Samatata about this time. Yasovarman claimed to have also defeated a Vanga king after his success over the king of Gauda. The Vanga king who commanded a large

army of elephants was not, however, killed by Yasovarman. This king of Vanga could be a ruler of the Khadga dynasty.

Lama Tārānāth gives a very interesting and romantic account of the developments in Bengal in his well-known history of Buddhism. According to him, the kings of a new dynasty known as the Chandrās occupied the throne of Vanga country after the Khadgas. The last king of this dynasty having died childless, the country was plunged into a state of confusion. Every day a new person was chosen to occupy the throne and during the following night the wicked queen of the country put the king to death. One day, however, a person of destiny was raised to the throne. Instead of being killed, this person called Gopāla succeeded in getting rid of the wicked queen and secured the throne to rule for long.

His dynasty not only extended the Pala empire over wide areas but also brought about an era of unsurpassed prosperity for Bengal. This account of Tārānāth finds confirmation in the Khalimpur copper plate of Dharmapāla, the son and successor of Gopāla. According to this record, King Gopāladeva was chosen by the Prakriti at a time of great anarchy or Matsyānyāya. (Matsyanyāyamapolitu, Prakritivih Lakshmi Kara grahitah/Sri Gopāla itī Kshitiśa Sirasām chuḍāmani). Some scholars doubted if a king could at all be chosen in those days through a regular election by the general mass of the people. According to the *Sukranīti*, however, Prakriti did not mean a general mass of people but what appears to be a body of representative character consisting of the Purohita, Pratinidhi, Pradhāna Sachiva, Mantri, Prādvivāka, Pandita, Sumantra Amātya and dyūta (*Sukra*-II). After the power of the Palas had been consolidated to some extent, Dharmapāla led a number of successful military campaigns in northern India and had come to be recognized as the lord of all northern India (Uttarapathasvāmi).

The ruin and stagnation of Pātaliputra, the undisputed citadel of India for a thousand years, synchronized with a struggle between Kanauj, an heir to the ancient Kuru-Panchāla supremacy, and the newly rising Gauda in the east. But Gauda did not have all the potentialities of the wealth and prosperity generated by the rivers Gandakī, Sone and Gangā around Pātaliputra which had given the Magadhan powers capability to control areas even up to Afghanistan. The efforts of the Gaudas fell short of what Magadha did. What could not be achieved by Śaśānka was, however, fulfilled by the Palas under whom Vanga and Rārḥ together with Pundra rose to power and succeeded in controlling a vast region over north India for a period of about hundred years, a stretch of glory not enjoyed by any other dynastic power in the history of India.

Religion and Culture: To comment on the culture and religion which prevailed in Bengal from early days in history, one cannot fail to remember the comments made by the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* where the

Vangas along with the Bagadhas (probably a corruption for Magadhas) and the Cheras (the Keralas in South India) had been referred to as people comparable to birds. Another ancient people of Bengal, the Pundras, find mention in another ancient Vedic text, the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* as descendants of Visvamitra, while the Vangas along with the Pundras and the Suhmas had been referred to as the Prāchyas who were looked upon as being outside the pale of orthodox Aryanism of the Vedas. The remains of material culture found from Pāndurajardhibi in Burdwan, Chandraketugarh and Harinandanpur in 24-Parganas and more of which may yet be recovered bear traces of the existence of settled communities quite advanced in culture in Bengal from a very early period, among whom some form of religion and religious practices had already gained acceptance during that time. There is no reason to believe that these settlers were not related to the people who had produced the *Vedas*; it is more probable that they professed some religion or indulged in some religious practices different from the people of orthodox Vedic order, different also in the accent of their speech, in food and also in other affairs of life.

The terracotta figures found from Chandraketugarh representing well constituted and elegantly dressed men and women showing wings could have been imaginary birdmen, the like of which may be traced in the panels of Bharhut and were to be taken as Garudas, a counterpart of the Nāgas, so well known in the Indian tradition from the very early days. The Nāgas have fortunately left their mark in the name of royal dynasties and geographical areas of India but the Garudas have, however, been lost sight of, having probably merged in the tradition of the Sun cult and later Vaishnavism, both of which had become extremely popular in Bengal from a very early age. Apart from the bird men and women, the terracottas of Chandraketugarh have human figures riding on chariots drawn by four horses, or elephants or rams, leading to their identification as representations of the three prime Vedic deities Sūrya, Indra and Agni.

The existence of Vaishnavism was traced historically, as in the inscription of Chandravarman of Susunia, who was himself a devotee of Vishnu. The earliest Gupta inscription, that of Kumaragupta I dated in 113 Gupta era (432-33 A.D.) reveal names such as Vishnubhadra, Gopala, and Varāha Sarma, which are strongly reminiscent of Vaishnavite affiliation. Such reminiscences of Vaishnavism can be traced from the references to temples built for Kokāmukhasvāmī and Svetavāhanasvāmī, apparently forms of Vishnu as existing in Varāhakshetra in the fastness of the Himalayas in the village of Doggagrama within Kotivarsha in Pundravardhana. In the inscription of Vainyagupta dated 188 Gupta era (507 A.D.), there is mention of a temple of Pradyumnesvara indicating that Vaishnavism had spread up to the easternmost area of Bangladesh,

while some seventh century inscription found in Tippera mention the worship of Ananta Narayana and Purushottama forms of Vishnu. Confirming the popularity of Vishnuism and the study of the *Mahābhārata*, mention may be made of some *slokas* as quoted in almost all the inscriptions of land grant found from Pundravardhana and Samatata. On the other hand, the panels from Krishna legend in the temple of Pāhārpur and numerous images of Vishnu dateable from the tenth up to the thirteenth century A.D. collected from all over Bengal, bear testimony to the great headway that Vaishnavism had made in Bengal during the early days. Though the early Sena kings were Śaivas, Lakshmansena was a devout Vaishnava and had made liberal contribution to the patronage of the cult.

Apart from Vaishnavism, worship of the sun-god, Sūrya, and other deities like Siva, Ganeśa, Kārtikeya and different forms of the Goddess Durgā had become extremely popular in Bengal, as the extensive finds of their images would prove. Among these deities there was royal following for Siva from Śaśānka and Jayanāga and the earlier Sena kings.

Other religious orders like Jainism and Buddhism also were not slow to extend their influence over the sensitive mind of the inhabitants of the region. Jainism was probably the earliest of the two orders to have cast its spell over Bengal, though not without opposition at the outset. It appears to have gathered a following soon, as tradition would indicate that Bhadrabāhu, one of the earliest preachers of the faith and the teacher of the Maurya emperor Chandragupta, was an inhabitant of Kotivarsha in Pundravardhana. The Jaina *Kalpasūtra* records the existence of four schools of Jaina order known after four places in Bengal, Ṭamralipti, Kotivarsha, Pundravardhana and Kharvata (probably somewhere in Vardhamanabhukti). During the Gupta era 159 (479 A.D.) a Jaina monk, Guhanandi by name, was the chief of a *vihāra* situated at Bhatagohati, identified with Goalbhita (near Paharpur in Rajshahi district of Bangladesh). Hsuan Tsang, in course of his travels in Bengal, noticed the existence of monasteries in Karnasuvarna, Tāmralipta and other places where Jaina monks lived in large numbers.

While Jainism had made a speedy headway in Bengal, Buddhism did not probably touch Bengal till it had already exhausted its early vigour, spreading the message of Buddha over almost the whole of India and even abroad. Fa-Hsien was probably the first Buddhist of any eminence who came to Bengal and left an evidence of the existence of monastic Buddhism in a flourishing state. The earliest image of Buddha in Bengal was found in Biharail in Rajshahi district (Bangladesh), an image made in sandstone which was probably brought there from Mathura. A gift of land made in the reign of Vainyagupta in Gunaigarh in Tippera (Bangladesh) to an āśramavihāra of the Mahayāni sect of Buddhism, installing an image of Buddha as well as an image of Avalokitesvara, is

the earliest epigraphical record of the spread of Buddhism to the easternmost boundary of present Bangladesh. Though Śaśānka was accused as a persecutor of Buddhism, Hsuan Tsang during his visit to Bengal found innumerable Buddhist monasteries at Karnaśuvārṇa, the capital of Śaśānka, and other parts of Bengal under his rule. In Samatata country, the Khadga kings were followers of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism and that probably accounts for the flourishing state of Buddhism there. Buddhism, however, had reached the pinnacle of its glory under the patronage of the Pala emperor of Bengal. Gopala, the founder of the empire, was believed to have become a king due to the blessings of the Buddhist goddess Chundā, and almost all the Pala rulers among whom Dharmapāla was the foremost, had built new Buddhist monasteries or had given liberal patronage to the existing ones. According to Tārānāth, Dharmapāla had built fifty new Buddhist *viḥāras*, including the most well known Somapura Mahāvihara, the ruins of which have been found at Pāharpur in Rajshahi district (Bangladesh).

Buddhism which had flourished under the Palas was a highly developed form of Mahāyānism which encouraged the worship of a very wide range of gods and goddesses whose images have been discovered all over Bengal and Bihar. From Mahāyānism had developed Tantrayāna, Mantrayāna, Kālachakrāyana, and other varieties of Tāntric beliefs and practices full of rites and rituals of secret and esoteric nature. When the Turks professing Islam approached eastern India, a large number of Buddhist monks left for Nepal and Tibet, the countries with which Bengal had contacts from as early as the days of Atisa Dīpāṅkara who was a native of Vikramapura (in Bangladesh) and who went to Tibet from the monastery of Vikramasila. In Tibet he has been revered as a god.

While speaking about religious practices in Bengal, one cannot fail to notice the extremely cordial relationship of mutual tolerance and amity which existed between the religious communities. The Brahmins in this community had succeeded in securing a position of honour and respect while the other communities in the society mentioned frequently by their occupations or pursuit do not appear to have been divided on grounds of caste. People of Brahmanical faith were liberal enough to donate lands to Buddhist and Jaina establishments and Buddhists were also known to have expressed their respect not only for the Brahmins but also to Brahmanical practices and epics such as the *Mahābhārata*. The Gunaigarh inscription of Vainyagupta may be cited as an outstanding document which reveals this aspect of cordial relationship between the religious groups which existed in Bangladesh of that time. Vainyagupta, himself a devotee of the Brahmanical deity Siva, had donated some land to a Mahāyāna Buddhist *viḥāra* for the establishment and worship of an image of Buddha and Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. The pieces of land donated

by this grant were around those areas where gods of other pantheons like Kālaka, Sūrya, Mahipāla, Mañibhadra (Kuvera), Yaksharāja and Pradyumneśvara were worshipped. This Buddhist donation refers to *smṛiti* and *itihāsa* and has quotations from the Brahmanical epic *Mahābhārata*.

This grant bears testimony to the existence of a Buddhist *vihāra* in close neighbourhood of Brahmanical temples, *agraharas* and areas dedicated to cults of Yakshas like Kuvera, Khetrapala, Surya and Pradyumneśvara, the last of which was a name of Siva, and such other non-Buddhistic cults. During the Pāla time, however, this sense of tolerance and mutual respect had reached a state of highest cultural fusion hardly witnessed anywhere else. The Pāla kings who were devout Buddhists often took their queens from orthodox Brahmanical families while the families of prime ministers of the Pāla rulers remained confirmed in their orthodox Brahmanical faith throughout. This difference in religious faith did not, however, cause any hitch between the kings and their ministers at any stage. Earlier a queen of the Buddhist dynasty of the Khadgas had caused an image of Sarvani to be donated. The deity, probably revered by the donor as a form of Tārā, was actually the female counterpart of the God Sarva who was none other than Vedic Rudra and Puranic Siva. Such religious acclimatization is further seen in the image of the Lokeśvara Siva found in Barisal (in Bangladesh), now in the Asutosh Museum, and numerous Vishnu and other images to be found in Dacca and Rajshahi museums of Bangladesh.

This process of cultural fusion continuing for centuries in Bengal was, however, retarded for some time during the rule of the Sena kings who had come to Bengal from Karnataka, in South India. The Senas who had been brought up in the tradition of orthodox Brahmanism of the South, had no appreciation of the situation in Bengal. They encouraged divisions in society, created prestigious groups (*Kulins*) among Brahmins, promoted ill-will towards the Buddhists, and estranged the merchant community who were reluctant to provide them the finances for waging fruitless warfare against the Pālas who were natives of the soil. These reactionary trends of the Senas had brought about a quick erosion in the strength of society and rendered it an easy prey to the caprices of outside powers.

Art: Terracottas, Sculpture and Painting: Bengalis have been noted for their love of the finer elements of life from a very early time. Among the modes of Indian music, one *rāga* came to be recognized as the Gauda *rāga*, a name probably acquired from the region of that name. Some terracotta tablets found in Chandraketugarh and Paharpur have representations of people engaged in music and dance. Dance and music were very common means of entertainment, and considerable proficiency was undoubtedly gained in those fields by people in Bangladesh from a very early time. Songs known as *gāna* and *dohā* had become parts of religious practices among

the people in Bengal, a survival of which may be traced in the pursuits of the Vaishnavas in their *kīrtanas* and the songs of the Auls, Bauls, Sains, Darbeshes and Murshids, which have been immensely popular with the common folk.

In the field of visual realization of forms, the ancient people of Bengal have left adequate testimony of their sensibility in the terracotta art found from different places of the area. These terracotta figures and tablets, which could be associated with certain ritual practices, could also be useful objects of household decoration or children's toys. These early terracottas exist either as figures showing men or women of excellent build, attired in the finest drapery and trinkets of wide variety, or in plaques or tablets depicting more than one figure engaged in various activities of life. Terracottas had become a very common vehicle of artistic expression because of the easy availability of the material and deep desire for artistic fulfilment among the common masses. Such terracottas have been found from Bangarh in Dinajpur, Paharpur in Rajshahi, Sabhar in Dacca and many other places now in Bangladesh as well as West Bengal, showing the extreme popularity of the medium among the masses.

By and large, however, the finer and subtler elements of artistic achievement survive in the wide range of images made in stone and metal found throughout the region. Almost all these images were originally installed in the inner sanctums of the temples known as *devakulas* or *devāyatamas* and served as instruments of devotion and worship of an intimate variety.

To start with, there are some stone images in the Rajshahi Museum such as the Vishnu image from Hansrail which bear an impress of the style of the Mathura artists during Kushana time. An image of Sūrya from Kasipur in Sundarbans, now in the Asutosh Museum of the University of Calcutta, shows the secret charm and quiet dignity of the Bengal style. It is the earliest of its type, and has a close proximity with the stone figures found at Paharpur. These sculptures showing probably the earliest representation of Krishna and Rādhā or *gopini* sequence in visual art as well as the figures of Balarāma, Siva's marriage and the like, provide a wide panorama of the subtle and sensitive modelling and innate emotional bearing of the Bengal tradition in a very vivid manner. These sculptures are followed by numerous images or *pratimās* representing a wide range of Jaina, Buddhist and Brahmanical deities, produced in abundance. They reveal the inner richness and achievement of the people of Bengal during the days of Pala rule. In their quiet and restrained dignity, with a half-expressed smile on their faces, almost metallic sharpness of their well-chiselled body delineated with the grace of unsurpassable character, these images stand as examples of unique achievement on the part of the artists of Bengal.

The images in stone and metal include figures of Brahmanical deities

like Viṣṇu with Lakshmi or Bhūmi and Saraswati as side figures, independent figures of Lakshmi and Tārā, figures of Siva often in Umālingana pose, Sūrya, Kārtikeya, Ganesa with his elephant head held in excellent poise and also the Buddhist deities including Buddha, though in standing or seated pose being quite rare, Tārā, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, etc

Traces of painting are also found to have survived from the days of the Palas, mostly in the form of illustrations in manuscripts dealing with Buddhist texts of Mahāyāna tantric tradition. Though the paintings occur in books, they bear no connection with the contents of the manuscripts. Some of these paintings show scenes from the life of Buddha, of images of Buddha in various poses, while the difference in poses and body colour in case of these figures probably indicates that they were meant to represent the Dhyāni Buddhas of the Mahāyāna order. Other figures magnificently laid with an array of colour and the distinctness in modelling and treatment show Tantric Buddhist deities like the Pancharakshas and also Tārā.

These paintings are technically almost perfectly miniaturized versions of large mural paintings which show the willowy swings of lines and a harmony of colours blended in a most sophisticated manner. The miniature paintings of the Pala period have preserved the evidence of the existence of an extremely rich tradition of the art of painting which could be quite at par with the magnificent work at Ajanta, though in a much reduced area.

Cultural Wealth of Bihar

Radhakrishna Choudhary

From the earliest times, Bihar has been the birthplace of great movements in the realms of religion, culture, art, and politics. The history of Bihar is a process of continuous growth, from the prehistoric age right up to the present day. For about a thousand years the history of Bihar was the history of India.

The present State of Bihar is a combination of certain distinct cultural units like Chhotanagpur and Santhal Parganas (representing the tribal belt), Bhagalpur and Monghyr (representing ancient Anga), Patna and Gaya (representing ancient Magadha), and North Bihar (representing the ancient Videha, Vaiśali, Mallas and also portions of Pundravardhan). If the tribals and the Maithilas have to this day maintained their cultural identity, the cities like Bodh Gaya, Rajgriha, and Pataliputra have also stood the test of time.

Mithila was one of the earliest centres of the Brahmanical civilization in the east. It was the country where Janaka ruled, Yajnavalkya legislated, and Gautama meditated. Janaka gathered at his court some other celebrities of knowledge. From a study of the *Satapatha Brahmana* and the *Brihadaranyaka Upanisad* it appears that Mithila continued to be the centre of Aryan civilization for centuries and its cultural contacts with the Kuru-Panchal country in those days was a reality. The standard of philosophical discussions at the court of Janaka points to the great erudition and cultural tradition of Mithila in those days. The monarchical tradition of Videha was soon replaced by the republican tradition of the Lichchhavis of Vaiśali. It figures prominently in the Buddhist and other contemporary literature. It had the unique privilege of being the birthplace of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, apostle of non-violence and the twenty-fourth Tirthankar of Jainism, and also of being the administrative headquarters of the Lichchhavis. Buddha described the Lichchhavis of Vaiśali as gods on earth and highly praised the following features of their republican constitution :

- (1) "The Vajjians hold full and frequent assemblies,
- (2) "meet together in concord and rise in concord and carry out Vajjian business in concord,
- (3) "enact nothing already established, abrogate nothing that has already been enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions;
- (4) "hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words;
- (5) "follow the religion established;
- (6) "so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper."

Vaiśali consisted of three distinct regions, namely, Vaiśali, Kundagrāma, and Vaniyagrāma. The second Buddhist Council was held at Vaiśali and many decisions of far-reaching importance were taken here. It was also the centre of origin of the cult struggle between the Śaivas and the

Vaishnavas The present Hariharakṣetra is an indication of the same. Bihar, as a whole, contributed a great deal towards the development of Vedic literature and culture. Anga, Magadha, Mithila, and Vaiśali played a leading role in the evolution of many later systems of religion and philosophy

Magadha, a name to conjure with, was the homeland not only of Buddhism but also of other progressive reform movements. It is associated with the Vrātya culture. The Vrātyas were opposed to the orthodox Vedic cult and were the precursors of the later reform movements. Magadha remained outside the pale of the Aryan civilization and a type of Magadhan fever is contemptuously described in the *Atharvaveda*. The earliest capital of Magadha was Rajgriha where every house looked like a palace. The *Suvarnavarnavadana*, a Mahāyāna work, refers to the existence of a *karanamandapa* (hall of justice) at Rajgriha. It was at Rajgriha that the First Buddhist Council was held. Magadha has much to be proud of in the field of politics. It gave India the idea of national unity and in the realm of thought it gave birth to a system of rational thinking. Magadha produced Tīrthankaras like Suvrata and Mahāvīra, and men like Sariputta, Moggallāna, Mankhali Gossal, Prochhanda, Varsakara, Kautilya, Upagupta and Mogalliputta Tissa. It was in Magadha that Buddha obtained enlightenment.

In the annals of human history the sixth century B.C. is rightly regarded as a cardinal epoch since we perceive a spirit of change in the process of thinking. From Athens to Peking there was an upsurge, and Magadha was one of the centres where new thoughts stirred humanity. Ajivikaism, Jainism, Buddhism, and many other progressive schools of thought, challenging the infallibility of the Vedas, sprang up in Magadha. The whole process gave a new outlook to the outmoded cultural concept of Vedic ritualism and conservatism. Jainism insisted on right belief, right conduct, and right knowledge, and Buddhism propounded a middle path which meant the extinction of craving. Nirvāṇa, according to Buddha, was a peaceful state free from all wants. He believed in common humanity and accepted the oneness of life. He laid stress on reason and asked his followers to reflect on life and its consequences in the daylight of reason. His moral principles were free from the shackles of metaphysics. He regarded man as the arbiter of his own destiny. Though it was not a revolt against the existing economic order, it was certainly a social revolt. Conversion by compulsion was unknown to Buddha. To Buddha, there was no higher duty than the welfare of the whole world. Buddha wanted that all should cultivate mutual respect, should live in peace and friendliness, and should cultivate the habit of good social conduct. He solved the problem of national unity by means of mutual love, respect and tolerance, universal brotherhood, cosmopolitanism, love and peace among mankind.

Three centuries later came Asoka, whose reign forms one of the most glorious epochs in the annals of human history and whose Panchsheel idea even today forms the basis of our foreign policy. He was the first great monarch in the world to conceive of universal peace and Pataliputra had the unique honour and privilege of sending out the first international emissaries of peace and co-operation to different parts of the world. "*Concord alone is good*" is the most outstanding contribution of Bihar to humanity. Asoka's ethical ideal was reverence for life. He tried to discover the widest possible basis of agreement attainable amongst all sections of his people. He epitomized the Buddhist conception of kingship. A humanist of the highest order, he aimed at educating the people into a common view of the ends and means of life. His Ahimsa spiritualized politics and brought the individual, society, and the world in a synthesis dominated by respect for all life.

Pataliputra was the metropolis of India for a number of centuries. It was also witness of major international events. Some important Buddhist ideas found expression and further elaboration in the city of Pataliputra. The Third Buddhist Council was held there. Another famous Magadhan city is Gaya, place of the enlightenment of Buddha. The Bodhi Gaya railings, called the Asoka railings, are later than Bharhut and earlier than Sanchi, and are very important in the development of Indian art. Gaya is associated with kings like Devanampriya Tissa, and Meghavarman of Ceylon, Taisung of China and kings of Upper Burma. As early as the fourth century A.D., a Ceylonese constructed a centre for the stay of foreigners at Gaya. The eminent Pali commentator, Buddhaghosha, hailed from Gaya. Mahabodhi is an eternal international shrine and the pride of India. Gaya has the proud privilege of being the meeting place of both Hinduism and Buddhism.

The Gupta period ushers a new age in the history of art and culture. The unique copper colossus image of Buddha found at Sultanganj (weighing one ton), and now preserved in the Birmingham Museum, is a good evidence of proficiency in metallurgy. The image is a graceful figure and conveys a feeling of aliveness by the sense of movement with a vitality imparted by the delicate moulding of the features. The Gupta period represents a period of cultural synthesis. It saw the birth of religious art and the progress of the evolution of the Buddha images coming to its fulness. It replaced the Gandhara influence and established a new school of art. The synthesis of the external form with inner spirit is nowhere better illustrated than in the Buddha images.

In other fields, too, Bihar made a mark. One thousand years before the Italian Galileo, Aryabhatta of Magadha proved that the earth was a globe turning on its own axis. Eminent Buddhist teachers like Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dignaga, and Dharmakirti are associated with Bihar and they have been described by the Tibetans as

“the Six Ornaments of Jambudwipa”. The Russian philosopher, Professor Schterbatsky, in a letter to Professor Winternitz, observed: “You will be astonished to find among the Indians, especially Dignaga, a comprehensive system of critical philosophy . . . Here we have before us a most excellent achievement of the Indian mind.” Magadha in those days was an important centre of learning as is evident from the writings of Fa-Hsien. Pataliputra had imposing and elegant monasteries for both the Hinayānis and the Mahāyānis. According to Fa-Hsien, the people of Magadha vied with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness.

In the middle ages too, many important cultural centres were located in Bihar. Nalanda and Vikramasila were two such centres where people from different parts of the world assembled for learning. In one of the inscriptions, Nalanda has been described as a place “the row of whose monasteries, with their pinnacles kissing the clouds is, as it were, designed by the Creator to be a beautiful garland for the earth shining high in space, and being the delightful home of the community of monks who are the abode of good learning”. According to another inscription, Nalanda was the ornament of the world surpassing in a wonderful manner the palace of Indra. It was in a real sense the true international university where races belonging to difficult climates, habits, and languages were drawn together not in the clash of arms but in the harmony of life, in amity and peace. The motto of the university was — “Conquer anger by pardon, a bad man by good deeds, a miser by giving him more, and a liar by truth.”

Nalanda taught universalism and peace. By a good synthesis of austerity, celibacy, and devotion the career of the student was sought to be made perfect. There was no inequality of treatment and the university code was guided by the Buddhist principles of justice, honesty, and sincerity. Education was free. It has one of the biggest manuscript libraries in the world. Hsuan Tsang, a student of this university, carried nearly 650 volumes to China. The religious ideology was predominantly Mahāyānism. Śāntirakṣita of Nalanda was invited to Tibet and there he laid the foundation of modern Lamaism. Atisa Dipankara Śrījñāna was one of the most important teachers, not only of Vikramasila but of the contemporary world (eleventh century A.D.). He was a widely travelled man and was invited to Tibet where he reformed Buddhism and died after a stay of about eighteen years. He is considered to be a second Buddha in Tibet.

Vikramasila university was one of the important centres of the Vajrayana cult. The Pala rulers of Bihar and Bengal patronized Nalanda and Vikramasila and they established a new school of art known as the medieval school of eastern sculpture. A medieval school of metal sculpture was also developed in these educational centres. The discovery

of the Pala bronze images confirms our belief that they were produced in abundance. They were exported to South-east Asia, Nepal, and Tibet where they provided prototypes for the local producers. The Magadha school of painting also developed under the Palas. Nalanda and Vikramasila were the seats of multifaced cultures.

When Magadha lost its importance, Mithila became the centre of cultural regeneration. Its contribution to the development of our national culture is immense. Yajnavalkya developed the *Madhyanadināsakha* of the *Yajurveda* and *Yajnavalkyasmṛiti* is the bedrock of the Mithila school of Hindu Law. Mandana Misra of Mithila was married to Bharati, sister of Kumarila Bhatta, a great critic of Buddhism. In his *Naiskarmasiddhi* Mandana's impatience with human suffering finds eloquent expression. His theory of *Avidyanivṛtti* is identical with the *Brahmajñāna* of Janaka. Vacaspati, who followed Mandana, is equally conscious of the suffering of humanity and he dedicated his whole life to expounding the views of earlier thinkers on the problems of human welfare. The main aim of the Maithila thinkers was to regulate the daily life according to Brahmanical rituals and they were opposed to Buddhism. A passage, ascribed to Yajnavalkya, says that the path of duty can be known from the usages of Mithila. Mithila's contribution to Nyāya is second to none. It was first systematized by Gautama. Gangeśa gave it a new orientation. The writings of Udayan and Gangeśa led to the creation of a vast literature on Nyāya and Purvamīmāṃsa, on the one hand, and the Dharmaśāstra literature on the other. The comparatively peaceful atmosphere of Tirhut made it a centre of learning and culture in the middle ages and her contact with Tibet, Nepal, and other eastern parts of the country continued. It was by reason of her secluded position (geographically surrounded by rivers on three sides and by the Himalayas in the north) that Mithila has been able to preserve her continuity in the evolution of a culture peculiarly her own. Mithila in the age of Vidyapati saw the consummation of her distinctive culture, the beginnings of which can be gleaned through Chandella inscriptions and the writings of Rajasekhar, Somadeva and other Maithili writers. It was from Mithila that Navyanyāya went to Nadia. In the field of literature, philosophy, erotics, *smritis*, anthology, etc., Mithila's contribution is second to none in India.

Mithila is known for the lyrical love songs of Vidyapati, the priceless heritage of which has never been forgotten. Though his compilations show the extent of his erudition, it is as a poet that he is esteemed and has been remembered through the centuries by the people. No other poet in India has been claimed as their own by three different languages Hindi, Bengali, and Maithili. He was a contemporary of Chandidas, Kabir, Ramananda, Surdas, Sankaradeva and Chaucer. His language became the vehicle of poetical expression in Nepal, Assam, West Bengal,

Bangladesh, and Orissa. He made Maithili the vehicle of literary language throughout north-eastern India. Poetry was an integral part of his life. Secular and progressive in outlook, he drew his images from the contemporary social life. Hence, most of his images have a freshness and individuality about them. His lyrics are a blend of eroticism and devotion. As a poet of love he is matchless.

In the first half of the sixteenth century Bihar again emerged on the political scene of India through Shershah, one of the greatest rulers India has ever seen. He kept high the tradition of cosmopolitanism and secularism. His administrative arrangements were even copied by the British. To him, merit was the only criterion in all walks of life and he paved the way for better understanding between the Hindus and the Muslims by his magnanimous policy. Had he lived longer, his scheme of things would have changed the course of Indian history. He preached the ideal of harmonious relationship not only between the ruler and the ruled but also between various sects. He represented the real Indian spirit of harmony, cultural unity, and national outlook, and worked for their overall application on a national scale. The tradition continued under Akbar and Dara Shukoh. Guru Gobind Singh was born and brought up at Patna. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, when national interests were bartered for selfish gains, there emerged Mir Qasim who sought to free the country from foreign yoke.

Rammohun Roy, founder of the modern Indian Renaissance, was intimately connected with different parts of Bihar. Patna at that time was a very important centre of Arabic study and Rammohun went there at the age of sixteen to learn Arabic. He was proficient in Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, French, English, Hindi, Bengali, etc. He acted as *munshi* and a *saristedar* at Ramgarh and first showed his spirit of independence at Bhagalpur, from where he wrote a letter to the Governor-General against the order of the Collector of Bhagalpur. His wisdom and rational approach heralded the birth of a new India and justified Hegel's contention that a renaissance was a prelude to revolution. Agitations for cultural and political regeneration began thereafter.

The Santhal insurrections and various other risings in the Chotanagpur regions, the part played by Birsa Bhagwan in the tribal belt, and the uprisings of 1857-58 made Bihar once again the centre of the national movement. Kunwar Singh of Jagdishpur played a leading part in the movement. The establishment of the Indian National Congress had its financial base in Bihar in the personality of Maharaja Laksmiswar Singh of Darbhanga, whose personal papers (now being studied and edited) throw sufficient light on the subject. After the movement of 1905, Bihar became the centre of terrorist activities. Mahatma Gandhi chose Champaran for his experiment with truth in the political life of India. The first struggle against the Britishers was organized in Champaran under his leadership

and the success of his mission here paved the way for the final emancipation of the country. By presiding over the first sitting of the Constituent Assembly, Sachchidanand Sinha once again asserted the claim of Bihar's eminence and he was succeeded by Rajendra Prasad, who, besides being its chairman, presided over the destiny of the country for twelve years.

Thus it is evident that in all periods of Indian history, Bihar has generally contributed its share to national life and to the composite culture of India in religion, philosophy, art, literature, and other fields of culture.

The Impact of Gandhiji on Gujarati Literature

Anantrai Raval

Gandhiji's appearance on the political horizon marks the beginning of a new era in India. The Indian National Congress underwent a metamorphosis under his leadership. After the Rowlatt Act and the deliberate, inhuman massacre at Jallianwala Bagh in the Punjab, the Congress cast off its moderate role of a supplicant and turned itself into a non-violent militia fighting for freedom. The non-co-operation movement of 1920-22, the Salt Satyagraha of 1930-1931, and the Quit India movement of 1942, launched by the Congress under Gandhiji's leadership, were the three landmarks of India's struggle for freedom which was ultimately won in 1947.

But Gandhiji was more than the commander-in-chief of the non-violent struggle for freedom. He combined many roles into one — social reformer, revolutionary, patriot, prophet, statesman, thinker, teacher, and writer — and this made him the leader of the nation in the widest sense of the term. It is impossible to deny the tremendous impact he has made on our behaviour pattern and thinking in almost all walks of life — education, journalism, politics, social reform, practice of religion, etc. Literature, belonging to the realm of subtle sensitivity, could not have escaped it. Gujarat and Gujarati were singularly privileged to be the headquarters and the first medium of Gandhiji's thoughts and expression and it was but natural that the first beneficiary of his impact should be Gujarati literature.

Gandhiji's direct contribution to Gujarati literature, though not of a uniform quality, is rich enough. *Hind-Swaraj*, the *Autobiography*, the semi-autobiographical *History of Satyagraha in South Africa*, the two accounts of jail experiences in South Africa and Yeravda, hundreds of articles and notes on quite a large number of subjects with a vital bearing on the Indian situation and the still larger number of letters, many of which have later been compiled into books — the bulk of Gandhiji's Gujarati writings is indeed the pride of Gujarati language and literature. A good deal of this writing has been translated into other languages. Gandhiji's autobiography has gone to the ends of the earth through its English translation, and has been ranked as one of the major autobiographies of the world, serving as a model of that form of literature from the point of view of truthfulness, candid self-analysis and humility, the only criteria by which this genre must be judged. The weeklies that he edited set a standard for views-papers devoted to education of public thought.

Gandhiji had a message for the nation, and as he wished to address it to the literate, semi-literate and illiterate all at the same time, it was quite natural that he used very simple and direct language. Literary embellishment was a luxury he consciously avoided. For him language was but a means or vehicle of what he wanted fervently to convey to the nation. The language of Gandhiji's writings, simple, direct and highly economical as it is, discredited the Sanskritized style of writing made

fashionable by the writers of the preceding age, known in Gujarat as the "Age of the Pandits", and accelerated the movement toward simplicity that had already started in the first two decades of the present century. This was, of course, only a general trend. The "Age of the Pandits" never dies absolutely, and since literature is an activity working on mental, emotional, imaginative, and intellectual levels of the human personality, there may be as many styles as there are writers. Even Gandhiji's prose shows force, humour, colloquial idiom, and literary flashes at different times. But in its general intention and movement it was far simpler than the prose-style in vogue up to his time, and its impact is clearly visible on the Gujarati prose after 1920.

One particular service of Gandhiji to Gujarati literature that deserves special mention is the dictionary of the standard spelling of Gujarati words. There were different modes of spelling at the time Gandhiji started writing in Gujarati. He succeeded in putting an end to this semi-chaotic situation so puzzling to new writers by organizing the preparation and publication of the *Jodani-Kosh* by the Gujarat Vidyapith, the national university started by him. Gujarati spelling has become standardized since the publication of that spelling lexicon.

Many were attracted to the Sabarmati Ashram by the magnetism of Gandhiji's personality and mission. There were also those who, in course of time, blossomed into front-rank writers like Indulal Yajnik, Mahadev Desai, Dattatreya Kalelkar (lovingly called Kakasaheb in Gujarat), Kishorelal Mashruwala, Narahari Parikh, Swami Anand, Vinoba Bhave and Valji Desai. Some of them, especially Kaka Kalelkar, Kishorelal Mashruwala and Vinoba Bhave, have, as the Mahatma's torch-bearers, interpreted and disseminated Gandhian thought, elaborating it in original ways and bringing it to the people in distinctively personal forms.

The Gujarat Vidyapith, which was established to implement Gandhiji's ideal of "national" education as opposed to the British Government-sponsored university education, drew a number of scholars to its portals. There were scholars like Dharmanand Kosambi, Sukhlal, Becharadas, and Muni Jinvijay who have contributed learned articles and books on Buddhist and Jain philosophy, Prākṛit language and literature, old and medieval history, and archaeology. Others like Ramnarayan Pathak and Rasīklal Parikh taught literature and poetics to the first few batches of students and made, on their own, a noteworthy contribution to different fields of Gujarati literature including poetry, short story and literary criticism. From among those who studied in the Gujarat Vidyapith have come some representative Gujarati poets of the thirties like "Snehrashmi", "Sundaram", Manek and Shridharani and writers like Chandrashankar Shukla, Nagindas Parekh, Bhogilal Gandhi, and Babalbhai Mehta. Umashankar Joshi's Gandhism, so admirably embodied in his very first publication, *Vishva-Shanti*, links him, at some distance,

with the Gujarat Vidyapith through his intimacy with Kaka Kalelkar, who was then the principal of the Vidyapith, and can be traced or attributed to the same impact.

Going beyond the precincts of the Satyagraha Ashram and Gujarat Vidyapith, Gandhiji provided a subject of abiding interest to both creative and reflective workers, and that was Mahatma Gandhi. It is no wonder that the younger generation of Gujarati poets of the twenties and thirties should be all adoration and admiration for the Mahatma, but it is worth noting that senior poets like Nanalal, Narsinhrao, Thakore, Khabardar and others, too, could not help paying their tribute to Gandhiji and his personality, work, and message. Gujarati poets have reacted to the major events of his life — the South African Satyagraha, non-co-operation agitation, his first imprisonment in India, the historic Dandi march, the Round Table Conference and its aftermath, his fasts against social denigration of the Harijans, the other political fasts, the Quit India struggle, his anguish at the partition of the Indian subcontinent into Pakistan and India and the inhuman atrocities that immediately followed it and marred the joy of Independence, his Bihar and Noakhali tours against communal carnage, and finally his martyrdom, and they have written feelingly about them. Gujarati literature teems with hundreds of poems, some of them of epical length though not of epic quality, coming from novices to mature practitioners of verse, who in writing them gave expression to their patriotic devotion and their love for one who, for over a quarter of a century, virtually ruled the hearts of the people of India.

The freedom struggle has been as worthy a subject as Mahatma Gandhi himself for the poets of Gujarat. For them the fight for freedom from British domination symbolized the fight for freedom from all domination — economic, social, religious, ideological — which stifles the spirit of man. Non-violence for them becomes the positive virtue of love, peace and universal brotherhood and the obliteration of war from the face of the earth. It was but natural that Gandhi in this respect reminded them of Buddha and Christ, for both of whom a wave of renewed adoration swept over the hearts of many a sensitive poet and writer, which found adequate expression in their literary creations.

As regards the freedom struggle in all its phases, it became the subject matter of a number of novels, short stories, and plays, and very often it supplied the background or the socio-political context for the characters of the writers. Many historical episodes and Pauranic stories were so treated as to be invested with a modern implication relating to the Indian freedom struggle and the values Gandhiji upheld. Kanhaiyalal Munshi's play *Putra Samovadi* and Ramanlal Desai's novel *Bharelo Agni* are two instances out of many.

There were some incidental gains, too, to Gujarati literature from the freedom struggle. It involved jail-going, which opened up a new and

so-far-hidden world to the eyes of the sensitive writers, some of whom actually experienced it first hand. This ushered in what we can call jail literature, extending the boundaries of life depicted in literature. Gujarat received such literature at the hands of Gandhi himself, Kaka Kalelkar, Meghani, Sridharani, "Darshak" and others, all with literary peculiarities of their own. Translations of the books of jail experiences of distinguished persons like Aurobindo Ghosh, Savarkar and others, too, have been published.

Discontent with the institutionalized, government-provided education and the growth of national and cultural consciousness had brought into existence some independent experiments in national education like Santiniketan, Gurukul Kangri, Jamia Millia, etc. Gandhiji accelerated the process. With the functioning of the Sabarmati Ashram school and the Gujarat Vidyapith of Ahmedabad and Dakshinamoorti Bhavan of Bhavnagar, there followed a new literature on education embodying much original thinking like that of Kalelkar and Mashruwala. Thinking and planning for education suited to the needs of the country and free experimentation in that direction led persons like Gijubhai Badheka to think of child education, in the theory and practice of which his work still stands unsurpassed. Literature for children of various age groups has since been written and published in large editions. It has opened up a new field of literature altogether.

The impact of Gandhiji can also be seen in the growing prestige and popularization of folk songs, folk tales, and ballads of the minstrels. Not that the work of collection and publication of such literature was not attempted or started before. But here, too, Gandhi's influence accelerated the process. He restored our self-esteem as a people by his creed of *swadeshi*. He lent dignity to our language, dress, food habits, vows, and turned our eyes to villages and village people. This in turn resulted in ending our snobbish apathy to folk literature — the creation of anonymous, unsophisticated souls handed down to generations by oral transmission, which had been, till now, ranked much lower than the standard elegant literature of the educated for the educated. The warm acceptance and appreciation of the memorable work of Zaverchand Meghani and some others in the field owe a good deal to the congenial atmosphere created by Gandhi on the cultural front. The study, collection, public recitations and publication of explored folk literature has since gained further momentum. This, in turn, had a wholesome effect on modern Gujarati poetry inasmuch as some of the poets have tried to adopt the tunes and sometimes the diction as also the spirit of folk poetry and *bhajans*, which have thus become a source of inspiration and emulation for modern Gujarati poetry.

But the most tangible impact of Gandhiji can be found in the mental acceptance of his teaching by the writers of the day. Gandhiji's intense

humanism, his dedicated concern for Daridra-Narayan (God in the form of the poor and the suffering), his ceaseless endeavour for the removal of untouchability, his equal reverence towards all religions (providing the philosophic bedrock to his political advocacy of Hindu-Muslim unity), his earnest call to revive hand-spinning, hand-weaving, and village industries to ensure village uplift — all these generated an atmosphere which drew literature closer to life and its grim realities. There were not a few novels with untouchability, village uplift, etc., as central themes and idealistic heroes going to villages to serve them. Dhumketu in short stories, Sundaram in poetry and Umashankar Joshi and Chandravadan Mehta in plays were pioneers in introducing characters from the middle and the lower strata of our urban and rural societies with their characteristic local backgrounds. The sympathy of the writers was extended to the toilers in fields and factories, and literature started showing a growing solicitude for the lot of the exploited, the downtrodden, the illiterate, and the ill-cared-for sections of society. Literature went to the village in search of themes and characters, with the resultant advantages of local colour, variety of dialect, realistic picturization of village and field life, along with the problems of day-to-day life. And Gujarati literature has been fortunate in having writers with first hand experience and knowledge of the life and people of the rural areas. Writers like Meghani, Pannalal Patel, Petalikal, Chunilal Madia, Pitambar Patel and Pushkar Chandarvakar, who fall under this category, have given us good novels and stories with rural setting.

A new awareness on the writers' part, with a reproachful eye on the injustice inherent in the social order obtaining today, has also been a characteristic feature of such poetry and fiction written and published in the thirties of the present century. Prostitutes and criminals have also received a fair measure of sympathetic treatment, along with the labouring class exploited by the rich and toiling hard for a pittance to sustain themselves and their families. The influx of socialistic thought and Marxian ideology and the literature reflecting or embodying them can partly share the credit for this change in the climate of Gujarati literature with Gandhi's humanism and concern for the masses and Daridra-Narayana.

Much of the Gujarati literature of the twenties, thirties and even of the forties thus clearly evinces the indelible impress of Gandhiji, some direct, some indirect, but to an extent that it has led the students of literature to describe the period as "Gandhi-Yuga" (Age of Gandhi) in Gujarati literature. Though Gujarati literature after Independence, especially after the fifties, strikes a different note and shows newer trends, the impact of Gandhian thought cannot be said to have waned or vanished completely. The Sarvodaya and the Bhoodan movement of Vinoba Bhave, an

unmistakable continuation of Gandhiji's work and thought, received no small ideological and emotional support from Gujarati poets and writers of today.

Since Gandhiji worked for the country from Gujarat and wrote extensively in Gujarati, his impact on the literature of this region is bound to have the advantage of immediacy in point of time and extent; but if notes are compared, it will be found that it has been felt in the literature of all the regional languages of India almost in equal measure and on similar lines, so that they have almost the same story to tell in this respect.

National Role of Karnataka through the Centuries

P. B. Desai

Centuries before the advent of the Christian era the Kannada people had carved out an important place for themselves and established their entity on the Indian subcontinent. The Karnataka areas are replete with archaeological and historical sources which shed light on its image from the prehistoric down to the modern times. Traditions are current in various parts of Karnataka associating the land with the events relating to the eminent personages of the epics and the Puranas. The expression Karnata, as the name of an independent region, occurs in the *Mahabharata* (c 200 B.C.) and other ancient works.

The contacts between Karnataka and Magadha (Bihar) date from the age of the Nandas in the fourth century B.C. As many as six edicts of the Mauryan emperor Asoka are found in different places of this province. Among them the edict of Maski, in Raichur district, has the unique distinction of revealing for the first time the identity of the Mauryan emperor with the enigmatic personality of Devānām Priya Priyadarshi of other epigraphs.

The successors of the Mauryas in the South were the Satavahanas who extended their authority over many regions of peninsular India. They bore closer affinity with the Kannada territory as attested by cultural links and also by the fact that their capital Pratishthana (modern Paithan) was situated on the bank of the Godavari, the traditional northern boundary of Karnataka. An illustrious ruler of this family, Gautamiputra Satakarni (c A.D. 106-39), crushed the power of alien intruders, namely, the Scythians, Greeks and Parthians.

About the fifth century, Karnataka emerged as a major political power under the rule of the Kadambas and the Gangas. The former, in particular, entered into diplomatic relations with the northern sovereigns, the Guptas and Vakatakas. According to an unverified literary tradition, the poet Kalidasa paid a visit to the Kadamba court as an envoy of the Guptā monarch.

A new epoch in the political and cultural life of Karnataka commenced with the seventh century onward lasting for nearly one thousand years. This was the age of six empires which sprang forth and thrived one after another. The first of them was founded by the early house of the Chalukyas who ruled from Badami in Bijapur district (c A.D. 540-757).

To Pulakesi II, the third ruler of this dynasty, goes the credit of transforming his tiny ancestral kingdom into a mighty empire of all-India fame by uniting the Kannadigas of several tracts, by raising a national militia and standing army, and by subjugating the hostile elements through extensive conquests. This political unification brought in its wake a popular cultural regeneration which manifested itself in the catholicity of outlook in social and religious matters and the creative genius finding expression through literature and art.

Pulakesi's reputation travelled far and wide, even beyond the frontiers

of the country. Goodwill missions and embassies were exchanged between this empire-builder of Karnataka and the king of Persia Khusru II. The Chalukya sovereign, who took the title of Paramesvara, is ranked alongside of Samudragupta of the Gupta family and Harshavardhana of Kanauj.

The successor family of the Rashtrakutas had its capital at Malkhed in Gulbarga district A.D. 757-973). Under its rule, the image of Karnataka grew in stature leaving its firm imprint on the political canvas of the subcontinent. The Rashtrakuta overlords expanded their influence from the Himalayas down to Kanyakumari, overpowering their imperial rivals, the northern Pratiharas and the southern Pallavas and Cholas. By virtue of the immense and invincible Karnataka Bala, the formidable corps of veteran warriors, organized in the previous regime, the Rashtrakuta kings, Dhruva, Govinda III and Indra III, won spectacular victories. As affirmed by the contemporary Arab traveller Sulaiman Soudagar, the Rashtrakuta empire was counted among the four great empires of the world.

The political supremacy of Karnataka continued during the next two centuries (tenth to the twelfth) by the sovereigns of the later Chalukya house of Kalyana in Bidar district. The greatest ruler of this family was Vikramaditya VI. The following couple of centuries witnessed the rise of two more powers, the Sevunas and the Hoysalas. If the former distinguished themselves in the northern sphere, the latter extended their hegemony in the southern quarters.

The last great empire was Vijayanagara which was a sovereign national state in every sense of the term. It vindicated the right of the people to live and progress, free from alien bondage not only in Karnataka and south India but also on the Indian subcontinent as a whole.

Vijayanagara is usually described as the Hindu empire. But its Hindu character was divested of parochial or communal stigma associated with it during the later period. True Hinduism is nothing but enlarged and expanded Vedicism of the Aryans whose vision and spirit are embodied in the religion and philosophy of the early and later Vedic literature. The grand project of extensive interpretation and commentaries on the Vedas and the Vedic lore, envisaged and completed by the early rulers of Vijayanagara, explains the character of Hinduism professed by them. The Vedic mind of true Hindus transcends the narrow barriers of region, race and religion and attaches supreme importance to man as the noblest creation of Providence, believing in the universality and brotherhood of mankind. A well-established government, efficient administrative set-up, strong military forces for defence and protection, internal peace and security, care for the weal and welfare of the subjects, facilities for their advancement, amenities of civic life, agricultural growth, prosperous trade and industries, easy means of communication, freedom of thought, action and religious pursuits, education and learning—

these and other factors that go to constitute a civilized state were adequately present in Vijayanagara. From the glowing eye-witness accounts of the capital by foreign travellers, it reminds us of the cities like Hastinapura and Pataliputra of ancient India and Rome and Constantinople of European renown.

Considering the standards of the mediaeval age, Vijayanagara had made spectacular advance in the engineering and other sciences. Its engineer-experts contributed to projects like the construction of cities and forts, erection of temples and palaces, harnessing of rivers and digging of canals and tanks for irrigation and other needs. Some of the works carried out at that time like the Tungabhadra dam and anicuts, which endured through several centuries till recent times, have elicited unstinted tribute for their skill and craftsmanship from modern scientists.

Though the precept and profession of democracy were unknown then, some of the democratic principles and practices followed by the Vijayanagara rulers are worth emulating even in the present democratic age. In the dispute between the Vaishnava majority and the Jaina minority, the verdict of King Bukka I in favour of the Jaina community underlines the strict implementation of the policy of religious toleration and protection of the minorities in the Vijayanagara State.

Muslims were treated with consideration and care by the Vijayanagara kings. On par with other citizens, they were entitled to protection and enjoyed freedom and security. Illuminating in this context are the following observations of the Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa (c A.D. 1514):

“The king allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed without suffering any annoyance and without enquiry whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen ”

Vijayanagara was visited by people belonging to different races and nations in large numbers. Such foreigners were welcomed and treated with respect. The king himself honoured and took special care of them.

They enjoyed full freedom; they could live and move about as they liked

Notwithstanding all this, the avowed motto of Vijayanagara was *Svarajya*, *Svadharmā*, and *Svasanskṛti* (self-rule, self-religion, and self-culture). Scholars have shown that Sivaji, the founder of the independent Maratha State in the seventeenth century, was inspired by the noble ideals of Vijayanagara.

All the earlier and later royal families that ruled in Karnataka were indigenous. Arguments advanced in certain quarters in support of the extraneous origin of some of them like the Satavahanas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Sevunas and Vijayanagara are proved to be misconceived and erroneous in the light of the latest researches in the field.

The Chinese traveller Hsuan Tsang, who visited Karnataka in the seventh century, speaks highly of the Kannada people for their unflinching

valour and unquestionable integrity. Rajasekhara, a knowledgeable Sanskrit poet of about the tenth century, pays lavish tribute to the Karnataka youth as a born soldier adept in warfare and skilled in military strategy.

Of all the regions of India, Karnataka produced the largest number of ruling families, whose members traversed beyond its frontiers and settled in those territories as governors or founders of new kingdoms. Noteworthy among such adventurous chiefs are the Gangas, Kadambas, Sindas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas and Hoysalas. The areas domiciled by them were, collectively speaking, Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Orissa, Central India, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and farther off to Nepal. Two more distinguished dynasties that established their sway in far-off regions were the Senas of Bengal (1050-1206) and the Karnatas of Mithila or north Bihar (1097-1147).

Cultural Eminence: The women of Karnataka enjoyed a considerable measure of freedom and prestige in the family, society and the State. Thus we find women playing a prominent role in several walks of life, from the royal court to the village administration and from religion to fine arts.

Queens and princesses of the Chalukya, Rashtrakuta and other houses distinguished themselves as capable rulers, administrators and army chiefs. Rashtrakuta Dhruva's consort, Sila-mahadevi, enjoyed equal sovereign powers. Akkadevi, sister of Chalukya Jayasimha I, took a leading part as governor in quelling a rebellion in the kingdom. Chandaladevi, queen of Vikramaditya VI, was, besides being a good governor, well-versed in music, dance and literature. Lakshmi, wife of Sevuna Bhillama II, held the regency of the kingdom during the minority of her grandson Bhillama III. Hoysala Vira Ballala II's queen Umadevi officiated as the head of the state and led the army on the battlefield.

Vijayā is an enchanting name in the Sanskrit literary world. She is complimented as Karnati Sarasvati, that is, Goddess of Learning of Karnataka and ranked next only to Kalidasa in the galaxy of Sanskrit poets. A princess of the early Chalukya family, she was the daughter-in-law of Pulakesi II. Gangadevi, renowned poet of the Vijayanagara royal house, described the military campaign of her husband, Vira Kampanna, in her *Madhuravijayam*. It is evaluated as a rare narrative historical work in Sanskrit. The graceful person and unsullied character of the cultured women of Karnataka was appreciated even in remote regions like Kashmir. It is to be noted that the poets of Orissa and Rajasthan compared the spotless fame of their kings with the shining snow-white teeth of the damsels of Karnataka.

Sanskrit, the national language of India, was promoted on a large scale throughout the centuries in Karnataka. The kings, potentates and

officials of the state encouraged the study of this "Divine Speech" and extended liberal patronage to the poets and scholars well versed in various branches of knowledge. The *agraras* which primarily comprised seats of Sanskrit learning and higher studies were largely established and maintained on donations and munificent endowments.

Ravikirti, whose scholarly eminence vied with that of Kalidasa and Bharavi, lived in the court of Pulakesi II and composed his famous Aihole inscription in Sanskrit, eulogizing his patron. The Sanjan copper plate record describing the military triumphs of Rashtrakuta rulers is a rare Sanskrit composition of historical merit. The *Vikramadevacharitam* depicting the deeds of Vikramaditya VI by the Kashmiri poet Bilhana is a distinct contribution of Karnataka to historical Sanskrit literature. The *Manasollasa*, an encyclopaedic work on traditional branches of knowledge and lore, was compiled by Somesvara III, son of the above-mentioned Chalukya king.

Religious faiths and philosophical schools of various leanings, carrying national impact, like Jainism, Buddhism, Saivism, Pasupata school, Virasaivism and Vaishnavism thrived in the fertile soil of Karnataka. Shrines, temples, and monasteries were founded by the followers of the concerned sects for the propagation of their tenets. Sringeri became the stronghold of Sankara's philosophy, and Melkote was the resort of Ramanuja's Srivaishnavism. From Kalyana in Bidar district Basava launched his reformist movement which attracted followers from Maharashtra, Andhra, and Tamil Nadu. From Udipi in South Kanara, Madhva preached the gospel of supremacy of Lord Hari and efficacy of unswerving devotion to Him. His teachings prevailed in Andhra, Maharashtra, Orissa, and Bengal.

Karnataka set an example of maximum religious tolerance and mutual understanding and registered minimum recriminations and disputes among the multiplicity of sects and creeds that flourished here. Not only the indigenous faiths but even Islam and Christianity were given shelter.

The exemplary principle of broad-minded tolerance and coexistence in religion is extolled in the following passage from a Belur inscription :

"The Saivas adore Him as Siva. The Vedantins uphold Him as Brahma. The Bauddhas hail Him as Buddha. The Mimansakas call Him Karma. The Jainas describe Him as Arhat. The Naiyayikas name Him as Kartri. May He, this Kesava fulfil your desires "

Karnataka's attainments in the realm of fine arts are varied, spectacular, and enduring. Though the best specimens have scarcely survived the ravages of time, the art of painting had reached a high standard of depiction.

Mellifluous vocal and instrumental music, accompanied by elegant gesticulation and vivid dance, was assiduously practised from ancient times. From reference to this art as the southern school of music in the *Natyaśāstra*

of Bharata, who lived about the first century B.C., we can trace its antiquity still farther back. This delicate art, later identified with Karnataka, evinced vast development in the course of centuries, particularly in the age of Vijayanagara, and became widely prevalent as *Karnataka sangita* in the South. Two monumental treatises on this science and art were produced; one in the twelfth century named *Sangitaratnakara* by Sarangadeva; and another, Kallinatha's elaborate commentary on it in the fifteenth century. This art travelled to distant Bihar along with the founder of the Karnata dynasty there, Nanyadeva, who describes the melodies of the Karnataka type in his work on classical music. *Karnataka sangita* enjoys all-India reputation to the present day.

The beginnings of Indian temple architecture and its evolution are traceable in Karnataka since A.D. third and fourth century. The Indian temple attained its complete form of architectural embellishment for the first time at Aihole in Bijapur district, where early specimens of both north Indian and south Indian shrines are extant, justifying the description of this town as the cradle of Indian architecture. Soon a compromise or fusion of the north and south Indian types took place resulting in the emergence of a new form known as the Chalukya architecture. The world-famous cave temples at Ellora, which are a marvel of architecture, were got constructed by the Rashtrakuta king Krishna I (c 758-73).

The Chalukya architecture developed and reached its consummation in Hoysala architecture whose dominant features are refinement, minute carving and exuberant decoration. The temples at Belur, Halebid, and Somanathpur are masterpieces of the Hoysala art. The Chalukya-Hoysala art, even according to Western critics, stands comparison with the finest art of ancient Egypt or Greece.

The Vijayanagara temples, with their spirit of freedom and massive energy, represent the final phase of Karnataka architecture. The dimensional expanse, lofty superstructure, multiplicity of adjuncts and profusion of sculptured panels contribute to their astonishing magnificence.

Side by side with architecture developed the sculptural art. The most outstanding, world-renowned example is the colossal figure of Gommatesvara at Sravana Belgola.

It is known from Greek and Roman sources that during the early period, Karnataka had commercial intercourse by sea routes with the countries of the West. It had also entered into business and cultural relations with the southern and south-eastern regions of Asia. There are indications to suggest that among the enterprising emigrants from India who crossed over and settled in Indo-China, the East Indies and other islands, a few hailed from the Karnataka areas. During the days of Vijayanagara, the commercial and cultural ties with the southern and eastern kingdoms of Asia were closer.

In the dark days of the nineteenth century when Britain's stranglehold on India's provinces was increasing, Karnataka suffered the most on account of political vicissitudes. After the defeat of Tipu in the Fourth Mysore War, the integrity and unity of Karnataka was destroyed. It was arbitrarily cut into several large and small tracts, and merged with the regions of divers cultural and linguistic traditions under different authorities. As a result, the Kannadigas had to experience many disadvantages and disabilities.

Even under such discouraging circumstances, it is noteworthy that the spirit and national consciousness of the Kannadigas never diminished. They threw in their lot with the rest of India and unreservedly participated in the national movement for the liberation of India, braving the trials and tribulations to which they were subjected. Particularly memorable is their role in the twentieth century swadeshi movement of Lokamanya Tilak and the non-co-operation and civil disobedience movements of Mahatma Gandhi. The ordeals faced and the sacrifices made for the nation's cause by the patriots of Karnataka are in no way smaller or lesser than those of their compatriots in the other provinces and princely States.

Renaissance in Maharashtra

S. G. Tulpule

From the termination of the Peshwa Raj and the advent of British rule in 1818 to the end of the latter and the creation of Independent India, the Maharashtra renaissance spans a period of about a hundred and thirty years. Maharashtra witnessed an all-round and regeneratory upheaval during this period which is studded with luminaries like Balshastrī Jambhekar, the erudite scholar; Dadoba Pandurang, the Panini of Marathi; Justice Ranade, the prophet of liberated India; Vishnushastri Chiplunkar, the Shivaji of the Marathi language; Lokahitavadi, the herald of Reformation; Tilak, the father of Indian unrest; Agarkar, the social reformist; Bhandarkar, Orientalist of wide repute; Rajvade, the historian, Haribhau Apte, the novelist, and many more. The shock of the collapse of the Maratha Raj was severe. The nation could not easily forget its heritage of heroism and chivalry. But those who could face reality felt the superiority of the foreign rulers in every walk of life. It was the reaction of these honest thinkers, the theory of divine dispensation as propounded by Justice Ranade, that gave an altogether new turn to the outlook of Maharashtra.

Other events also contributed to this change. The advent of the printing press and along with it of newspapers and periodicals, better means of communication, foundation of different missions engaged in educational activities — all these stimulated an intellectual revolution all over India, and Maharashtra shared its impact in full measure. Of course there were reactionaries. The Brahmin priesthood especially found itself completely lost under the new regime and started obstructing the new way of life that was slowly gaining strength among the educated. But this resistance was futile as it was a struggle between two cultures : one, though great in its origin, now reduced to shackles, and the other, though materialist in its outlook, yet more evolved and growing. Orthodoxy was bound to accept defeat and so it did, with the result that new thoughts began to radiate and very soon Maharashtra adopted a new culture with a scientific and rational bias.

As has been said about Wellington's success at Waterloo, that it was achieved on the fields of Eton, the foundation of the intellectual and material conquests of renascent Maharashtra were laid on the floors of its schools. The rulers of course viewed the problem of education in a selfish manner and worked it out as a means to achieve their own ends. Elphinstone, the then Governor of Bombay, was the only person who was aware of the eventual outcome of giving Indians modern education. On being asked about the purpose of some recently printed Marathi books which were lying piled in his office, he is reported to have replied : "To educate the natives. But it is our highroad back to Europe." Books in the regional languages, in the form of translations from English originals, were produced in large numbers. These efforts at the official level proved meagre and the system of education then in vogue,

though it produced a few stalwarts like Ranade, was mainly responsible for the production of generations of clerks and petty officers required in numbers for the maintenance of the bureaucratic administration. Dissatisfied at this state of things, a young graduate from Poona, Vishnushastri Chiplunkar by name, did away with the "silver chains" that bound him to Government service and took the lead in founding the New English School of Poona which later became the nucleus of the Deccan Education Society, avowed to work on Jesuitic principles. Others followed. Anna Vijapurkar, another idealist, went one step ahead and founded the Rashtriya Shikshana Mandala which, on account of its suspected political atmosphere, came under Government fire and had ultimately to be closed down. Some educationists desired to revive the spirit of the palmy days of Indian scholarship and bring to bear on contemporary problems the light and the vigour of the old tradition. The education of women was yet another problem and the great Karve handled it with zeal, awakening the minds of all to this vital need of society. The masses also had to be educated and for that purpose a Jyotiba Phule was needed. He produced a manifesto for the uplift of the poor and the downtrodden which is even today honoured. All these educationists had in view the promotion of the central cause of Indian regeneration and progress.

There was a definite philosophy behind these efforts, a philosophy of national education sponsored mainly by Ranade. Though a jurist, he took active interest in education and his approach to its problems is typical of the thinking minds of his times. Himself a respecter of tradition, Ranade was nevertheless bent upon rooting out the feeling of submissiveness entertained by the rank and file of our people, and authority, either of tradition or of power, was to be done away with. Above all, he wanted the younger generation to think independently and make reasoned choice, and not accept anything by habit or on blind faith. While internationalism in the political and economic spheres was yet a dream, in the field of intellectual achievement it had already reached a considerable degree of development. No more ploughing a lonely furrow of one's own mental activity without contact with the contemporary world of thought.

These were some of the ideas that animated the educationists in Maharashtra during its period of renaissance. Most of them were borrowed from the West and, barring the Gandhian thought that percolated into the minds of the people towards the close of the period, there was no original thinking as such except by Ranade. The Gandhian thought too had a feeble impact on the mind of Maharashtra, except for some ideas like "Basic Education" and "Earn and Learn" method.

The most outstanding and at the same time most controversial fact about our political life is the connection between India and Great Britain. Some thinkers saw in this bond a divine boon to a backward,

disunited and impoverished people. This school of thought, believing that the British rule in India was beneficent and was to be welcomed, was dominant during the early years of the renaissance. On the other hand, there were many who saw in the British expansion in India a clear case of imperialism and inferred that the consequences of this relation for the subject-nation would be utter degradation out of which only a mass movement of revolution could free the country. It may be that the movements of human history have a meaning beyond what is apparent to us on a merely objective plane and the case of India may be an illustration in point. But whatever the diagnosis of the situation, it remains true that pre-renascent Maharashtra was in a paralysed state. The cultural domination of the West appeared to Ranade to be even more insidious and disastrous than the material hold established by the British rulers.

The first task of the politician, therefore, was to keep alive in the minds of his countrymen a lively consciousness of past achievements, present possibilities, and future hopes of their own land. Rarely, however, had the people ever felt the consciousness of being limbs of one and the same nation. Under the British regime, for the first time, the entire geographical unit called India was brought under one sovereign power; all India and its people were knit together in a common political structure. The innumerable drawbacks of the British conquest could not obviate the fact that it made the idea of a common Indian nationality a matter of practical politics. Thus, the establishment of the National Congress marked a crucial, almost fateful, stage in the history of political thought in Maharashtra. It made it conscious of those internal obstacles which we did not primarily owe to the British conquest. These were: (1) a preoccupation with the religious to the detriment of more material interests, (2) the existence of a strong, almost irresistible, tendency towards dissensions, and (3) absence of self-discipline. The thinkers of renascent Maharashtra had constantly to harp upon the necessity of removing these evils and inculcating the virtues of public spirit, national cohesion, and self-discipline.

This was the mode of thought of the so-called Liberal school, the best exponent of which was G.K. Gokhale. According to it, advocacy of independence was not to be addressed to the foreign government but to the people themselves. The Liberals desired that the first tenet in the creed of Indian nationalism should be a solemn declaration that the Indian people were the chosen people to whom great tasks were allotted and who were determined to successfully carry them out. As no nation could discharge such a divine trust without being first of all the masters of their own destiny and of the situation in which their task was to be performed, the people would resolve to develop enough strength of purpose and organization to back their claims to be the instrument of high

achievements. The process in its initial stages was very slow, but given the right type of leadership it developed into a powerful movement which took the nation in due course of time to the threshold of independence. The Liberal thought as propounded by Ranade, Gokhale and others was slow in its action, no doubt, but it created in the minds of the educated at least a rational outlook which ultimately gave Maharashtra the leadership role in the magnanimous personality of Lokmanya Tilak who was destined to be the uncrowned king of India right up to his end.

Tilak soon came to be looked upon as the central sun which gave warmth and light to many a smaller star in the Indian firmament. The rise of a nation and its progress to freedom and power have invariably been associated with the life-work of a national hero, and Tilak, in his day, came nearest to achieving this position. Mass awakening was the central theme of his political thought. He was largely instrumental in bringing politics from the scholar's study, from government circles, and from platform oratory of the stilted Victorian kind to the hearths and homes of the people. His practical statesmanship is described thus by Sri Aurobindo: "Though he could be obstinate and iron-willed when his mind was made up as to the necessity of a course of action, he was always ready for a compromise which would allow of getting real work done and would willingly take half a loaf rather than no bread, though always with a full intention of getting the whole loaf in good time." The association of Tilak with Sri Aurobindo was a happy accident. It was a meeting of two forces — one representing the robust realism of Maharashtra, and the other the revolutionary fervour of Bengal. The attacks of both on "the policy of protest, petition, and prayer" had their effect both on the people and the Government. And though Sri Aurobindo finally retired into a secluded life of meditation, the mark of his revolutionary thought remained distinctly on the mind of Maharashtra. In fact it was his teaching that inspired a group of revolutionists in Nasik to form an organization called the "Abhinava Bharata" under the leadership of the Savarkar brothers. It was started on the lines of the "Young Italy" movement of Mazzini and sought the support of Tilak which it never got. The movement ultimately failed and the result was the creation of a religion-based Hindu-nation-philosophy of Savarkar which eventually gave rise to the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh movement which started in Maharashtra. But the mind of Maharashtra was rational right from the beginning as can be seen from an essay on "Welfare State" in Marathi by Vishnuboa Brahmachari written in 1867 and reminding one of the Communist Manifesto. It, therefore, refused to go the way that communalists wanted it to go. It preferred the way of the *Bhagavadgita*, namely, uniting philanthropic energy with philosophic calm, a combination of the teachings of Ranade and Tilak.

Socially, Maharashtra like the rest of India was in a static condition for centuries right up to the advent of the British rule. Despite all the efforts of its great poet-saints like Jñanesvar and Tukaram for a spiritual democracy which they did attain so far as their own lives were concerned, Maharashtra had remained a socially backward, antiquated, self-complacent, hierarchical nation whose rulers and subjects were given to orthodoxy and its accompanying bigotry. Generations of people were brought up on the inherited faith that whatever was, was for the best, change itself becoming anathema. But the picture changed with the impact of British rule, the result of which was peace assured by a large national state and science becoming available for industry. Naturally the old institutions based on status became a hindrance to progress, and fatalism, the worst feature of a decadent society, gave way to a new sense of human dignity and freedom. A questioning attitude towards accepted truths and practices was created in the minds of the educated people who began to realize that the society which they formed was a dilapidated one and that it needed a thorough renovation. It was Lokahitavadi and Agarkar, the veteran social reformers of the nineteenth century, who took the lead and attacked mercilessly the various evil customs like caste distinctions, untouchability, child marriage, compulsory widowhood, etc. These two thinkers, backed by Ranade, have made a permanent impression on the mind of Maharashtra. As Ranade put it, "The change which we should all seek is thus a change from constraint to freedom, from credulity to faith, from status to contract, from authority to reason, from unorganized to organized life, from bigotry to toleration, from blind fatalism to a sense of human dignity."

But there were the revivalists, great men like Chiplunkar and Tilak, who, though certainly alive to the evil consequences of a stagnant and unjust social order, yet harked back to an imaginary golden period of past history to meet the challenge of current forces of disorder and decay. Their role was not ill-motivated, nor was their patriotism to be questioned. But it was their very notion of patriotism that lured them away from reason. It must be admitted that these otherwise great men did put, though unknowingly, a spoke in the wheel of social reform. The result was a fresh controversy as to the priority between the social and the political, that went on for a long period and at times inactivated the intellectual life of the people. That there is a law of mutual causation between the two became obvious as time passed. The outcome of all this was the development of an integrated pattern of reform which found expression in the social novels of Haribhau Apte, the typical artist-spokesman of his times.

It was at this stage that Maharashtra received the impact of Gandhian thought. Though Gandhiji could never win the heart of Maharashtra, his social ideology did capture its mind and motivated it to develop a socialistic

attitude towards life in general. This trend had become observable as early as in the days of the late Phule who was a contemporary of Justice Ranade and lived the life of a typical Maratha agriculturist, preaching all the while the principle of social equity. Gandhian thought was nothing but a continuation of what Phule had said, and together they influenced the mind of renascent Maharashtra to a considerable extent.

Indian culture has an exceptional capacity for adjustment. When it came into contact with a new ideological force it tried by its innate conservatism to beat down the incoming influence. But as the new influence survived the initial reception because of its inherent strength, it was absorbed in Indian thought in such a manner as to fit in with the rest of its culture. Maharashtra was no exception to this general trend of cultural change.

As regards religion, Maharashtra had a rich spiritual heritage coming down from its great saints like Jnanesvar, Tukaram and Ramdas. But then new ideologies began to come in from outside, for example, that of the Arya Samaj from Punjab and of the Brahmo Samaj from Bengal. Actually, Swami Dayanand Sarasvati, the founder of the former cult, visited Maharashtra and received a good following in Bombay and Poona. The Brahmos of Bengal were responsible, though indirectly, for the establishment of the Prarthana Samaj here which, with its faith in the monotheistic conception of the unmanifest God, attracted quite a number of the educated. Annie Besant, with her cult of Theosophy appealed to some, and centres of the Theosophical Society were started in important townships. The Christian missionaries were of course busy with their religious propaganda, founding missions almost everywhere and very soon a distinct "community" of converts came up in certain districts like Ahmednagar and Nasik where the missions were particularly active. Thus the religious life of Maharashtra was being pulled in different directions. It was an opportune time for its saints to intervene, which they did through one of their most brilliant exponents, Professor R.D. Ranade. His *Mysticism in Maharashtra* gave a powerful impetus to a whole generation of spiritual aspirants who could read through it a fresh interpretation of the teachings of the saints. Sri Aurobindo with his mystic halo and *Life Divine* had already captured the minds of the elite and J. Krishnamurti, though he came a little later on the scene, was no less powerful in appealing to the sophisticated intelligentsia of Maharashtra. The followers of the Pandharpur tradition had of course kept alive the flame of devotion in the hearts of the masses and the cult was going strong. The total effect of all these varied activities was the birth of a renovated idea of religion in which the intellectual and the emotional elements were kept balanced and even fused together. It was a new approach to the Godhead, mystic yet rational.

The creation of a scientific tradition was a basic requirement for

material and cultural regeneration. It was the late Balshastri Jambhekar, who was professor of mathematics in the Elphinstone College, Bombay, during its infancy, who became aware of this urgent need and started the "Students' Literary and Scientific Society" as early as in 1848. This Society gave a good lead to the creation of a scientific mind and gradually a team of workers devoted to the pursuit of scientific studies was evolved from among the fresh graduates of the Bombay University. Renascent Maharashtra may not be able to claim any spectacular scientific achievement or a distinguished scientist like Bose or Raman. But it must be said to its credit that it did develop an all-round scientific approach to problems.

On the side of literature and the fine arts it took some time for the people of Maharashtra to become aesthetically conscious. To begin with, as contrasted with the people of the South, art was not very much in their blood, and what little aesthetic sense they had was crippled during a long period of fighting which made life insecure. However, with the growing contact with the English people and their literature, Maharashtra slowly became art-conscious. The *Catalogue of Native Publications in the Bombay Presidency up to 31st December 1864* lists a total number of 661 books in Marathi, when forty years before there was none. Literary output grew in geometrical progression, with the result that towards the end of the period we are considering the total number of books in Marathi was next only to that in Bengali. Of course quantity is no criterion of quality; Ranade said in 1867, "the entire picture is far from satisfactory if one looks at it absolutely." So far as the other fine arts are concerned, Maharashtra did make a mark with the names of Kirloskar and Bal Gandharva in dramatic art travelling beyond the regional limits and becoming pan-Indian. Music too experienced a rejuvenation in that it no longer remained the exclusive right of the select few. The popularization of music owes much to the systematic propagation of it by one of its leading exponents, Pandit Paluskar. He made the common man music-minded. The rise of this consciousness of beauty can certainly be said to be a living symbol of the cultural evolution that took place in Maharashtra.

These are some of the main currents that went to the making of a new and regenerated Maharashtra. The picture is on the whole satisfactory when compared with that of some of the other provinces in India though it must be admitted that Maharashtra lagged behind in certain other respects. It would not for example present a united front as some other provinces did. Nor could it accommodate or adapt itself to the ever-changing Indian political scene which fact blinded it to stark realities and made it a complacent community. This is possibly the key to the prejudices entertained against it in spite of its possessing some of the sterling qualities required by a nation.

Inscriptional Source for History of the Tamil Language

A. Veluppillai

Inscriptional Tamil is a more important source than literary Tamil for the reconstruction and study of the history of the language. Up to the last few centuries, books in South India and Sri Lanka were written on palmyra leaves. The climate of these regions is not suitable for the preservation of leaves for long periods of time. If books were not copied again and again at frequent intervals, they would have perished. Though Tamil literary tradition has an unbroken history of two millennia, all ancient Tamil works are those which were copied again and again. The copyists must have altered certain forms to bring them in line with what they considered standard Tamil forms. The printing of ancient literary works started only in the middle part of the last century. The editors of those ancient works invariably refer to the pitiable state of the manuscripts. They were not familiar with the present-day methodology of critical edition of ancient texts. But the situation is different with the Tamil inscriptions. Inscriptions of different ages exist as they were inscribed. Therefore, inscriptions are very helpful to the study of the history of the Tamil language on a chronological basis.

If Tamil language, like any other language, is divided into literary Tamil and spoken Tamil, it is clear that inscriptional Tamil tallies more closely with spoken Tamil. Though Tamil has a history of two thousand years, the changes in the literary tongue were slow, whereas spoken Tamil, which is the living language, underwent considerable changes from time to time. Changes in the language and social changes are closely related. The learned looked up to literary Tamil, studied it, and utilized it in the creation of literature. Up to about the fifteenth century, spoken forms only rarely got into Tamil literature. It is only recently that they have come into their own in Tamil literature. But the inscriptions show us that some of the spoken Tamil forms of today are as ancient as some of the literary forms. The relationship between the two dialects over the course of the centuries can become clear only when a knowledge of inscriptional Tamil supplements the knowledge of Tamil grammatical tradition and literary texts.

Chronologically, inscriptional language precedes literary language in all the neighbouring languages of Tamil, such as Sinhalese, Malayalam, Kannada, and Telugu. But in Tamil, a controversy still rages about the chronology of early Tamil texts. Tamil scholars still hotly dispute which of the written records — literature, grammar, or inscription — is chronologically the earliest in Tamil. As historians generally accept the cave inscriptions as the earliest Tamil records, linguists also gradually accept them. T.P. Meenakshisundaram has classified the history of Tamil language into cave inscriptions, *Tolkāppiyam*, and Cañkam literature. For his examination of the language of cave inscriptions, he has depended on the readings of K.V. Subramania Iyer.¹ Professor T. Mahalingam² and Iravatham Mahadevan³ have recently improved the reading and

interpretations of these records. As the readings remain controversial, it is too early for the linguists to start work on the language of these inscriptions.

For the study of the language of Pallava and Cōla periods, Meenakshisundaram utilized only Tamil inscriptions. This measure can be justified. Tamil literature is too wide a field. If it is decided that a history of Tamil language should be written only after a study of all the Tamil works, it will take a long time to start the work. If an attempt is made to study linguistically everything written in Tamil, it may take a few generations to complete the task. As inscriptions are close to spoken Tamil, it will be possible to find inscriptional Tamil forms different from Caṅkam literary forms. From the viewpoint of development-change-history, inscriptional Tamil forms have to be given prominence.

The pioneer in the linguistic study of inscriptional Tamil was the late Professor K. Kanapathippillai of the University of Ceylon. His thesis on the study of the language of Tamil inscriptions of the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era was submitted to the University of London about thirty-six years ago. With his guidance, this writer prepared a thesis on the study of the language of Tamil inscriptions of the second Pandyan Kingdom (of about A.D. 1251 to 1340). He also wrote a thesis on the study of the language of Tamil inscriptions of the period A.D. 800 to 920, with the guidance of Professor T. Burrow of the University of Oxford. The following is an attempt to show, as briefly as possible, the development of Tamil between these two periods by a comparison of the materials of the two theses. The terms “earlier inscriptions” and “later inscriptions” are based on the chronology of the inscriptions.

There are inscriptional Tamil forms which show development from traditional alphabet, spelling, and pronunciation. It is not possible to consider dental “n” and alveolar *n* as separate phonemes in inscriptional Tamil. One occurs instead of the other in a number of places without any reference to the context. This shows that the difference between the two was lost. Kanapathippillai has shown that the confusion of these two consonants occurred in the northern districts of Tamil Nadu during the seventh and the eighth centuries. This feature continued in the earlier inscriptions. But in the later inscriptions, the confusion occurred in all parts of Tamil Nadu. It seems that this confusion had something to do with the introduction of Grantha Tamil script, which was prevalent in the northern districts. Grantha script which was designed to write Sanskrit in South India had no alveolar *n*. Tamil had both dental “n” and alveolar *n*. Vatteluttu, the script for Tamil language in the southern districts of Tamil Nadu, retained the distinction between these two letters. When Grantha Tamil script replaced Vatteluttu in the

southern districts in A.D. eleventh century, the confusion spread to all parts of Tamil Nadu.

There is a difficulty in giving undue importance to spelling changes in inscriptional Tamil. Not all changes in pronunciation could have been recorded in traditional orthography which continued without change. Conversely, all variations in inscriptions cannot be considered to reflect popular speech. For example, the problem of distinguishing orthographical errors from phonological features crops up. This problem cannot be solved to the full satisfaction of all the scholars. If the phonological changes corresponded to changes in modern spoken Tamil, they could be positively considered as phonological features. Some phonological features occur in certain dialects in certain periods of time. Barring these, other spellings can be considered orthographical errors. Meenakshisundaram seems to have taken a large number of variations as phonological features. About vowels, he says there were changes in quality as well as in quantity. According to him, the qualitative differences can be explained but it is difficult to explain the quantitative differences. As for quantitative differences which consist of the writing of a short vowel for its long counterpart and *vice versa*, this writer feels that those differences should be explained in terms of medieval Tamil orthography. As Sanskrit has no short vowels "e" and "o", Tamil improvised two forms for these by the insertion of dots or *pullis* over the long ē and long ō. But in medieval Tamil inscriptions, this *pulli* was never seen. These long and short vowels, though they were each a separate phoneme in Tamil, could be distinguished from the context only by a Tamil scholar. The difference was not preserved in the form of the letters. This tendency must have affected the usage of other vowels and the indiscriminate usage of one form for the other in quantity should have followed in a few places. Caldwell, by his study of spoken Tamil, had explained the change of "i" to "e" and "u" to "o". Meenakshisundaram undertakes to explain the change of other letters qualitatively. Some of the changes which he tried to explain as phonological features might have been orthographical errors

Phonological features which were apparently confined to one period only will be considered here. The change of "e" to "i" occurs only in the earlier inscriptions: *piyar* (*peyar*), *calavu* (*celavu*) and *piṛātom* (*perātom*). The change of "ai" to "e" occurs in a number of examples in the earlier inscriptions: *ūttāmē* (*ūttāmai*), *vaḷuvāmē* (*vaḷuvāmai*) and *kētāmē* (*ketāmai*). In the later inscriptions, this change was seen in only one example: *iṟṟēvarai* (*iṟṟaivarai*). In consonants, changes take place initially and medially. For example, the initial palatal "ñ" becomes dental "n" in inscriptions. There are examples for this feature in earlier inscriptions: *nānru* (*ñānru*) and *ñekilṭtu* (*nekilṭtu*). In the same group of inscriptions, there are also examples for some words which occur with palatal initial

“ñ” in some places and with dental initial “n” in other places. In the later inscriptions, the initial palatal “ñ” disappears completely. Therefore, in this period, this consonant ceased to be a phoneme in Tamil as it occurred neither initially nor finally. The change of “ḷ” to “l” occurred only in the later inscriptions, in a number of examples: *vēḷvi* (*vēlvi*), *vīrappulināṭāḷvārkkū* (*vīrappulināṭālvārkkū*) and *tiruvāykkēḷvi* (*tiruvāykkēlvi*). The change of “ey” to “ē” occurred only in earlier inscriptions in examples like *puncē* (*puncey*), *cētu* (*ceytu*) and *cēil* (*ceyil*).

Considering morphophonemics, it should be stated that the traditional Tamil grammatical classification of *sandhi* into case-relation *sandhi* and non-case-relation *sandhi* could not explain *sandhi* forms in inscriptional Tamil. The plosive following “l” doubles only once in *pāl kkarukāvūr* in earlier inscriptions. But in the later inscriptions, this doubling occurs in a number of places as in *mēlppaṭi pāl kkuḷattu*, *col kkuṟam* and *koyil tīrunaṭaimālikaiyil*. The disappearance of “-r” ending before plosives occurs in a number of places in the later inscriptions only: *Caṇṭālappēru*, *Taṇṭēcuvarapperuvilai* and *Mākēcura Kkaṇkāṇi*. The “ṇ” ending becomes “ṭ” before plosives in case-relation *sandhi* in many places in the earlier inscriptions only. The change of “ḷ” to “ṭ” before plosives was seen only in the later inscriptions: *pukaṭ paṭara* and *kalut perum pinakkunṇam*. The change of “n” ending into the homorganic nasal of the following plosive occurred when the names of father and son were written together: *Nakkaṇ Tākaṇ* (*Nakkaṇ Kātan*) and *Cāttam Paḷiyil* (*Cāttan Paḷiyili*). This change did not occur in the later inscriptions.

There were comparable developments in morphology and syntax. A number of nouns in modern Tamil are formed by the addition of *kāraṇ*/*kāri*/*kārar* to other nouns. There are two examples for this addition only in later inscriptions: *nivantakkārar* and *vēṭṭaiakkārar*. Ancient postpositions “āṇ” and “iṇ” began to be replaced by “āl” and “il” in medieval Tamil. There were two examples for “āṇ” in the earlier inscriptions while there were no examples for it in the later inscriptions. There were five examples for “iṇ” in the earlier inscriptions while there were only four examples in the later inscriptions. There were nine examples for “āl” in the earlier inscriptions and twelve examples for it in the later inscriptions. The form “il” occurs in seven examples in the earlier inscriptions and in twelve examples in the later inscriptions. As first person singular pronoun, *yāṇ* only occurs in the earlier inscriptions while *nāṇ* only occurs in the later inscriptions.

Honorific particles developed in medieval Tamil. Two stages of their development can be seen in the inscriptions. These occurred both before and after nouns. In the earlier inscriptions, *śrī* and its variations of *ciri*, *tiru* and *aṭikaḷ* occurred before nouns. In the later inscriptions, *śrī* and its variations together with *uṭaiyār*, *tēvar*, *nāyaṇār* and *nācciyār* occurred before nouns. In the earlier inscriptions, *aṭikaḷ*, *amutu* and

arul occurred after nouns while in the later inscriptions, *amutu*, *arul*, *tēvar* and *nāccyār* occurred after nouns. Later inscriptions mark an increase in the use of honorific particles. But *aṭikaḷ*, closely associated with religious leaders of Jainism and Buddhism, probably went out of use with their decline.

Developments in verb can be treated separately because of their importance in grammar. Present tense suffixes developed in medieval Tamil. There were five present tense forms in earlier inscriptions and all of them had *kinru* suffix. There were eleven present tense forms in later inscriptions and all of them had *kiru* suffix. This is evidence both for the derivation of *kiru* from *kinru* and for the increasing use of present tense suffix in course of time. In the earlier inscriptions, the infinitive terminations, *ka* and *kka* had almost completely replaced the earlier infinitive terminations, *-pa* and *-ppa*. But in the later inscriptions, both types of terminations coexist in almost equal number of examples. In the earlier inscriptions, there were two optative formations, *kaṭavom*, first person plural and *kaṭavar*, third person plural. These were not added to infinitive forms of the verb as is the usual pattern in Tamil. Addition to infinitive forms seems to reflect a relatively later development to give clarity to the purpose of the record.

Addition of negative suffix *ā* to verbal base gives negative sense. There are examples for the usage of this simple form for negative adjective participle, negative adverbial participle and negative finite verb. This must reflect the earliest stage of the development of negatives in Tamil. The development of distinctive forms for each grammatical classification for which also there were examples in the earlier inscriptions must have been a later development. Negative forms with tense suffixes appeared only in the later inscriptions. This must have been a subsequent development.

This article deals with only one source — inscriptional Tamil — for the history of the Tamil language. Even that aspect is not dealt with comprehensively. An attempt is made here to show a few lines of development of medieval inscriptional Tamil from one period to the other. Needless to say that evidence from other sources is needed to complement and supplement evidence from inscriptional Tamil.

¹ *Proceedings and Transactions of the Third All-India Oriental Conference* Madras, 1923

² *Early South Indian Palaeography*. Madras, 1967.

³ "Corpus of the Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions" in *Seminar on Inscriptions* Madras, 1966

Section VI

Development and Modernization

The Next Steps in Planning

D. P. Dhar

It is indeed fitting that a volume honouring Indira Gandhi should contain an article on planning. Her father was the Father of Indian Planning. She has continued to take a close interest in planning our future development and she has given new direction to our economic policies.

In this article I shall not deal with specific economic policies. I will deal with planning itself. As is well known Shrimati Indira Gandhi has taken a great deal of interest in activating the planning machinery and in urging our planners to reorient their thinking.

I

Whenever the country is plunged into difficulties of one sort or another — a drought, an invasion — voices are raised against planning. We are told that the crisis is too serious for us “to waste our time on academic exercises”. We are told that our country is too poor to afford the “luxury of planning”, that planning would be relevant only if we were rich enough to have resources whose deployment we could plan. And so on.

On such occasions — and the past few months have been such an occasion — I am reminded of the steadfastness with which Jawaharlal Nehru held on to the ideal of planning. It is only necessary for us to recall that the National Planning Committee was set up in 1938 almost entirely at his initiative and that he kept it going in spite of the indifference and, in some cases, the hostility of some elements within the Congress Party. The indifference of even his senior colleagues was so great that he was once led to complain that the National Planning Committee seemed to have been set up just to humour him. He kept the Committee intact, encouraging leaders in various fields to participate in the work of the Committee and, in spite of his myriad preoccupations, he continued to closely supervise the work that was being done.

The initiative he took in arguing the case for planning in the aftermath of the Chinese invasion provides equally conclusive evidence of his commitment to planning. Late 1962 and early 1963 were trying times for the country. We had suffered a humiliating military setback. A psychology of defeat had taken over and some had begun saying that the policies we had followed in the preceding fifteen years had been in error and should be reversed. At that time, voices were raised against non-alignment, the parliamentary framework of our government, and planning. Many asserted that we should abandon our plans completely and, instead, “go all out for defence”. At that time Jawaharlal Nehru reminded the country that the Plan was the country’s best defence and that only a country which had built up its economic strength systematically could hope to be militarily strong in the long run.

For Jawaharlal Nehru the case for planning rested on four premises.

I should like to recall them here because they are just as relevant today as they were when he enunciated them. Subsequent events have only confirmed his insight into the processes of development and the true needs of our country.

The first point that he emphasized was that as we were a poor country, a country with scarce resources, we must husband our resources carefully. For us, with a population that continues to grow by 13 million a year, this point remains equally valid today. As he said: "If our resources are abundant it will not matter how they are used. They will go into a common pool of development. But where one's resources are limited one has to see that they are directed to the right purposes so as to help to build up whatever one is aiming at." And he affirmed more than once that not to plan the deployment of our resources carefully was to leave things to chance. "It is," as he said, "the old idea of *kismet* or fate." And that just would not do for a country that was faced with numerous problems, for a country that wanted to banish poverty as rapidly as possible, for a country that wanted to build a strong and self-reliant economy.

Jawaharlal Nehru also pointed out that India, which lived so close to the margin, would continue to be buffeted by crises every now and then. These crises could take different forms—invasions, droughts, floods, suspensions of aid, and so on. Over the years we have learnt that these crises are only too frequent. Jawaharlal Nehru emphasized what our subsequent experience has confirmed, that a country cannot react to these crises in a haphazard manner. It must react to them in a systematic and planned way. Consider, for example, the consequences of sudden eruption of hostilities of the kind that we experienced in 1962, 1965, and 1971. Jawaharlal Nehru taught us that the plans, and the economic policies associated with them, were a country's best defence. We have seen that the more protracted the hostilities, the more independent we want our policies to be. The more sophisticated the weaponry becomes, the more important is the country's general economic health for the specific purpose of defence.

The third point that Jawaharlal Nehru often stressed was that in our conditions state intervention in economic matters was imperative. The state had to intervene to develop the country's infrastructure and to ensure that large projects could be taken up so that the country could reap economies of scale. The state alone could mobilize the enormous resources that were required by the gigantic projects which were being undertaken. Finally, the ownership of key industries could not be allowed to fall into the hands of private individuals, unless the country wanted to risk falling into the grip of some homespun *Zaibatsus*. These reasons for state intervention remain as valid today as they were when he enunciated them.

Jawaharlal Nehru was for ever at pains to teach his colleagues and the masses of India that if everything were left to market forces the product

mix that would emerge would be one that was dictated by the distribution of purchasing power in the country. He advocated the redistribution of income, wealth, privilege, and power. But he realized that even in the democratic framework that we had chosen for ourselves a thorough-going distribution would take a long time. Hence his emphasis on the need for systematically devising ways by which we could counter the baneful effects of market forces. Jawaharlal Nehru was keenly aware that, left to themselves, market forces would always accentuate inequalities. At one place he quoted the Biblical text: "For unto everyone that hath more shall be given and he shall have more abundance; but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath", and he added: "This applies to countries as to individuals. The blind efforts of the market are always widening the gap whether they operate internationally, or nationally or regionally." Just as the state could not undertake productive activities in a haphazard manner, so also could it not succeed in reducing inequalities without thought and preparation. After all, the Government had to make sure that the reduction of inequalities did not dampen the incentives for production. There could be no establishment of either a welfare state or a socialist state without an abundance of the commodities and services that would be required by the masses.

II

I need hardly recount the tremendous contribution that Jawaharlal Nehru made to the planning effort of our country. He protected the planners and kept the machinery of planning going even when the voices against planning were strident, even when the compulsions of the moment were most adverse, and even when so many of his colleagues expressed scepticism over what he was doing. He built up the machinery for planning and he organized the apparatus needed for collecting the enormous amount of information that our planners had to gather. Most important of all, Jawaharlal Nehru set our sights for the long haul. He always reminded us that each Plan was but a link in a long chain and he educated the country about the virtues of buying fertilizers instead of food, of buying equipment to manufacture fertilizer plants instead of fertilizer plants themselves, of buying or building up the capacity to manufacture tools and materials that would be needed to build the plants that manufacture fertilizer plants and so on. For a country living on the margin of subsistence, for a country that had just sustained the tremendous shock of partition, for a country that still had a number of political problems to sort out, the natural course would have been to opt for increasing the levels of current consumption as rapidly as possible. In spite of these temptations Jawaharlal Nehru taught the nation to look not five years ahead, but fifty. It is this vision that guides us still.

More than any other person Jawaharlal Nehru taught us never to rest on our laurels, never to let ourselves become complacent because of some achievements. In the tradition of her father Indira Gandhi too has always taught us to re-examine our policies, to look critically at our ways of doing things and always to think of ways by which we can improve our performance. It is in this spirit that I shall now recount what I think have been some failings in the planning process. I shall then outline some ways of improving our performance in the future.

While the quantitative base for our planning efforts has been improved manifold since planning began in our country, it is still weak in many crucial respects. Our estimates of imports, of likely exports, and of gestation periods for setting up manufacturing plants have often been far wide of the mark. This in turn has often led us into errors. Thus, for instance, in the mid 50's we had felt that we could wipe out unemployment in ten years. We have learnt to our dismay that the grave problem of unemployment is going to be with us for many years to come. I feel that the Government and the planners have often made their task more difficult by not sharing information to the extent that they could have done. This has perpetuated the paucity of quantitative information for the planners. At the same time it has disabled outsiders from commenting intelligently on what the planners were churning out. I also feel that the planners have not done as much as they could have done to organize the talent that is available in our universities and research institutions for analysing individual problems. When the Government has thought of associating outsiders with its work it has too often turned to a handful of well-known individuals. They have, of course, contributed a great deal. But I often wonder whether we have not been unfair to these well-known individuals by burdening them with one task after another. And I wonder whether we would not have gained more by inviting a wider spectrum of economists and technicians to participate in our work just as Jawaharlal Nehru had searched the country far and wide for the work of National Planning Committee. I believe that if the planners were to associate younger economists and younger technicians who are not as well known as their senior colleagues, we would benefit a great deal. The younger specialists will have more time to devote to the problems that are referred to them and it is also more likely that they will develop an abiding interest in these problems—an interest that they will continue to follow even after the specific assignment is over. Within the Planning Commission we hope to release more information and to persuade other ministries to release more information than they do at present. We hope also to organize teams of economists to work on individual problems so that each can contribute his mite towards a better understanding of our economy and towards finding solutions for the problems that confront us.

There are two areas in which I believe our planners have to do more intensive thinking than they have done in the past. While we have devoted much time to thinking about our targets and about the consistency requirements for fulfilling these targets, we have devoted much less thought to the instruments by which these targets are to be achieved. A public distribution system, for instance, is one of the instruments on which little work has been done. Similarly, while we have done much work on the long-term perspective and even more work on the perspective of each five-year period we have not devoted a corresponding amount of attention to current economic problems. I believe that the planning machinery, a machinery that consists of a larger economic staff than that of any other ministry or organization within the country, should be able to contribute much more on matters of current economic problems than has been the case thus far. We hope to strengthen our work in this field and to associate universities and research institutions with our analysis of current economic developments.

Recently under the initiative of Indira Gandhi we have taken steps to strengthen our work in the monitoring field. A cell is being organized to monitor the progress of plans, projects and programmes. I believe that this work needs to be strengthened in one important direction. It is often the case that the heads of public sector organizations and the ministries to which these organizations report know exactly what is holding up the projects. After all, numerous forms are filled every day, every week, every month, and every quarter. Officials from project sites are summoned to Delhi for meetings and officials from Delhi often travel out to the projects. Telex messages go to and fro and telegrams fly all around. Thus ever so often decision-makers receive the information they require. In fact, one can argue that they receive more information than they need for the decisions that they should be taking. We hope that in such cases our monitoring unit will help by *reducing* the flow of information and by devising more rational forms so that decision-makers can learn in the briefest possible time the points they should know. The fact that I want to stress, however, is a slightly different one. Even today senior officials at the project sites and in Delhi know what is going wrong. The real problem is that, though they know what is wrong, they can do little about it. The new monitoring unit will be effective and others will co-operate with it only if it can expedite the decision-making processes. In brief, a monitoring unit can accomplish little if it is just a monitoring unit. Either it must have, or it must report to a unit that has, overriding executive power—the power that enables it to break bottlenecks. I am certain that in the coming months such a machinery will be devised. That will be the logical next step to the efforts that have been initiated at Indira Gandhi's initiative for strengthening our monitoring work.

To a large extent the planning process can only be a part of the general

economic and social environment in which it is undertaken. In spite of all the efforts that have gone into them, our plans have sometimes been defective. But the real difficulties have not arisen because the desirable has not been prescribed. They have arisen because our society and our leaders have not been able to ensure that the desirable is done. It is in this respect that those of us who are in the political arena have a special responsibility to discharge. We must recapture the spirit of Gandhi and Nehru through constructive work. We must mobilize those who are likely to benefit from our progressive policies—the tenants who will benefit from our proposals for land reforms, the consumers who will benefit from our drives against hoarders and adulterators, the average tax-payer who will benefit from the exposure of the big tax-evaders and so on. Political leaders also have the responsibility for ensuring that populism does not degenerate into indiscipline. Jawaharlal Nehru consistently emphasized, and Indira Gandhi has affirmed more than once, that the country cannot become strong and develop a resilient and modern economy if we are lazy and indisciplined. We must strengthen our ability to deal with the irresponsible employer who shuts off production just to browbeat labour, with irresponsible labour that lightly uses weapons such as the right to strike, with irresponsible leaders in central or state governments who do not observe strict fiscal discipline.

For the past eighteen months our planners have been busy working out the strategy that the country must follow in the Fifth Plan. The strategy is designed to help us attain four objectives: to raise the standard of living of the bottom 40 per cent as rapidly as possible, to dilute the concentration of economic power in private hands, to ensure that the country can dispense with the net inflow of foreign aid by 1978-79, and to strengthen those sectors of the economy which are necessary for the continuing expansion of the economy in the period beyond the Fifth Plan. As a result of extensive exercises we have learnt that these objectives are closely related to one another. The pursuit of one strengthens our ability to fulfil the others. This is particularly true of the first and third objectives—that of helping the bottom 40 per cent of our citizens and that of achieving self-reliance. As the consumption requirements of the poor are less capital-intensive as well as less import-intensive than that of the rich, redistribution in favour of the former reduces our import requirements and releases surpluses of luxury items for exports.

Redistribution of the magnitude that our exercises show to be necessary will require dedication and political mobilization of a very high order. It will also require major institutional changes. We must implement the land reforms legislation that has been enacted in almost all states of the country. We must strengthen the public distribution system so that essential commodities are available to the masses at reasonable prices. We must ensure that our public sector functions efficiently so that power,

steel, fertilizers, and other important commodities are available in ample quantities and the hold of entrenched interests over vital sectors of the economy is broken. Finally, we must ensure that the new schemes which are being initiated to strengthen the productive powers of the weaker sections—the schemes, for instance, to help small and marginal farmers—are efficiently implemented. The Fifth Plan places great reliance on these schemes. We must ensure that there are no shortfalls in fulfilling the targets set out for them and that the benefits from them actually reach the persons for whom they are meant—the landless labourers and the small and marginal farmers.

The next few years are not going to be easy ones. To face them we must shed our softness, as Indira Gandhi has so often urged. We must redefine our priorities and so deploy our resources that these priorities receive the attention they deserve. Only then shall we be able to fulfil the hopes that we have raised in our people.

Growth and Social Justice

Gunnar Myrdal

My studies of development problems in underdeveloped countries have led me to the conclusion that there is no conflict between the goals of growth and social justice. Instead, radical egalitarian reforms are a necessary condition for sustained growth and development. There are a number of general reasons for this conclusion.

First, large masses of people in underdeveloped countries suffer from undernutrition, malnutrition and other serious defects in their levels of living, in particular lack of elementary health and educational facilities, extremely bad housing conditions and sanitation. This impairs their preparedness and ability to work and to work intensively; it holds down production. It implies that measures to raise income levels for the masses of people could raise productivity. In the opposite direction, the forced savings on the part of these masses, brought about by inflation and the usually highly regressive taxation in underdeveloped countries, may make possible some more physical investments. But at the same time it holds down or can even decrease labour input and labour efficiency.

Second, social inequality is tied to economic inequality in mutual relationship, each being both cause and effect of the other. As undoubtedly social inequality, by decreasing mobility and free competition in the widest sense of the term, is quite generally harmful to development, it is also clear that through this relationship greater economic equality would lead to higher productivity.

Third, the usual argument that economic inequality results in enriching an upper class who are able to save more of their higher incomes has even less relevance in most underdeveloped countries where landlords and other rich people are known to squander their incomes in conspicuous consumption and investments and sometimes in capital flights. Because of extreme deficiencies in the assessment and collection of direct taxes, inequality of incomes and wealth cannot contribute much to public savings either.

Fourth, all underdeveloped countries have to strive for national consolidation. Great and, particularly, growing inequality is a serious obstacle for these strivings.

Fifth, the experience that in the most advanced welfare states, with their much higher levels of living and already accomplished greater equality, continued social reforms have been productive, should *a fortiori* apply even more to these very poor and inegalitarian countries.

The real significance of these general reasons for egalitarian reforms, even from the point of view of engendering economic development, are only revealed when the issue is brought down to earth and discussed in relation to the needs of specific reforms, as shall be exemplified below.

We face a strange paradox in regard to the quest for greater equality in underdeveloped countries. On the one hand, the policy declarations in all underdeveloped countries stress the need for greater equality and, in

particular, for raising the levels of living of the masses. This is everywhere a prominently set goal in planning. On the other hand, economic as well as social inequality is not only very gross and harsh in most of these countries but seems generally to be increasing. Policy measures declared to be taken in the interest of the poor are mostly either not implemented, or they turn out in practice to favour the not-so-poor. Whatever development there has been has mostly enriched only the top strata, the urban "middle class" of "educated", and what in India is called the "rural elite", leaving the swelling masses in the rural and urban slums about where they were.

In India, the plea for justice was forcefully made a central part of Mohandas Gandhi's fight for liberation. We never doubted that when India was once free and independent and its destiny being decided by free elections of its people, the result would be a social and economic revolution. The torch was then taken over by Jawaharlal Nehru, who ever tried to preach the same gospel. And in the whole articulate class in India it was never given up that India should be a "welfare state", should move towards a "classless society", a "socialist co-operative commonwealth", and establish a "socialist (or socialistic) pattern of society".

I shall not here enlarge upon the exemplification of how social justice and economic growth are not, as some biased economists have believed, antagonistic but how instead radical social and economic reforms are necessary for sustained growth. But I have wanted to stress that in India there is no dearth of intellectual capacity of the highest order. All the arguments for my thesis, and the practical policy proposals in line with it, have been authoritatively stated and developed by supremely competent persons in leading positions in their fields. It is only the implementation of their reform proposals that has largely been missing.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has now, because of her proven political ability — and more recently by her inspired and successful leadership in the conflict with the military junta that had ruled Pakistan — acquired for herself a personal power that Mohandas Gandhi and her father never had. She has done it on a programme of radical social and economic reform. Again, India has now arrived at a crucial point in its history, where its people and all their friends in the whole world have a right to nurture hope. She must be well aware that radical phraseology and cosmetic political actions are not enough any longer.

India has acquired a new role after her recent victory over Pakistan. My sincere wish and my hope is that India's role will unfold itself as a continuation of its old and often declared policy lines from Jawaharlal Nehru and, indeed, Mohandas Gandhi. The glory of India's heritage from the liberation struggle and the first decades of its political independence was its firm adherence to the ideals of the secular state and, in foreign policy, its renunciation of power politics, which is the deeper meaning of nonalignment. Both these ideals are certainly well founded upon rational

consideration of what is good for India and the world. But with Gandhi and Nehru they had also a deeper moral motivation.

Secondly, India cannot escape from playing a dominant role in getting Bangladesh on its feet. India will also continue to undertake economic sacrifices. Further, I also believe that Western countries can now no longer keep aloof but will have to come forward with substantial aid. Even the United States will not be able to do otherwise.

Thirdly, I would trust India to allow its vastly increased self-confidence to result in magnanimity towards Pakistan which has to go through a most difficult period of readjustment, instead of modelling itself on old-fashioned power politics. As all Indian leaders have always said and are saying now, there are no inherent reasons for hostility between India and her neighbour in the west. There is, I think, also no rational reason for hostility between China and India. China's interest to rebuild the transit road in the uninhabited northeast corner of Ladakh should certainly not be an important issue.

I would thus look upon recent happenings as providing a basis for building up more peaceful relations in all South Asia. And everything I know convinces me that the hopes I have expressed above are shared by India's political leaders. The victory of India in the recent conflict has vastly increased its opportunities to move in this direction.

As I have been studying the subcontinent as an economist, I must point out that India, together with Pakistan, represents the greatest conglomeration of very poor masses of people in the world. India should certainly welcome foreign aid, if it is given without political strings. But more important will be its internal policies. It needs, as Jawaharlal Nehru always stressed, an economic and social revolution to follow the political revolution of liberation from colonial bondage. It needs far-reaching radical reforms in the agrarian, administrative, educational and other spheres of national life.

The spiritual consolidation and the enhanced self-confidence of the Indian people should now make possible the carrying out of the radical reforms which Indira Gandhi's illustrious father could only preach in general terms. I trust that the very high level intellectual elite of India will now join the Prime Minister in a huge and devoted brains-trust, pushing India to give reality to the ideals of Mohandas Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. It would not be a break in these inherited ideals, but a determination to see them materialized in practical action.

"Remove Poverty": An Economic Approach

V. B. Singh

A Perspective: Poverty is a relative concept. Poverty in America is not the same phenomenon as poverty in India. Within our national boundaries also the levels of poverty differ. I was born and brought up in Eastern Uttar Pradesh. Since my childhood I have had a living picture of poverty. When I visited Punjab first, I found that the poverty of Punjab was not the same thing as that of eastern Uttar Pradesh. After Independence I had occasion to visit my village home in 1963. The face of the village had changed. I could not recognize it. Even the poorest had footwear and some clothes to cover their bodies. Many *pucca* houses had come up and more were rising. Irrigation and manuring facilities were available on a scale unknown before. Even the children of the poorest were generally going to school. Bicycles were found in large number. Private and public means of transport were extensive.

During the last eighteen months my research work has taken me to villages both in eastern and in western Uttar Pradesh frequently. These visits have persuaded me that our poorest have been coming up from the below-poverty level. This impressionistic conclusion is shared by others as well. But I am afraid this changing pattern of Indian village life is not fully reflected in our national statistics.

I do not wish to claim that our war on poverty has succeeded. I am only pointing out the upward movement from below-poverty to poverty.

When we turn our attention towards industrial workers we find that in spite of an increase in the money wages, the real wages have not touched the pre-Second World War level. But there have been surely indirect benefits to the industrial workers through health insurance, the provident fund, gratuity, holidays with leave, and other measures of social security and welfare.

The chief impediments to a successful prosecution of the war on poverty are concentration of the means of ownership, unjust distribution, rigid laws and their narrow interpretation, an unresponsive civil service, and inadequate training and political education of legislators in the art and science of socialist transformation of our economy through parliamentary procedures. These obstacles must be removed for banishing poverty from our ancient land.

Parameters of Change: Laws reflect property relations. When these relations change, the laws also change. Therefore, the most crucial step in removing poverty is to break the concentration of the means of production, whether under foreign or indigenous control, and to introduce distributive justice so that the working people, whether on land or in factories, are fully satisfied.

Private ownership of the means of production, leading to concentration, can be broken by two interconnected measures: replacement of private ownership of the means of production by public ownership, and creation of small property owners. Nationalization of banks is a classical example of

the first measure, and redistribution of surplus land, above a ceiling, to the landless, of the second.

For creating commodities and services in abundance we need a surplus—an excess over consumption. But we find that an overwhelming majority of our population which seeks employment in agriculture (the landless and the small and marginal farmers), in manufacture (artisans—such as weavers), in trade (retailers and vendors), and in transport (cartmen, *tonga*-drivers and rickshaw-pullers) live on a subsistence level. Even in their dreams they cannot have a surplus to invest.

This subsistence sector must be transformed into a surplus sector by reorganizing the economy on the basis of co-operatives and the like. This requires Herculean efforts.

Then there is the surplus sector of the economy—both in agriculture and industry—owned by not only the foreign and Indian capitalists, but also by our growing public sector. If some of the tea plantations are owned by the foreign and indigenous capitalists, a number of state farms, like the Suratgarh farm, are developing under state auspices. Traditional industries like cotton textiles and jute are owned by Indian and foreign capital, but new industries like iron and steel, machine-tools and heavy electricals, are growing under the public sector. Public sector investments are growing both absolutely and relatively.

The productivity of the private sector is low because of the owners' fundamental motive of profitability. Only by producing less can they get more profits; therefore, all types of manoeuvres are practised to achieve the highest rates of profits—concealed or otherwise. The public sector undertakings also suffer from mismanagement and labour troubles. The former can be eliminated by professionalizing management and creating educational and cultural opportunities so that the workers may effectively move up to the top; and proper industrial relations can be created by evolving a policy of trade union recognition and reaching collective agreements with the recognized unions, with a view to ensuring the all-round upward movement of wages, profits and savings—which will provide huge funds for developmental activities.

Dynamic Leadership. The implementation of a programme for eradicating poverty requires a dynamic leadership. There is a mutual interaction between the problems of the day and national leadership. There have been five fundamental slogans in our national movement so far. "Freedom is our Birthright" (Lokmanya Tilak); "Complete Independence" (Jawaharlal Nehru); "Inquilab Zindabad" (Bhagat Singh); "Quit India" (Gandhiji); and "Remove Poverty" (Indira Gandhi). After Independence nothing has moved the nation so much as the slogan of "Garibi Hatao". It is not because of her charismatic personality that Indira Gandhi is popular: she is popular because she feels the pulse of the people and says what they feel. But feeling and doing are two different things—one has to march from

the realm of perception to the field of action. This is a stupendous task. One brought up in the traditions of *Bhagirath prayatna* alone is capable of uniting the nation and leading the march from poverty to welfare. This is the task given by history to Indira Gandhi.

No task is undertaken in a vacuum. There is always a historical background. So it is with "Garibi Hatao". The resolution of Indian independence moved by Jawaharlal Nehru declared that political freedom was a means to the economic, cultural and spiritual regeneration of our people. Without a decent level of subsistence even *sadhus* cannot practise meditation. Therefore, it was right to emphasize economic independence.

Economic independence, in the modern world, is not possible without industrialization. The Second Five Year Plan, under the dynamic leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, based economic growth upon accelerated industrialization. Removal of poverty requires the growth of heavy and machine-tool industries in the public sector, and a large co-operative sector. These lay the foundations of increasing opportunities for gainful employment and improving living standards and working conditions of the masses.

Raising the levels of living has been an objective of Indian planning since its very inception. Naturally this warrants creation of assets which yield continuous investible surplus. It is not correct to say that the Second Five Year Plan laid emphasis on growth only and not on social justice. The Second Five Year Plan aimed at four interdependent objectives: (a) a sizable increase in national income so as to raise the level of living in the country; (b) rapid industrialization with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries; (c) a large expansion of employment opportunities; and (d) reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power. But in planning under loose Central control the practices may deviate from the model. Unfortunately this has been the case with our country. The correct prescription has been dispensed by a corrupt druggist.

Low income, low employment, and low investment constitute a vicious circle. The circle may be broken at any of the three points, but the crucial factor is that without investment neither the level of income nor the volume of employment can be increased. This is why under the farsighted leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru our country created the basic assets in the forms of iron and steel, power and machine-tool industries, which, in the long period, create the necessary means for increasing income and employment opportunities. As the *Approach to the Fifth Five Year Plan* concedes: "... the economy now has reached a stage where larger availability of resources makes it possible to launch a direct attack on unemployment, underemployment and poverty, and also assure adequate growth."

Poverty Identified: Twenty years of planning have resulted in an all-round

increase in economic growth measured in terms of the rise in per capita income. The proportion of the poor has surely come down, but because of the rise in population, the total number of the poor continues to be as large as it was two decades ago—constituting between two-fifths and one-half of all Indians. The *Approach to the Fifth Five Year Plan* has re-identified the poverty line in terms of a minimum level of consumption. Estimated at 1960-61 prices, a private consumption of Rs. 20 per capita per mensem is needed to assure a reasonable minimum level. At current prices this figure will have to be multiplied by a factor of about 1.86, and will come to a little over Rs. 37. Assuming an average family of five persons, it means that the minimum income that a family should have is Rs. 185 per month. In other words, one might say that the national minimum wage has been fixed at Rs. 185 per month. (This will have an impact on other sectors of the economy, which need not be discussed here.) This income will, however, be supplemented by certain items of social consumption like compulsory primary education up to the age of 14, minimum public health facilities integrated with family planning and nutrition for children, drinking water in the countryside, homesites for the landless, linking the villages by roads, rural electrification, and slum improvement—by providing sanitation, drinking water and electric lights—in the larger towns. These may be called the minimum needs of the people; and for providing them a sum of Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 3,500 crores is needed in the Fifth Five Year Plan.

Productive Employment. For employing 220 million of people with an income of Rs. 20 per month at 1960-61 prices (or at about Rs. 37 at current prices), huge investible sums are needed. We have also to identify the areas of employment. One should be clear that to employ people to dig holes and fill them up may be a very good humanitarian as well as political task, but it does not help the economy to grow as these people employed for digging holes do not produce anything and eat up what others have produced. This type of employment, in economists' jargon, is called unproductive employment. Therefore, the Planning Commission has identified primary areas of productive employment—minor irrigation, soil conservation, area development, dairying and animal husbandry, forestry, fisheries, warehousing and marketing, small-scale industries including agro-industries, roads and special programmes such as the small farmers' development agencies, marginal farmers' and agricultural labour agencies, the crash scheme for rural employment, and the drought-prone areas programme for employing the unemployed.

The completion of these anticipated programmes will generate not only employment and income for bare subsistence, but will also create assets in the economy which will be yielding funds for future investment. This programme will create increased productivity as well as welfare of the people. Specific programmes to tackle the problem of educated

unemployed are also being explored. Expansion of educational, medical and engineering services as well as geological and land surveys will provide gainful opportunities for teachers, doctors, para-medical personnel, engineers, veterinarians, agro-economists, science and arts graduates and other educated people.

A government democratically elected by the free will of a free people has to ensure that the nation is not converted into a dole house, but each individual is given a job which gives him not merely a minimum of income and employment, but also a sense of satisfaction, self-confidence, and self-respect. Therefore, for economic and sociological reasons productive employment is the only employment that fulfils the needs of the nation.

Resource Mobilization: The percentage of the total outlay earmarked for the employment-intensive and minimum-needs programmes are not basically different from that in the Fourth Plan. However, the doubling of the total outlay in the Fifth Plan makes a quantitative as well as qualitative change in the situation. This ambitious programme of employment must be fulfilled; otherwise the expectational explosion may disturb the balance of political forces, which will be detrimental to the growth of planned economic development of the country. Let us recall that the outlay of Rs. 7,200 to Rs. 7,800 crores in the Fifth Five Year Plan is not possible until and unless not merely the Government but the people and the parties also move to mobilize the resources. Here it may not be inappropriate to give an indication of the direction in which action should be taken.

(i) The rate of savings cannot be doubled unless the small earners are also given the benefit of provident fund and other contributory schemes which ensure the mobilization of small savings growing into millions and billions.

(ii) The installed capacity in the public and private sectors must be fully utilized. The obvious reforms in the public sector pertain to the area of improvement in the management. In both the public and private sectors the recognition of a union and enforcement of collective agreements, through such a union, for higher wages and higher production will go a long way in enhancing productivity and industrial goods. Helping the literate workers to improve their educational and professional competence, so that they too enter the managerial cadre, with experience of factory life, is an area which has not been at all explored in our country. Once workers are helped to join the management as effective participants, the efficiency of the factories will go up. With this end in view, in large industrial towns schools for workers' training should be opened.

(iii) A change in the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 is needed so as to enable the state to enter any area of industrial development warranted by the needs of economic growth, public health and public

morality. The public sector should not be a huge hospital of sick industries taken from the private sector.

(iv) No reform in direct taxation can be effective unless (a) the nationalized banks are used as agencies for maintaining the accounts of industrialists, traders and businessmen beyond a certain income; and (b) the auditing is nationalized for maintaining not only technically but also economically a correct account.

(v) This should be supplemented by a comprehensive plan to regulate the profit as well as the investment in the private sector, which has been so far taking advantage only of the public sector financial institutions. The licensing policy leading to concentration requires drastic change.

(vi) A curb on consumption, not of the poor but of the well-to-do, in the private sector is to be enforced not merely through fiscal measures, but also through control on production of luxury goods. Standardization of consumer goods is a first step. Enforcement of such steps will not be, at least psychologically, possible unless the public sector undertakings as well as the government give a lead.

(vii) Speculation in land and demonstration of conspicuous consumption in urban housing should immediately be stopped through nationalization of land in cities and towns with more than 50,000 population. Effective curbs should be put on the undervaluation shown in sale deeds. It should be open to a citizen to point out to appropriate authorities cases of undervaluation. In such cases either the Government should purchase the house, or if there is a tenant, he should be given the first priority to purchase it. If land belongs to the tiller, house must belong to the dweller.

(viii) A good deal of our income is being drained out in payment of foreign debts. The time has come when the Government should press for the rescheduling and payment of foreign debts in rupees, as is the case with the socialist countries. In the ultimate analysis this is a political question and the Government of India, under Indira Gandhi, is strong enough to enforce its will.

(ix) Without a correct land census, land reform will not succeed. Therefore, ways and means should be found to correct the land records and redistribute the surplus land—preferably on co-operative basis so that the beneficiaries can mobilize the resources for retaining and using the small plot of land allotted to them. Each block should maintain an agricultural machine station to serve the area covered by it. The dues may be collected in kind at the time of harvesting.

(x) With increasing agricultural prices there is absolutely no case for giving subsidy to the agriculturists in the form of (higher support) procurement prices than those prevailing in the market. The vicissitudes of agriculture should be taken care of through more effective irrigation facilities and crop insurance.

(xi) Let us not forget that it is only an increase in the industrial and agricultural production coupled with an effective policy of public distribution—through a chain of fair-price shops—that will bring down the prices.

Conclusion: We have endeavoured to show that “Remove Poverty” is not merely a political slogan. *The Approach to the Fifth Five Year Plan* has given an economic content to it. It is within our reach, primarily because of the leadership given by Indira Gandhi, to realize the goal of eradicating poverty. The skeleton of the Fifth Plan is not yet a scientific document. It has to be made so; and the required institutional changes for realizing the magnitudes of minimum needs, employment as well as the required patterns of investment and volume of resources are needed. This is the most crucial factor in our lifetime. But I am confident that the type of leadership needed for the purpose is available to the nation.

The New Economic Ideology and the Problem of Agrarian Reorganization

P.C. Joshi

“Land reform is the most crucial test which our political system must pass in order to survive.”

— Indira Gandhi, *Inaugural Address*,
Chief Ministers' Conference on Land Reform,
September 26 and 27, 1970.

“Just because it was not possible to give land to all people, it would not be right to let a few people keep all the land.”

— Indira Gandhi, *Press Conference*,
New Delhi, July 12, 1972.

I

The dramatic rise of Indira Gandhi on the national political scene has been facilitated, among other things, by her crusade against conservative economic, social and political ideologies in the last few years.

The reassertion of the basic principles of Indian nationalism and the mobilization of the widest sections of the Indian society behind these principles is undoubtedly a major achievement. In taking up this challenge Indira Gandhi has in fact taken up the challenge of carrying forward the vital heritage of the Indian national movement. This makes it obligatory for her to articulate the changing demands of Indian nationalism and to go beyond the compromises and constraints of the Gandhi and Nehru era. These compromises and constraints have all along thwarted the achievement of full economic independence, democracy and egalitarianism even after more than two decades of freedom.

In the economic sphere, Indira Gandhi has made a notable contribution by her critique of the conservative approach to the economic problem. She has vigorously pleaded for a new economic ideology based on the interdependence of growth and social justice. The new economic ideology, however, has yet to be translated into a new economic programme. There is also the formidable task of creating social sanctions and a strong political will without which the new economic ideology would remain a mere vote-catching device. What place Indira Gandhi finally occupies in Indian history will depend very much on her success in coping with this twofold challenge.

This article deals mainly with the stupendous problems of reorienting agricultural policy in conformity with the demands of the new economic ideology. Since agriculture continues to be the main basis of livelihood of more than 70 per cent of India's population, reorientation of agricultural policy is vital for giving a practical shape to the ideal of growth with social justice.

The question of reorientation of economic policy in general and

agricultural policy in particular raises three important issues:

- (i) What are the political and economic factors compelling a shift in approach to the question of economic development?
- (ii) Is the conflict of growth and social justice inherent in the very process of economic development? To what extent is it independent of and to what extent is it conditioned by the existing property relations and the power balance?
- (iii) What are the elements of a new agricultural policy consistent with changing political imperatives?

II

A new feature of the social situation in the countryside now is the sharp accentuation of discontent among the rural poor.¹ Even though discontent existed in the earlier period, it is now a factor to be reckoned with by the political elite. More importantly, it is a cause for anxiety to the ruling section of the political elite. The recent shift in emphasis from growth to social-justice-oriented growth is to a very large extent a consequence of the threat to political stability sensed by the ruling elite from the rising discontent of the rural poor.² Here is a good illustration of the functional significance of social unrest in creating the possibility of policy reorientations.

Without denying the importance of this new element in the political situation, one should not at the same time overestimate its actual impact on policy as distinguished from its impact on political ideology. Increasing discontent of the rural poor has contributed much more towards radicalism in ideology than towards radicalism in policy. Ideology is a means of political image-building and support-mobilization while policy relates to an action-programme. A radical thrust in the realm of policy is hampered by the fact that the discontent of the poor is yet too diffused and amorphous to emerge as a decisive political force and to compel a real shift in economic priorities and programmes. The ambivalence, hesitations and vacillations of the ruling elite as expressed in the manner of pursuing the land ceiling question in different States bring out basically the weakness of the rural poor as a conscious and organized political force.

There is no doubt that there has been a great tension and ferment in the Indian political system in the recent period as reflected first in the splits and divisions in the leading political parties and later in the confrontation between the radicals and the conservatives within each political party. In these divisions and splits, one group has fought the other group in the name of the poor in general and the rural poor in particular. In the last mid-term poll, and the countrywide State elections also, there was a

massive appeal to the rural poor from all sides. But have these developments brought about a decisive shift in the power balance in favour of the rural poor?

Myrdal in his latest work entitled *The Challenge of World Poverty* (1970), has argued that in most underdeveloped countries including India, "Power almost always belongs to varying factions of the upper class taken in its wider meaning as including the so-called middle class". (p. 416)

Further, he has characterized the conflict between the radicals and the conservatives in the Congress leading finally to a split as reflection of infighting within the upper class rather than of polarization of the masses against the upper classes. (p. 424)

Myrdal's analysis has tended to underplay the cleavage between the intermediate and upper classes in the Indian situation which is too real to be ignored and which has provided the main motive force of economic and political developments in the recent period. Myrdal's analysis, however, is unassailable in so far as it brings out the weaknesses of the rural poor as an organized pressure group or a political force. But the more important point unemphasized by Myrdal is that the conflict of interest between the intermediate and the upper classes is fought out at the political level in the name of the poor. In fact, the intermediate class presses into service radical slogans of socialism, etc., to mobilize the discontent of the poor in its fight against the upper class. This provides an explanation of the paradox of Indian politics — indicated but not explained by Myrdal — namely, "use of radical and often revolutionary slogans on the one hand but resort to policies which are piecemeal and gradualist in the extreme." (p. 416)

The political-economic background presented above is intended to bring out the scope and the limits of policy reorientation in agriculture. In other words, a reorientation in favour of the rural poor is hampered by the power situation as it obtains even after the dramatic developments culminating in the emergence and stabilization of a new political leadership at the national level.

The very ambiguity of the concept of growth with social justice reflects that the power situation has not yet undergone a decisive shift in favour of the poor. At best, the political process has only begun to take note of the increasing dissatisfaction of the rural poor. Thus, the concept of "growth with social justice" represents a political advance only in so far as it indicates the rejection of the idea of "growth first, social justice next" by the political process as a whole. But the concept of "growth with social justice" is not yet fully oriented to the interests of the poor in so far as it maintains an ambiguity in regard to the question of structural change and reorganization; in fact, in the hands of the conservative politicians it becomes a subtle device to bypass the question of change in the structure of property and power. It should also be pointed out that the

conservative approach towards development leans towards structural *status quo* on the ground that structural change would make social justice the enemy of growth.

In our view, however, the conflict between growth and social justice is to an important extent the product of a strategy of growth without structural change (or, to be more precise, of growth with the minimum structural change). This brings us to the second question posed at the beginning of this article.

III

Is the conflict of growth and social justice inherent in the very process of economic development? To what extent is it independent of and to what extent is it conditioned by the existing property relations and the power-balance?

These questions are not generally posed very explicitly either in social science or in politics. But one of the unexamined assumptions which implicitly underlies scientific study as well as policy-making emphasizes the inevitable conflict between growth and social justice. One seldom comes across analysis or observations exploring or emphasizing complementarity between growth and social justice.³

The view that simultaneous pursuit of growth and equity is to have neither of them or that growth and equity can be had in two distinct stages is a view which has acquired by now the power of a religious faith among the entire thinking and articulate section of the Indian society. And there is no prospect of any serious attention to the poor in a country like India without an attack on this premise and on its crude and subtle manifestations both at the political and intellectual levels. Both social science and politics based on such a premise have a built-in bias against the poor. In order to create preconditions for growth favourable to the poor the premise of conflict between growth and justice has to be abandoned for the alternative premise of complementarity between growth and social justice.

On what logical or empirical basis is this premise of conflict between growth and equity based? The logical link between the two is provided by the concept of property rights. The argument runs as follows: Equity requires interference with property rights, that is to say, the rights of the dominant propertied classes, the very classes which are the engines of growth and development. To disturb property arrangements, therefore, is to deprive society of the property rights, and this should wait till sufficient wealth has been created by the propertied classes, a part of which can be distributed among the poor. This is as it were a basic axiom of economic science.

In his *Principles of Economics* Alfred Marshall takes pains to argue that

economics is not anti-poor in its fundamental orientation but is the very opposite of it. If economics is not enthusiastic about interference with property rights, it is not because the rights of property as such have been venerated by those who have built up economic science. It is because in the past "property rights have been inseparable from solid progress" and the masters of economic science "would not assume the responsibility of advocating rapid advances on untried paths for the safety of which the only guarantees offered were the confident hopes of men whose imaginations were eager but not steadied by knowledge nor disciplined by hard thought". (*Principles of Economics*, Vol I, pp. 47-48)

How far is this generalization about propertied classes as the engines of economic progress valid for countries like India? Or even for the countries of Western Europe?

It may be remarked here in passing that not all property rights were sacred and sacrosanct in the West during the great transition from feudalism to capitalism. Feudal property rights were ruthlessly expropriated to create bourgeois property rights and the Enclosure movement was based on the expropriation on a colossal scale of peasant rights.

But the more crucial area of enquiry is: how far does the view of propertied classes as engines of growth correspond with the real situation in countries like India? What type of property is functional to growth and what type is not?

Our main argument is that the property structure in Indian agriculture is still to a considerable extent dominated by an upper class, which is quasi-feudal and quasi-capitalist. And the continuance of such a class as the dominant force involves simultaneously a colossal sacrifice of growth potential⁴ as well as enormous inequity for the masses. To disturb the property rights of such a class is simultaneously to promote growth and equity.

What is suggested here is an end to the concentration of property rights in land, specially landlord property rights, and the widest diffusion of property rights among peasant producers. These would accelerate growth *via* social modernization, or, in other words, *via* attack on parasitism and conspicuous consumption, and *via* incentives for a productive orientation among the labouring masses of society. They would also be promoting equity *via* restructuring of the power structure, that is, by putting an end to the power concentration in the landlord class and thus to the right to engage in social and economic exploitation of the rural masses.

In short, in a society where the working peasants constitute the overwhelming majority, it is not possible to harmonize growth with equity without making these working peasants rather than the big landholders the prime vehicle of agricultural transformation.

The big-landholder-based strategy of agricultural growth is a strategy accentuation conflict between growth and equity. In a separate contribution on land hunger in *Seminar* we have suggested how the big-

landholder-based agricultural transformation under the impact of new technology has by and large not benefited the small agricultural producers and the agricultural labourers. Far from making them the beneficiaries of a new prosperity, it has even brought about the erosion of the security system for the poor which was part of the old agrarian structure.

The phenomenon of growing land and credit hunger tends to confirm that growth has been achieved not only by aggravating inequality but by adversely affecting the old livelihood patterns of the rural poor. Was not this the classical pattern of economic growth, a pattern aptly summed up in the following Biblical saying: "For unto every one that hath more shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but, from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath"? (Myrdal, *Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Regions*)

In contrast, the peasant-based agricultural strategy is a strategy of harmonizing growth with equity. Equity is built into the growth process through this latter strategy, while the growth process itself receives a tremendous impetus from equity. In other words, this strategy enlarges the area of complementarity between growth and equity.

To say that growth is compatible with equity is not to say that growth can be had without sacrifice. The point is that the existence of a quasi-feudal, quasi-capitalist landed class engaged in reckless conspicuous consumption enormously whets the consumption appetite even of the lower classes. After all, the members of this class provide the model to be emulated by the lower classes. And drastic curbing of the property rights of this landed class creates the economic as well as the moral and political basis for preparing the total rural society for a massive programme of growth in which they are both partners as well as beneficiaries.

IV

This brings us to our next question. What are the basic elements of a new policy of growth with equity through reliance on peasant agriculture rather than on capitalist or collective farming for economic development?

It must be said that this is a challenging field for creativity and innovation at both the scientific and political planes. This is because the common premise of classical capitalist and socialist models of development is the incompatibility of peasant agriculture with the demands of economic development. It is our contention that in the over-populated and labour-surplus economies of the Third World, a capitalist or collectivist agriculture is bound to result in an explosive social situation by threatening the livelihood of vast numbers of small producers without creating alternative forms of employment. Peasant agriculture alone can make it possible to convert what at the first instance appears as a colossal liability,

viz., surplus labour, into an asset by making it the means of augmentation of productivity per unit of land and by extremely discriminating and economical use of another scarce factor, viz., capital.

The relevant questions then for a new growth strategy for agriculture are basically three:

- (a) How to make peasant agriculture yield the required increase in agricultural output?
- (b) How to make peasant agriculture yield the required surplus in physical as well as value terms so as to feed the non-agricultural population and to contribute to resource mobilization?
- (c) Thirdly, what kind of non-agricultural development has to be combined with peasant agriculture so as to meet the employment requirements of a labour-surplus economy?

These questions open up a vast field for research as an aid to policy. In this article a few observations are offered only on the first question.

The question of agricultural growth policy based on peasant agriculture can be further broken up into the following crucial problem areas:

- (a) A peasant-oriented, specially poor-peasant-oriented land and credit policy, and suitable changes in property laws and Centre-State co-ordination for realizing the policy aims;
- (b) Planning of multi-stage technologies beginning from lower level technologies based on increased water availability leading to reduction in crop fluctuations and multiple-cropping, to advanced level technology based on integrated use of seed varieties, water and fertilizer; planning also of land-saving rather than labour-saving mechanization;
- (c) Development of non-farm sectors of the peasant economy including animal husbandry which is ancillary to agriculture and other new avenues which are not;
- (d) Development of the infrastructure of roads and communications and electrification and of service co-operatives and administrative agencies;
- (e) A growth-oriented educational policy leading to mass adult literacy and primary education at lower levels on a time-bound basis;
- (f) Restructuring of the power system and of rural institutions in favour of the rural poor, strengthening, especially, of peasant organizations and associations of agricultural labour enhancing their bargaining power;
- (g) Development of new industries producing mass consumption goods for the vast numbers of small producers in agriculture and a mechanism of exchange of surplus agricultural produce for non-agricultural goods.

It must be stressed that the starting point of peasant-oriented growth policy for agriculture is the restructuring of land relations in favour of the working peasants. The aim of such a policy has to be the strengthening

of peasant property and drastic curbing of big landholdings which are not based mainly on family labour but mainly on labour of the peasants either as tenants or as agricultural labourers. The enforcement of this simple principle marks the decisive beginning of a vast transformation in the rural sector — a transformation which is total, embracing economic growth, social modernization, mass welfare and democratization of rural society.

In underdeveloped countries like India, social science has generally followed a conservative course. It has been hesitant to launch upon untried paths. Politics alone has the potential of greater dynamism of thought and action. It can stimulate social science also to innovate in the realm of thought and, through studies in depth, provide the theoretical and empirical basis for a peasant-oriented growth policy.

The growing awakening of the peasant has brought to the fore the question of peasant-based development. At the same time, formidable vested interests exist both at the intellectual and political levels which are thwarting the beginning of a new economic experiment. But, even though the beginning can be delayed, it cannot be indefinitely postponed.

¹ In two of our earlier articles we presented the main features of the political process in India and their influence on policy-making for the rural sector. Here we restate and develop the main argument, keeping in view the recent political developments.

(1) P. C. Joshi, "Emergence of Poor Peasants and Landless Labourers as a Political Force", *Times of India*, August 15, 1970

(11) . . . "Rural Base and Power, India 1970", *Seminar*, January 1970.

It is fruitful to begin any discussion of growth with a discussion of political assumptions and premises. This, however, is not the procedure adopted generally by economists. In fact, economists who have tried to formulate theories of economic development have neither explicitly stated their political assumptions nor tried to construct any theory of the politics of development. Myrdal's attempt to present a picture of the political dynamics is in this context a bold attempt, notwithstanding all its imperfections and deficiencies.

² The most telling confirmation of this view is provided by the well-known report on "The Causes And Nature of Current Agrarian Tensions", released by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Research and Policy Division, Government of India, New Delhi, in December 1969. To quote an extract from the concluding sections of this report.

"The picture that emerges from the somewhat rapid account of land reforms and tenurial security measures and their implementation is one of numerous tasks still remaining unfinished and unattended to. There is a long way to go before the impact made by laws and policies in this regard can be said to be significant. As of now, the land reform measures have not benefited the actual tiller in all cases. There is considerable concentration of ownership. Much of the land is cultivated in small holdings of tenants and share-croppers who lack security of tenure and who have to pay exorbitant rents. Inequalities in land holding have persisted because of the failure to implement ceiling laws. The programmes so far implemented are still more favourable to larger owner-farmer than to the small tenant-farmer. As for the sharecropper and the landless labourer, they have been, more often than not, left out in the cold. In consequence of these factors, disparities have widened, accentuating social tensions. . . .

"The Green Revolution has vastly increased agricultural production and has made land far more valuable. It has rendered agriculture even on a small scale a profitable proposition or at least capable of supporting a family. High agricultural prices and increased production combined have heightened social and political consciousness in rural areas and led to a much more insistent demand for better and increased farm wages. . . .

"It is not surprising that these conditions that prevail in the countryside have brought in their train, and have provided breeding ground for various political movements. It

will be unrealistic to seek lasting solution to socio-economic problems of this magnitude through coercive measures alone. The problem has to be tackled and solved through proper legislative measures and proper implementation of these measures . .

“The problem in other words has to be tackled on a wide front effectively and imaginatively. Failure to do so may lead to a situation where the discontented elements are compelled to organize themselves and the extreme tension building up within the complex molecule, that is, the Indian village, end in an explosion ”

³ Among Western social scientists, Myrdal's work is exceptional and unique rather than typical in this respect. Among Indian political leaders of the past generations, Gandhi and Nehru emphasized the complementarity between growth and social justice. In the present generation, Indira Gandhi has made a notable contribution by her bold attempt to uphold an integrated conception of growth and social justice. Her real challenge lies, however, in converting this new economic orientation into an operational programme and in mobilizing national political will for its implementation.

⁴ What we have in mind is dramatized by the publicity given to the stupendous waste of wealth by a member of new aristocracy in Maharashtra. In the press recently there was a report about the marriage ceremony of the son and daughter of a big agricultural entrepreneur-cum-sugar manufacturer-cum-political leader from Sholapur district which was attended by lakhs of people including top luminaries of Central and State Governments. It is said that the marriage procession was headed by 11 batches of band parties drawn from several districts and 40,000 people marched in the procession. The vast scale on which the marriage was celebrated is typical of the conspicuous consumption practised by the new rich of the rural society in almost all parts of the country. *Link*, June 6, 1971, p 23

Gandhi and Economic Development

Amlan Datta

Recently a certain amount of re-thinking on economic questions has started in this country. There is no Indian School of Economics; nor need there be one. The principles of a science, even a social science, must have a certain universality at one level. But, at the same time, our economic thought must have among its special points of reference our past experience, without necessarily excluding experiences elsewhere, and grow through a process of critical evaluation of some of our own seminal thinkers, without losing sight of development of thought in other countries. Among such seminal thinkers Gandhi is undoubtedly one of the foremost. Yet he has been almost totally neglected by our academic economists. This is a shortcoming that needs rectification; and the present moment is particularly opportune for such a task. One need not accept Gandhi totally any more than one is obliged to assent to the ideas of any other thinker, however eminent. But it is a mistake to try to bypass Gandhi.

The elements of Gandhi's economic thought, including his attitude to industrialization, are fairly simple. Industrialization creates centres of wealth and power, viz., cities, and so results in the subjugation of villages by cities. The city exploits the country, upsets the internal balance of the rural economy, robs a growing number of people of the possibility of productive employment and leads to an increasing dehumanization of men. This critique of industrialization is interwoven with certain recommendations for the reorganization of rural economy. Here are a few quotations to express these ideas in Gandhi's own words; many more could easily be produced since the same thoughts were repeated times without number.

"Industrialization on a mass scale," said Gandhi in reply to a question by Maurice Frydman, "will necessarily lead to passive or active exploitation of the villages, as the problems of competition and marketing come in. Therefore, we have to concentrate on the village being self-contained." (*Harijan*, 29 August, 1936)

"What I object to," he said on another occasion, "is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such. The craze is for what they call labour-saving machinery. Men go on 'saving labour' till thousands are without work." (*Hind Swaraj*, Preface, 1938)

And, again, in 1946, towards the end of his life: "Khadi will cease to have any value in my eyes if it does not usefully employ the millions." (Tendulkar, *Mahatma*, Vol. 7, p. 187, Delhi, 1962)

Just as Marx's theory of capitalist development was largely based on the experience of the early phase of the English industrial revolution, so Gandhi's economic ideas had for their background the Indian experience. In the fifty years from 1881 to 1931, a certain amount of industrialization along modern lines took place in India. The construction of railways was a notable event, and this stimulated the growth of a number of other industries. A modern sector of the textile industry had started developing

even earlier. But the census figures for those decades had another story to tell: the number of workers employed in manufacture, mining and construction declined from 21.1 million in 1881 to 12.9 million in 1931. Admittedly, the census figures quoted above are far from being accurate; indeed, they are almost certainly widely wrong. Yet allowing for a wide margin of error, these figures still have a message. Indian nationalists spoke of a process of “de-industrialization” at that time; and so eminent an economist as Colin Clark observed that “there was a really marked increase in the proportion engaged in agriculture between 1881 and 1911 and the proportion has been virtually stationary since that date”.

(Colin Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress*, London, 1957, p. 499)

Expansion of modern industry and transport was accompanied by disorganization in the traditional sector on a large scale. While industrialization in the West was usually accompanied by a progressive redistribution of the total labour force in favour of industry, in India the picture was confused.

Thus, Gandhi generalized from his known experience and put forward ideas which diverged sharply from the more usual line of thought in the West. Let us compare and contrast. It has been usual to stress how development spreads from the more advanced areas to the less advanced. The city, as a more advanced centre of trade and industry, has a creative role in economic history. In Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* there is a whole chapter bearing the title, “How the Commerce of the Towns Contributed to the Improvement of the Country”. In Smith’s own country, the Glasgow merchants played a notable role in developing Scottish agriculture. But the interaction between commerce and agriculture is only a part of the story. The contribution of the city, or the industrially more advanced region in a country, to economic development can be stated in wider terms. To begin with, the city offers a specially attractive market for the raw materials from the surrounding region. The opportunity to sell in the city market acts as an inducement to the farmer to produce more and so earn more. There is now a demand for manufactured articles among the villagers. Soon it becomes profitable to produce at least some of these articles in the less advanced region itself rather than obtain them from the city or the more advanced industrial district. In this way, the cost of transport can be minimized, particularly when there are possibilities of utilizing local raw materials for which the finished products have also a local market, and advantage can also be taken of the relative cheapness of labour in the lagging region. The capital and enterprise needed for setting up new industry in less developed regions often come substantially from the city. Here we have in a nutshell the conventional view of how industrialization spreads from the more advanced centres of commerce and industry to the less advanced, from the “city” to the “country”. With a slight change in the language, this

also describes the mechanism by which economic development is supposed to spread from the "metropolis" to the colony.

Some of the older economists — Marx, for instance — realized that this process of spread of industrialization, which accompanied capitalist development in the West, did not take place smoothly and painlessly. But Marx did not doubt that industrialization even under capitalist auspices, and the domination of villages by cities, marked a forward step in history. In the *Communist Manifesto*, he wrote: "The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life." (*Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953, p. 53) In an essay on "The British Rule in India," Marx wrote as follows with special reference to "the so-called village system": "Those family-communities were based on domestic industry, in that peculiar combination of hand-weaving, hand-spinning and hand-tilling agriculture which gave them self-supporting power. English interference . . . sweeping away both Hindu spinner and weaver, dissolved these small, semi-barbarian, semi-civilized communities, by blowing up their economic basis, and thus produced the greatest, and, to speak the truth, the only social revolution ever heard of in Asia." (*On Colonialism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, p. 36) "Modern industry," he wrote, again, with reference to India, "resulting from the railway system, will dissolve the hereditary divisions of labour, upon which rest the Indian castes, those decisive impediments to Indian progress and Indian power." (*op. cit.*, p. 80) Marx had no doubt that industrialization would spread, and that in spreading it would ultimately raise the level of the whole society, even though the transition might be painful. The principal "contradiction" with which he was preoccupied was that between the capitalist and the proletariat, while Gandhi was chiefly concerned with the exploitation of the country by the city.

There are certain impediments to the spread of economic development which neither Smith nor Marx had sufficiently taken into account. In England and Scotland merchants did contribute to improving agriculture. It was not exactly like that in India. "Scotland," writes John Strachey in *The End of Empire*, "contains many an estate, the land of which was improved by the returning 'Indians'. (Thus) they took part in the revolution in agricultural technique which underlay the industrial revolution." The reference here is to traders and employees of the East India Company returned from India. But what about the Indians who came to the new commercial enclaves like Calcutta and worked along with the foreign traders and became wealthy? Quite a few of them purchased land; but we find most of them in the role of absentee

landlords rather than improvers of agriculture. Here the commerce of the towns did not contribute to the improvement of agriculture in the way it did elsewhere. There is a similar contrast in industrial development. On the continent of Europe, the railways became the harbinger of the industrial revolution. It was tempting to think on that analogy in the case of India. The railway system, Marx declared in 1853, would be "truly the forerunner of modern industry". Yet "modern industry" remained confined to a narrow sector of the Indian economy; and the contrast between the city and the country continued to be sharp and overwhelming a whole century after the introduction of railways in India.

It was clear to Smith and Marx, to each in his own way, that in the confrontation between the "new" and the "old", the modern and the traditional sector, the latter was bound to be defeated. It is the implications of this defeat which need further probing. Modern industry may be powerful enough to knock out the traditional sector and yet powerless to rebuild it. A disorganized traditional sector may coexist indefinitely with the modern; and the interaction between them may make things worse for both. This is not a mere theoretical possibility. Nor is it the exceptional experience of a particular country. It is the common experience of a large number of developing countries in the mid-twentieth century. These countries have an organized modern sector. It is a growing sector. But it can provide employment to only a fraction of the new entrants to the labour force in the national economy. There is a growing pressure of population on the land, and so the number of the underemployed in the countryside increases steadily. For the same reason, there is a steady inflow of job-seekers into the city. This is more than what the city can absorb or productively employ. This is how an impoverished countryside sickens the city. Added to open unemployment there is a large amount of disguised unemployment in the tertiary sector. This is revealed in an unhealthy swelling of employment in this sector out of all proportion to the "secondary" sector. Thus, for instance, "during the fifties, services — excluding the basic services — absorbed the exorbitant proportion of 71 per cent of new employment in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay". (*Economic Bulletin of Latin America*, United Nations, October, 1965) This is the profile of a sick society.

Gandhi had a clear idea of the internal balance of a traditional rural economy with agriculture and village industry mutually supporting each other. He perceived sharply how the impact of modern industry destroyed this balance. Unlike many of his distinguished predecessors, he did not accept the nineteenth-century philosophy of progress. This made him see more clearly that the disintegration of the traditional sector might, in an economy such as he knew, create problems for which modern industry would have no obvious solution. In this respect his insight is of value not only to his own country but to the underdeveloped

countries generally. It has a certain relevance to an aspect of the economic problems of the industrially advanced countries too. But it holds particularly true of less developed economies with a "colonial" setting, where the centres of commerce and industry did not grow out of the country by a process of natural evolution but were superimposed from outside. In these cases the cultural and technological gap between the city and the country was wider than in the more mature industrial societies, and a creative interaction between the two correspondingly more difficult. Since methods of production in the cities of less developed countries today are more "labour-saving" than they had been in the more evolved industrial economies in a corresponding phase of their history, and since, moreover, growth of population is faster in these countries, what we have here is not simply "fractional" unemployment, such as classical economists allowed for, or cyclical unemployment, which was also not unknown to nineteenth-century economists, but a steadily accumulating back-log of chronic unemployment and underemployment, so well known to Indian planners today, far in excess of what the modern sector in these countries can conceivably absorb. The dissolution of community life and the cultural conflict between the city and the country create additional problems which, in combination with the continuing shortage of productive employment, put seriously in jeopardy the very viability of these societies. The Gandhian concept of the conflict between the city and the country embraces this whole complex of problems. We begin to see that it is this more than anything else that haunts the developing societies today like a spectre.

Gandhi looked at this developing crisis and decided that there was no way out of it except by a restoration of that balanced village economy and society which had been overthrown by modern industry. The solution he offered is, however, open to a number of criticisms.

To begin with, there is the question raised by Nehru in a letter he wrote to Gandhi in 1945: "It seems to me inevitable that modern means of transport as well as many other modern developments must continue and must be developed. There is no way out of it except to have them. If that is so, inevitably a measure of heavy industry exists. How far that will fit in with a purely village society! . . . The question of independence and protection from foreign aggression, both political and economic, has also to be considered in this context. I do not think it is possible for India to be really independent, unless she is a technically advanced country." (Tendulkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. 7, pp. 15-16) To be sure, Gandhi himself accepted the need for a certain range of heavy industries. "I believe," he wrote, "that some key industries are necessary. . . . Without having to enumerate key industries, I would have state ownership where a large number of people have to work together." (*Harijan*, September 1, 1946) But it is doubtful whether Gandhi thought through the problem to

the end and in sufficient detail. One step leads to another. To accept "key industries" is to accept the city. This reopens the whole question of the relation between towns and villages. Gandhi wanted the relation between the two to be one of "interdependence" rather than of "exploitation". This certainly is a correct approach; but its practical implications need to be further elaborated.

In relation to most villages the city is too far away to serve their needs. It is necessary to interpose between the two towns of intermediate size in sufficient strength and number. This is one of the things we notably lack in India. In developed countries, including Japan, there is generally one market town for every fifteen villages or fewer. In India the situation is far worse. A recent study of the Kanpur region illustrates the point. "If one follows the official census definition of a town," we are told, "the urban hierarchy of the region would consist of one central city (Kanpur), 24 towns, and 11,239 villages; which means that there would be but one town for every 468 villages. . . . The glaring weakness in this regional urban hierarchy is the utter inadequacy of the number of towns, since none of them could possibly service 468 villages, even if one were to assume a complete network of good roads, which would be completely unwarranted." (E.A.J. Johnson, *The Organization of Space in Developing Countries*, Harvard, 1970, pp. 192,194) What we need, thus, is a more moderated hierarchy of urban "central places", with centres of a lower order directly in touch with surrounding villages while they themselves lie around a larger city.

This is not simply a task of bringing into existence more towns and townships of medium size. It is a task of recasting the economic map of the country region by region. In an economy polarized between the city and the villages, the entire network of transport is so framed as to perpetuate this pattern. New central places in a backward region cannot function effectively until these are connected by roads of a certain quality with the surrounding villages. Nor is it a question of providing roads only. One of the reasons why industry cannot penetrate the more backward regions is that these regions are lacking in "basic social capital". Electricity and education are good examples of social capital with which these regions need to be equipped before they can support productive activities of an improved character.

We cannot simply go back to village industry in its earlier forms. Even small-scale industry has to operate at a higher technical level in order to survive today. Apart from new sources of power such as electricity, it needs new forms of organizational support in matters of credit and marketing. Moreover, even small industry often needs to be bunched together at central places or market towns in order to reap certain advantages of localization. Although the idea of dispersal of industry has much to commend it in so far as it expresses a reaction against

excessive centralization in the city, the element of truth in that idea may be lost unless it is stated with due qualifications. Other related ideas have to be received with the same kind of qualified approval.

Adam Smith and Karl Marx looked back on the economic history of Europe and were impressed by the role of the towns in the general improvement of society. Gandhi looked at India and stressed how the villages were exploited by the towns. For him this became the paradigm of all colonial exploitation. It is not a question of who was right and who wrong; each testified to the truth as he saw it, and it was a separate aspect of the truth. Error lies only in not recognizing the limits of one's perception. Marx spoke of a law of capitalist development. Gandhi saw in modern industrialization itself a tendency towards concentration and centralization of power in the city. We have to recognize this tendency before we can combat its excesses. It is necessary to end the contrast between overgrown cities and impoverished villages. But we cannot achieve economic and social development by the villages withdrawing into themselves. As Adam Smith knew very well, the villages cannot create from within themselves, unaided by outside influence, that spirit of enterprise and continuous improvement which are essential for breaking out of stagnation. A plan for a decentralized economy, therefore, needs to be worked out in terms of interdependent villages, regional townships and cities. This is the way to reconcile the insights of Gandhi and his classical predecessors. It should be possible in this way to move towards a society in which cities will not dominate villages, but both will take their respective places as parts of a rational whole. Productive activities will be distributed and centres of co-ordination established at different levels not with a view to the exclusive enrichment of a part, but for the harmonious development of the whole.

Finance in Socialist Economy

Gyan Chand

The role of finance in a socialist economy must necessarily be radically different from its role in an unplanned private economy. Even in unplanned economies of the capitalist countries, finance has acquired a role of far-reaching importance in the working of the economy and is used to bring about radical changes in its operations. Revenue and expenditure policies are being used even in these countries to realize the objects of social justice, that is, redistribution of income and property, reduction of economic disparities, radical alteration in economic and social motivations, bringing about realignment of social forces, introducing new equilibrium, moderating and even eliminating economic fluctuations and mitigating, if not resolving, crisis in the working of the economy.

These objects have been realized only partially in capitalist economies and more fundamental evils of society have not been and cannot be remedied merely by application of financial measures. In the socialist countries, finance is assigned a more secondary role and structural changes in social relations are brought about directly and with clear understanding of new social purposes and their effective realization by radical reorganization of the whole social apparatus. In this respect the difference between the financial system of the capitalist and the socialist countries is very significant, and in a country like India, which has made socialism its objective, but has done very little to realize it in practice, it is very essential to know the difference between the financial systems of the capitalist and socialist countries and understand its substance. We have to know that we have not even made a beginning in developing socialist financial policies and not understood them in their essentials.

Generally speaking, in the socialist countries, the income structure is determined by fixation of income differential with the intent of limiting them within a narrow range. This has happened in all socialist countries except the Soviet Union. Inequalities of income in the latter are known to be wider though their extent is not known with any degree of precision. This is true also of other socialist countries, but in most of them inequalities have not been allowed to become unduly wide. One very significant feature of the financial system of the socialist countries is that from 25 to 40 per cent of the real individual incomes takes the form of direct social services, which are provided free, that is, are not paid for from private incomes of the individuals, and these services are a factor of increasing importance in the life of the people. It is well known that provision of highly developed education and health services, maternity and children's benefits, social security, free holidays in sanatoriums, resorts and special homes for persons in need of special attention and care, provision of houses at very low rents and according to the family needs, and similar other facilities are illustration of how increasing proportion of individual incomes is being derived from the resources of the community in

all socialist countries. Obviously, the underlying principle of the allocation of resources from common funds to an increasing extent is that in essential services parity of advantages is being realized. All persons are more or less equal, and children, irrespective of the incomes of their parents, have equality of opportunity and are in a position to realize their innate capacities and go up in economic and social scale according to their real worth. Personal incomes remain of vital importance and both in socialist and non-socialist economies, the differentials in these incomes matter most; but in the socialist countries, these differentials have to be planned in terms of social content and priorities and irrationality and inequality implicit in blind operation of the economic forces in the non-socialist countries have to be reduced and, as far as possible, eliminated. These differentials have to be regulated in order to provide incentives to efficiency and their range has to be limited within selected ceiling and floor in the socialist countries. But the increasing importance of what is called "social dividend", that is, contributions by the community in real terms to add to the actual content of personal incomes, reduces the importance of the differentials and their non-egalitarian impact.

In India the contributions of the community, though not non-existent, are not of any real significance from the standpoint of the entire social structure, and since Independence they have not made material difference in the relative social position of the different income groups. As disparities in personal incomes have greatly increased, redistribution of real personal incomes has not taken place, and "social dividend", as stated above, has not affected social relativities, created new social forces or made social infrastructure a factor of any importance in the determination of the norms and the governing conditions of the economic life of the people. If progress has to be made towards the realization of socialism, contribution in the real sense from the common pool of the means of the community have to acquire decisive importance in altering the relative position of the different social classes. The latter have to become a moving power, particularly so far as the dispossessed and the oppressed sections of the community are concerned.

This is the paramount feature of socialist finance. Personal income structure has to be a factor of diminishing importance. Differentials of incomes cannot be ended and dead level of equality cannot be attained until socialism transcends itself and becomes communism, that is, needs become the most decisive factor in the distribution of income. Increasing importance of social dividend in the determination of income means progressive realization of this goal. As long as incentives of unequal income, that is, their distribution according to individual contributions to the total output of the community, is needed to optimize the total income, these differentials are indispensable.

It has, however, to be clearly understood that the problem of

measurement of personal contributions to production becomes more and more difficult, really insoluble, as one goes higher and higher in the valuation of productive tasks from the qualitative standpoint. The element of incommensurability becomes all important as its qualitative aspect becomes manifestly decisive. In any case, even in acquisitive economy, there is no rational way in which what each individual puts into the common pool can be subjected to measurement by a calculus based upon purely quantitative terms. Socialization of production in developed and developing economies itself makes it almost impossible to allocate to each producer his share of the total output. In other words, marginal productivity of each producer cannot be identified even in each firm or a group of organized producers. With the integration of the different productive units into larger wholes at different levels of performance identification of personal contribution to the total output becomes an impossible task in quantitative and divisible terms. Marginal productivity, where the whole productive system is specialized, integrated and organically inter-related, cannot be set apart and attributed to personal contribution of each individual producer. When production involves specialization and integration of a multitude of producers and productive units, production is socialized in substance even in a private-enterprise economy.

In a socialist economy, apportionment of personal contribution and remuneration according to it, particularly at a rising level of performance, becomes exceedingly difficult in a framework of socialist values in transition to the communist goal. This means, of course, that not only the income differentials have to be limited within a narrow range, but it has to be assumed that they will taper off at the highest level until a plateau is reached and complete parity of incomes is realized or rather even at the highest level incomes can be lower than at the intermediate levels at which economic incentives are needed because of the producers in social terms not having absorbed the impact of the values needed for the operation of a structure of undifferentiated incomes. In the Soviet Union, the inequality of incomes is known to be wide but in other socialist countries, including China, though the principles of socialist structure have not yet been clearly formulated and applied, disparities in incomes do not provide serious contradictions. With clearer thinking on the issues implicit in a system of income differentials, it should be possible to bring about much better reorientation of policies and principles and set up a structure of incomes suited to a developing and socialist system. In India, our whole income structure, with glaring and increasing disparities, is contrary even to elementary socialist principles, really their negation even from the standpoint of primary social justice.

The cardinal point of this argument is that income-structure in a rational and self-consistent socialist society has not only to avoid the

anomalies and inequities of an acquisitive society, but its clear object has to be diminishing inequalities with the elimination of the more questionable anomalies from the socialist standpoint. In a socialist society, taxation, that is, transfer of a portion of personal income directly or indirectly to the public exchequer for the requirements of the community, has to be a matter of secondary importance and the latter has to rely basically upon incomes created by the means of production belonging mainly to the community itself and earmarked for defraying the expenses incurred for administrative and defence requirements and largely, of course, for social services, cultural needs and provisions for the infirm, the aged and the disabled sections of the people. In the socialist countries the relative importance of taxation (as is clear from the table in the footnote) has been decreasing and the state mostly depends upon incomes received from public and co-operative undertakings. The personal incomes have to be so fixed and regulated as to meet the family budget requirements of the people, supplemented substantially and more and more, as stated above, by social dividend.

In India, after Independence, the state has relied upon excise duties and sales tax and income-tax, death duties and other direct taxes have been reduced in importance. The tax burden has mostly fallen upon the poor, and the rich have, by evasion and resort to other anti-social devices, avoided payment of their due share of tax contribution. This is admittedly against the tenets of socialist financial policy. The right approach to the latter is that the income structure should be determined on an autonomous basis and the validity of its differentials should not be impaired by the intrusion of factors relating to the revenue requirements of the country. In a socialist country, taxation should, as stated above, be progressively reduced in importance as a source of revenue and the state should rely mainly upon direct receipts from public undertakings, etc., for meeting its revenue needs. In India, as is well known, the state has, in spite of very heavy investment in public enterprises, mostly relied upon taxation, borrowing foreign aid and inflationary sources for

The budgetary receipts in percentage in the socialist countries from economic undertakings and taxation in 1950 and 1959 were .

Country	Receipts from economic undertakings		Taxation Revenue	
	1950	1959	1950	1959
USSR	83.7	90	16.3	10
Poland	—	72.2	—	7.2
Czechoslovakia	57	85	16	11.7
Rumania	—	91.6	—	8.4
Hungary	—	88.4	—	10.6
Bulgaria	66.7	90.3	13.9	9.6

Source: "Economic Development of Socialist Countries," p. 14, Supplement to *World Marxist Review*, January 1960.

meeting its recurrent and development finance. This has, it is also well known, made the distribution of income and political power even more inequitable and created very serious social stress and very disturbing inflationary pressures.

The rising spiral of prices is due to the whole economy being in a distorted state owing to badly conceived and wrongly implemented social policies. The Government, in spite of having truly marvellous achievements to its credit under Indira Gandhi's leadership, has not faced the worsening inflationary situation with the right understanding and real social daring which are needed for curbing and quelling inflation. The gravity of the inflationary situation is recognized, but it is not realized how disruptive it is from the standpoint of social stability and social justice. Inflationary finance is in the nature of things an unjust process and upsets social equilibrium. Inflation is a global phenomenon and all capitalist countries are suffering from it. USA, UK, Japan and other leading countries are experiencing heavy inflationary pressures and their trade, monetary and internal economic relations have been very seriously impaired by the inflationary situation. In the socialist countries, however, with the exception of Yugoslavia, which has its own very special problems and circumstances, inflation has been successfully checked since the end of World War II, and this is largely due to their planning processes, technique and objectives. Price stability has, largely speaking, been successfully achieved and though their revolutionary processes have created difficult situations for them, inflation, as stated above, has not undermined their strength, stability and realization of socialist objectives.

India, owing to the refugee exodus, the India-Pakistan war and the obligations which she has incurred and discharged after the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent country, has had to face and successfully rise equal to this very arduous situation. The financial implications of these events have been very serious and India has done well even in this sphere. It has, however, to be realized that inflation in India, though aggravated by the 1971 developments, had assumed very serious dimensions by the end of 1970 and, relatively speaking, the developments in 1971-72 had not added materially to the gravity of the inflationary crisis. In spite of our having embarked on planning since 1951, inflation has gone on acquiring more menacing proportions. Now we have come to the point of not even admitting that it is a very real menace and our inability to curb it is going to have very serious consequences. The gravity of the situation is a very conclusive evidence of the complete failure of planning in this country and all the thinking that has been and is being done in connection with the Fourth and the Fifth Plans points to the lack of understanding of the essential features of the inflationary situation and our burying our heads in sands in face of mounting inflationary peril.

It has, however, to be understood that in a planned socialist economy, inflation can have and should have no place. Resort to inflationary finance is really an act of betrayal of the interest of the masses. We have to be aware of this fact, and that we are not, very clearly shows that we have turned our back on the reality of the situation. This is not going to avert the inflationary crisis which stares so very ominously in our faces. We have to wake up to this fact and know how very dangerous the situation is.

An Appraisal of Mixed Economy

A. Jamal Khwaja

A free society is faced with the choice of an economic system most likely to promote the good life which includes but is not reducible to mere economic prosperity. This choice is the crucial problem of the age — a problem that has led to the great socio-economic divide in contemporary human society. Each side possessing unprecedented military and industrial might is trying to draw other societies into its own sphere of influence. A great battle of ideas is on, and the future of mankind is in the melting pot.

Capitalist economy certainly helps to develop some basic personality qualities like courage, imagination, resourcefulness, initiative, perseverance, etc. But private enterprise also brings about a host of moral and social evils in its train, like deceit (masked under the polite label “tact”), aggressive selfishness, exploitation of the weak, etc. Similarly, we should not be surprised if socialism, while solving some basic problems, might raise some others. Indeed this crucial issue admits of no simple and conclusive *a priori* answer, since it involves both value and scientific judgments.

The danger of an *a priori* approach in socio-ethical matters is well illustrated by the controversy over capital punishment and other penological issues. *A priori* reasoning or reflection tends to the view that the abolition of capital punishment must lead to increase in murders through the removal of the fear of the death penalty. But the actual experience of societies that have abolished the death penalty shows that the incidence of murder has gone down. Of course, this does not mean that the abolition of capital punishment is the only or even the main cause of this decline, since societies that took the bold decision to abolish the death penalty also took some other measures for social justice, and it may well be that the murders would have declined, even if the death penalty had not been abolished. But, again, this is an empirical question which cannot be decided because of the lack of sufficient data, since countries retaining the death penalty have not introduced the social reforms in question.

Another complication worth pointing out is that economic and ethical factors often coalesce. For example, monopoly has the economic consequence of eliminating competition and the concurrent ethical consequence of tempting the producer to squeeze the consumer as much as the latter's pocket would allow. Again, the moral implications of mass unemployment are quite obvious. Similarly, ethical factors lead to economic consequences. For example, the elimination of the profit motive and of the possibility of amassing millions and transmitting them to one's heirs might well slow down the rate of growth of the total output. Thus, a particular economic system may be economically desirable but ethically undesirable. In such a case we would have to apply the concept of optimization as it is used in technology, in order to make

a definite choice in a concrete human situation. Here I would like to limit myself to a brief evaluation of mixed economy conceived as a dialectical synthesis or golden mean between the poles of capitalism and socialism.

Some socialist thinkers advocate a mixed economy in preference to both the capitalist and the socialist systems. They argue that the mixed economy combines the advantages of others. For example, a purely socialist economy is likely to lead to the concentration of political and economic power in the same hands. This makes socialism virtually state capitalism and perpetuates many evils found in a capitalist society. The only difference lies in the change of exploiters, without the common man getting full returns for his labours. On the other hand, a purely capitalist economy leads to different social evils like over-competition which gradually leads to monopoly, wide disparities in incomes, unearned inherited wealth, the exploitation of the weaker section of the population, profiteering, etc.

In a mixed economy the nationalization of the key strategic industries gives the state full control over the commanding heights of the economy, leaving the private sector full scope and freedom to produce goods in the remaining industries. From this vantage point the government can control the direction and quantum of economic growth in public interest. Thus, the effective control over the economic life of the community passes to the state from the capitalists. The general will of the people can then be made to prevail as against the interests or aspirations of a small section of the people. The state becomes strong enough to ensure social justice without becoming almost omnipotent. The coexistence of the private and the public sectors in the total economy creates a proper balance between the pulls of centralization and decentralization and the resultant checks and balances prevent the misuse of absolute power by any single individual or group. It is held that mixed economy, as the golden mean, is the synthesis of the two extremes of capitalism and socialism, and that this pragmatic socialism is more scientific than the text-book socialism of either Marx or other socialist purists who swear by complete nationalization without considering the actual state of the economy.

There is a measure of truth in the above line of thought. But it appears that the claims of the advocates of the mixed economy are illusory. Let us see why this is so.

The chief defect in the capitalist system is that it is not conducive to morality, that is, a society in which co-operation predominates over competition and in which there are minimum social tensions and temptations to wrong doing. The chief defect in the socialist system is that it inhibits the quick interplay of the state. This regulative intervention is essential for removing the social evils of unregulated economic processes.

But from the purely economic angle, inhibiting the interplay of market forces impedes and slows down the natural growth of the economy by

introducing non-economic determinants, which may be ethically desirable but economically harmful. For example, if small units of production fail to compete with giant factories, then from the purely economic point of view the small units have no justification to function. If the state comes forward to give a subsidy to the small producer, it will have to impose restrictions on the manufacturing or marketing of the commodity in question. This control will be exercised through quotas, permits, price controls, credit policies and other fiscal measures. Thus, the relatively pure economic process would become complicated, requiring many additional decisions at different levels for its completion. The increase in the points of decision-making inevitably increases the possibilities of delay, inefficiency, errors of judgment, corruption, etc. To put the matter in a nutshell, the capitalist system has built-in tendencies towards social or moral evils, and the socialist system towards the economic or managerial.

It appears that mixed economy fails to make any significant reduction in the social-moral evils, while it perpetuates or rather aggravates managerial evils. This happens because mixed economy does not involve the radical transformation of a primarily competitive society into a primarily co-operative one. Thus all the built-in tendencies towards aggressive and ruthless competition and an egocentric approach to life continue to function as before. One producer is pitted against the other, the wholesaler against the retailer, and the retailer against the buyer. Similarly, the interests of the small producer clash with those of the big producer, while the interests of both collide against those of the intermediate ones. Again, since in a mixed economy the state itself becomes a producer, a new conflict arises between the state as producer and other producers. For example, both the private and the public sectors may need foreign exchange or some raw material in short supply. Now these situations inevitably compel the producer to resort to fair or foul means in order to keep himself alive in the business market. On the one hand, the restrictions imposed by the government on the free market economy hamper efficiency and productivity of the private producer, while, on the other, the public ever keeps up its pressure on government to force the private producer to keep prices on the lower side, and failing this to nationalize the industry. A new tension is generated between the vested interest of the private manufacturer and the objective requirements of public welfare. This situation tempts the private sector to resort to all sorts of sharp business practices including the subtle but ethically very questionable techniques of influencing the decision-makers in the governmental machinery. Thus, mixed economy, while alive to all the situational temptations of the capitalist economy, creates its own peculiar ones, apart from the purely economic consequence of lowering productivity and raising costs.

Some observers hold that private small-scale enterprises bring out the

best in human nature — enterprise, patience, self-confidence, etc. — and also help foster the sturdy and independent judgment which is the basis of the democratic personality and way of life. It is held that socialism destroys the psychological roots of democracy through making the individual a cog in the machine of the state. But these observers forget that even in non-socialist societies the proportion of small-scale production to the total national output is progressively on the decline due to technical or economic factors. Again, the existence of private small-scale units in a primarily competitive society perpetuates all the moral evils mentioned above. Thus, even though mixed economy may lead to some positive or desirable character traits in the entrepreneurs, the total cost of maintaining these units becomes definitely too high. Thus, neither the economic nor the moral ills of society are solved in any significant degree, though mixed economy does to some extent reduce the open economic and hidden political power of big business in the traditional democratic set-up. The implication is that mixed economy is not what it claims to be, that is, a higher and more balanced pattern of socialism, but something that defeats the high ethical purpose behind socialism.

It is irrelevant and misleading to hold that mixed economy would work well if the people who run the system were themselves good. For that matter even the capitalist system would work well if it were managed by able and honest executives who avoided all underhand business practices under the pressure of competition. In such a case many serious objections against capitalism would *ipso facto* be removed. Similarly, many defects of the socialist system would also disappear if the state executives were decent and highly scrupulous people. The real problem is whether the system as such is good or bad from some definite standard. The question of the quality of human material should not be introduced while comparing the two systems as such. If the system is bad to begin with, it will become still worse if the people concerned are bad, while its evils will be partly mitigated if they are good. Similarly, even though the system be a good one *qua* system, its actual results would depend upon the quality of the human material. We should thus examine the built-in functional features of the system rather than bank upon the quality of the human material to protect us from the bad effects of a bad system.

Socio-Cultural Background and Progress of Changing Societies

Zivan Tanić

Contemporary sociological studies do not pay sufficient attention to the non-material factors in the development of changing societies. Scientists in the most recent times have oriented themselves to the researches of the future: they are more interested in the progress of industrial and post-industrial societies, and the dangers of hypertrophy of the giant technical, military and economic complexes, than in the problems of global development.

Social sciences in Europe and North America lose universality, and their analysis and argumentation have mainly a regional character. This results in a flood of numerous micro- and mezzo theories and, at the same time, in a lack of new universal theories of global social development. A crisis of theoretical thought is evident: new general theories have not been formulated and the old ones have not been revised and revalued. Misunderstandings among the theoreticians of social sciences are, therefore, more and more frequent. One of the reasons is their confusion because of a great number of conceptions of political development, and another reason is that the scientists themselves are greatly infected by the ideological indoctrinations and political theories originating in countries or continents to which they themselves belong.

If it is imagined that industrialization is a universal phenomenon and an unavoidable direction in the evolution of productive forces, then it must be accepted that traditional economics will also follow the same path of transformation. However, a very important theoretical question arises today: would the changing societies repeat all those ways and forms of transformation which the European and North American nations had. There are many arguments in favour of accepting the hypothesis that industrial processes and restructuring of society in the underdeveloped regions will develop in particular directions and give results different from those which had been manifested in the classical industrial nations. In our opinion it is to be expected that radical differences will emerge in those nations which had a high degree of congenital and original civilization in the past. First of all, we think here of the ancient civilizations which had sprouted in the Mediterranean, Middle East, South Asia (India, Burma, Indochina, Ceylon and others) and the Far East (China, Japan). Their cultures were the beginnings of development of cultures in other regions in different times of history, and enter the fund of the universal development of human civilization.

Since these cultures were original, autonomous and complex, they did not disappear with the destruction of the political and economic organization of the societies in which they had been born. Later, too, they diffused their acquirement in other nations and because they were strong, they were integrated into the accumulated wealth of contemporary civilization. But these cultures have kept, up to now, many of their original forms in the nations which initiated and created them, so

that we can still talk about the relative conditioning differences between the European and Asian civilization, even in the limits of current trends of industrial development. It is quite evident that in these nations the influence of their old cultures persists even today. The original ethical, ideological, philosophical and religious values and technical and scientific accomplishments have been revived and amalgamated with those values and cultural and technical innovations which have spread from the industrial societies. Therefore, it should be understood that, in the regions mentioned earlier, cultural inheritance and tradition have an active role in further transformation of society that differs from the nations whose cultural inheritance remained passive and makes only a folklore property, being of no great significance in tracing further models of development (although in this case, too, cultural inheritance is an important variable in sociological analysis as, for instance, in the countries of Central and South Africa, South America and others). Activating cultural inheritance and national traditions, culminating in political independence, had the function of preserving the national identity and strengthening resistance to the influence of the foreign occupier, so that the historical evocations, cultural romanticism and traditionalism were not only the subject of literary works, but also constituent elements of national attitude, sentiment and national philosophy. These are the reasons for cultural acquisitions, ideologies, religions and philosophies for exercising the power of material factors in further development of these nations. These together are a strong objective factor and its role in development is equal to, or sometimes greater than, the material objective factors.

This factor makes transformation in societies with old civilizations more complex than in classical industrial nations, or in newly constituted nations. Assertions that underdeveloped countries are at present in a dilemma of choice between traditionalism and industrialism are of an artificial character. Traditionalism as a conception and formula of development has not disappeared from the conscience of conservative classes, but on a wider national plane it has a limited influence as ideology. The working class, intelligentsia and other progressive social layers are conscious that it is not possible to make further progress on the basis of reviving the old institutions and ideologies, traditional production and primitive social organization. Development formulas are not contained in a combination or amalgamation of the traditional and modern. Artificial joining of the traditional and modern, considering the example of some countries, has given very limited and temporary results, which later led to a confusion in development. This is only one variant in modernization of traditionalistic ideology.

Another extreme approach in dealing with the development of underdeveloped countries arises from the claim that industrialization of

countries with ancient civilization must perform a total destruction of national tradition and neutralize completely the influences of cultural inheritance so as to make way for faster transplantation of material and cultural achievements from industrialized societies. The claim is put forward that underdeveloped countries have before them the rich experience of industrialized countries which they can easily fit into their development process as a final model and thus minimize all risks and dilemmas. The ideologues of industrialism ignore the cultural accumulation of nations and expect them to forfeit the cultural continuity of their own development by imitating others

Generally speaking, the treatment of relations between cultural inheritance and tradition on the one side, and cultural, organizational and economic values of contemporary technological civilization, on the other, is different for scientists in the developed countries from those in underdeveloped countries. They see and estimate the significance and role of these factors quite differently. The first group is inclined to treat the cultural past as a folklore property of a nation which represents a great obstacle to contemporary technological and cultural changes since industrialization formulates totally new values and aims, the characteristics of which are uniformism, rationalism and utilitarianism. However, scientists from underdeveloped countries support different orientations. Some show pronounced emotional preference for the values of traditional culture, trying to find such values and institutions in the cultural inheritance which could become the beginnings of further development. Such gravitations have been specially reflected in the field of social organization, ethics, human relations, behaviour standards, national philosophy, economics and even in some sciences. The other group of scientists attempt a critical revaluation of entire national cultural inheritance so as to extract those values and creations which could be successfully incorporated into industrial culture and development as their stimulants. However, the most numerous is the third group of scientists who wish to explain the phenomena in their countries on the basis of the development formula in industrial countries.

The ideologies of traditionalism, industrialism as well as other development ideologies have each their own champion in changing societies. Their conflicts reflect the antagonism of concepts in regard to the directions of economic, cultural and political changes, as well as the transformation of essential institutions in society. That makes development dynamics very complex and conflicting and development results unpredictable. The perturbations that are frequently observed in the political, ruling parties in many nations result from changes of emphasis in programming the basic development policies. They are not the classical conflicts between conservative and progressive political parties. In the progressive movements themselves, trends arise which have different

development orientations. Conservative forces draw recruits from both uneducated and educated strata. For the former, traditionalism represents an emotional link with historical evocation and epic recognition. It is an obligation to prejudice, folklore and belief in national and religious myths. For the other, the educated ones, traditionalism is an instrument and represents rationalization of the class interests and a conscious manipulation of uneducated people on the basis of affection for sentiments and irrational comprehensions. The link of the poor with historical irrationalism weakens with advance in their education, economic status, political participation and social promotion. That is obvious. On the other side, the influence of the ruling traditional classes cannot be limited by neutralizing their political power, but only by eliminating the traditional socio-class structure and institutions out of which their economic and social power emerges.

Many politicians and intellectuals of progressive orientation are impressed by the rate of growth of industrialized countries and they are willing to transmit to their countries the economic, technological and institutional models so as to reach quick and radical changes in the material, mental and organizational spheres of social life. Experience up to now has shown that imitation of the Western scheme and model of industrial development has given small results in underdeveloped countries even when they have totalitarian regimes. The reasons are to be found in the poor technological and material resources, on the one side, and in the character of the cultural anthropology of the nations themselves, on the other. Traditionalism, old institutions, religion, philosophy, modes of economic behaviour and ideologies of a nation appear as factors in its economic growth. These factors were relevant also in development of the Western societies, but scientific literature has not succeeded in recommending the time when their influence was strongly manifested, so that one gets the impression that they had no impact at all. Therefore, for the theoreticians of industrial society, the influence of cultural inheritance and national tradition is not one of explorable visibility.

It is important for social theory to ask whether nations which embarked upon industrialization later will follow uniform models of development or, more exactly, whether their industrialization will exhibit uniform characteristics. One theory is that national particularities will be in evidence only up to that stage of development when industrialization will completely destroy traditional forms of economics and traditional institutions. And this is to be expected in the phase of full industrialization so that the national colour will disappear in the phase of post-industrial societies, or in the so-called tertiary civilization. This hypothesis can have a limited but not universal application. Introduction of progressive technology, rational work procedures, efficient organization,

mass production, etc., are a natural phenomenon for each modern nation since industrialization is an unavoidable stage in its evolution. But the method, character and effects of industrialization have to retain features of the national colour, which is continuously derived from both historical inheritance and constitution of fundamental socio-production relations in society.

It would be of special interest to study and anticipate further economic and social transformations of nations with a high level of civilization in the past. The motives are very clear. First, they possess a developed system of philosophical and scientific thinking, institutionalized tradition and religion, ramified forms of social life and social organization, traditional scientific disciplines and techniques, high experience in production, etc. Secondly, although there is obvious potentiality in these countries, their present level of education, technology, economics, science, production and organization is still very low. From the point of view of the industrialized societies they are practically in the same position as the newly emerging nations. Induction of new technology and economic organization, therefore, encounters big barriers. Technical and economic aid to these countries, although undertaken with the participation of known experts, does not give that efficiency and those results which the same investments would have given in developed countries.

This scepticism is the result of not understanding the specific conditions in countries with old civilizations. Western experts, politicians and industrialists have their own formulas for productivity of invested capital and technology. These formulas imply a high rationality of natural and human resources and a high subordination of the human factor and humanitarian values to the techno-bureaucratic organization and the authoritative political parties and institutions. Scepticism has specially grown when it became clear that the imitation of western civilization cannot be of long duration and total because the cultural past has been many-sided and become part of national and individual identity.

Specificities of industrialization in underdeveloped countries should be understood as a real and more durable phenomenon. The progress of these societies could be secure only if they attempted to preserve only those requisites of cultural inheritance which would not stop the industrial transformation of society in its technomaterial, cultural, class-social and humanistic-value spheres. Such a combination of positive and universal values of the human past and future can effectively negate the present technical robotism, institutional conformism and inhuman characteristics of industrialization.

There are further arguments which indicate that industrialization of nations with old cultures will give the industrial prototype some new traits which have not been recorded in the domain of European and North American industrialization.

Firstly, most of the underdeveloped countries of our age enter industrialization by activating the large majority of their population. The voluntary mass participation in industrial change is accompanied by a high degree of enthusiasm since the economic progress of the nation is accepted as a conscious aim for which they have militantly opted because progress serves both individual interests and social gravitations. How widespread the mass participation is depends on the nature of the political system, that is, on the extent of provision made for democratic formulation of the aims of development and for demonstrating the equality of social groups. Therefore, in these countries we find the initial or more developed forms of democracy with socialistic orientation. In this way they do not repeat the course of evolution of western countries and avoid the use of rigid and inhuman methods by which capitalism accomplished industrialization.

Secondly, activating the masses in building the country is not possible if the social aims are not a built-in part of the general concept of development. They are articulated as social welfare and equality, minimization of economic disparities inherited from the past, security of work, employment, education, medical care of the entire population, etc. All this implies a predisposition towards a socialistic ideology which rightly becomes relevant and attractive to underdeveloped countries. In primary communities, traditional forms of social and economic equality and individual security are preserved because colonial capitalism has not caused a radical stratification at that level. Also, liberation from colonial rule revived the spirit of equality which was incorporated in the anticolonial and national movements. Further more, nations with ancient civilizations can understand socialistic premises more easily than the other underdeveloped countries, since their cultural inheritance enables them to base the planning of their future more on the rational postulates of social philosophy and less on emotional attitudes and irrational imagination.

Thirdly, it is not possible any more to conceive of the development of these countries in terms of the norms and values which regulate the courses of capitalism and condone exploitation, inhumanity and underestimation of human aspirations and needs. Humanization of economic and social progress is not only a condition for the further progress of these countries, but also their contribution to the evolution of industrialization, opening more paths to industrial progress. Technicians, industrialists and bureaucrats are not able to understand this new feature because they do not conceive it as an inevitable solution of the further development of the underdeveloped countries. Bringing new values into the industrial movement, these nations revive those values from their cultural inheritance which deny the existing underestimation of human needs and social relations.

Fourthly, developing countries do not copy parliamentary democracy of the West completely. It is only partially accepted but modified as well.

Modification carries conservative and democratic traits which derive from own tradition. Democratic modification is specially manifested on the micro level of governmental authority, since most of these countries possess a democratic inheritance of long duration in the forms of local self-management. Now a plurality of political systems emerges: contemporary schemes of instituted parliamentarism are reflected in the supreme government; forms of self-management and collective democracy are retained on the local level, and industrial democracy is inducted into the economic system.

Fifthly, industrial production is mixed with traditional modes of production. Although the traditional economy is disrupted, it does not mean that it is necessary to eliminate all its activities. On the contrary, many of them are revived and integrated successfully with industrial economy, in that way becoming a complementary part of mass production. This is the case of trade and cottage industry. Craft articles are widely exported to industrial countries.

Our thesis is that in these countries the economic transformation will go the way of a successful combination of technically progressive production with selected forms of traditional production. There are four obvious reasons for this claim: (a) there is not enough capital for a faster pace of industrialization and for a high technology; (b) many traditional and labour intensive industries enable a higher index of employment; (c) the psychology of consumption in industrialized countries oscillates very often, manifesting a high degree of saturation with mass consumption, so that there are great chances for importing the articles of traditional industries; (d) industrialized countries try to get rid of labour-intensive industries (for example, textiles and food industry) and strive to transfer their investments and capacities to the underdeveloped countries.

Let us now try to summarize our discussion of problems. Industrial transformation of traditional economy is not able to show its full success if the cultural inheritance of a nation is ignored. At the same time, success cannot be insured if that inheritance is tried to be presented as a fundamental determinant and limit of industrial transformation. Both extremes are absurd. Progress will give full results if a critical revalidation of the inheritances of old civilizations is accomplished. It means that all those values (social, scientific, philosophical, ethical, technological) which will stimulate the material and spiritual development of society are transplanted from the treasury of the cultural past to the industrial systems. Ancient cultures contain many humanistic, ethical and democratic values of universal character which are able to neutralize to a great extent the technocracy and instrumentalism of the industrial civilization.

Theoretically, countries with ancient civilizations have enough favourable factors for a faster and more diversified dynamics of development. However, an analysis of their present state of co-operation with developed countries and of the dominating tendencies in international trade and

export of capital would lead to pessimistic conclusions. Here we emphasize only some of them. First, it is considered that the economies of underdeveloped countries should be functionally subordinate to the economies of industrialized countries. This concept of international division of labour amounts to neocolonialism. It implies that underdeveloped countries should be content with the exploitation of natural resources like production of raw materials and semifinished articles, and accept those industries discarded by the developed countries. Secondly, since they have a high rate of population growth, a high unemployment rate, and cheap labour force, underdeveloped countries should accept low technology and extensive production. Thirdly, it would mean that underdeveloped countries do not have to build many modern productional sections, since the Western countries have giant technical capacities capable of satisfying their mass consumption needs. Fourthly, their low level of education and industrial culture reduces the profit from investments in high technology since the human factor in production demands a high cost price. Fifthly, the underdeveloped nations should, first of all, orient themselves to raising the educational and medical level of the population and, only later, to attempt complete national economic building. Such concepts imply economic dependence leading to political dependence. Today neocolonialism is well hidden in various forms of economic, technical and cultural help given to underdeveloped nations.

Some Goals for Indian Science

M. S. Swaminathan

The goals for science in any nation can be no other than the needs of its people. This is probably the basis for the old adage "Necessity is the mother of invention". Our needs have been summed up by Indira Gandhi with precision and feeling in the two words "Eradicate Poverty".

The concept that science and technology alone can help to convert natural assets into wealth meaningful to man is widely held, because this is the pathway to prosperity adopted by the developed nations. In most of the developed nations, the industrial and agricultural revolutions preceded the growth of ideas of social justice in distribution. In fact, the early stage of the Industrial Revolution in the West resulted in tremendous exploitation and human suffering which directly led to the birth of socialism. We, on the other hand, have adopted democracy as the form of government, co-operation as the mechanism of collective endeavour, and equitable distribution of wealth as an integral part of economic growth. What kind of science should we grow to help in achieving the eradication of poverty through a process of economic advance which is not incompatible with the spread of social justice? Since I am an agricultural scientist, I shall confine my remarks only to this area of our economy.

"India in 1965 had good rainfall and harvested 12 million tonnes of wheat. That was India's all-time record up to that date. This summer, in July 1972, India is still threshing and measuring the wheat harvest, which is estimated to be 26 million tonnes. In other words, India has doubled its production in seven years with little change in land area. I have not heard of any other country or region, anywhere or any time, that has managed to double the production of so large a food crop in so short a time. The introduction of hybrid corn in the United States produced no such record." These remarks were made by Dr. Haldore Hanson, Director-General of the International Maize and Wheat Research Centre, Mexico, at a gathering of world agricultural experts at the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Washington in August 1972. The reason for this national achievement was attributed by Indira Gandhi, with her characteristic clarity and brevity of expression, to co-operative action by farmer, scientist and God (as reflected in normal seasonal conditions). While dedicating the Nuclear Research Laboratory at the Indian Agricultural Research Institute to the service of the Indian farmer, she expressed the hope that through increasing the scientific component of farming, we might be able to delink to a considerable extent our agricultural destiny from the behaviour of the monsoon.

We see two major kinds of agriculture in the world today. In countries like the United States, Canada and Australia, larger and larger farms are being managed by fewer and fewer people. In our agriculture, in contrast, more and more people will have to find productive employment on smaller and smaller farms. In highly mechanized farming systems, the cost of production is low and productivity per unit area high. The gap

between the two kinds of agriculture is both great and growing, as disparities in the income and productivity of labour reveal. In 1960, the agricultural population of developed nations comprised about 115 million people, whose total output amounted to 78 billion dollars or about 680 dollars per head. The per capita product of the agricultural population in the less developed countries in that year was only 52 dollars, a disparity of more than 13 to 1. It has been predicted that if the current development trends continue, the disparity is likely to be more than 40 to 1 by the end of this century.

The gap in productivity is, in fact, much greater than these figures in average dollar values of output indicate. In Asia and Africa, 2.5 to 10 work-days are required on an average to produce one quintal of grain. In west of France, 0.4 of a work-day is needed for producing this quantity of grain, while in the American Midwest, about six to ten minutes are needed. Even in mid-1950s, the gap in the productivity of agricultural labour was of the order of 1 to 800. No wonder then that we hear of butter being fed to pigs in the European Common Market countries and Japan storing large quantities of surplus rice at the bottom of Lake Biwa. In a developing country like the Philippines, on the other hand, self-sufficiency in rice production was proclaimed with great glee in 1970, but in 1971, the Philippines had to import 340,000 tonnes of rice from Japan, Burma, Taiwan and Thailand. Some experts have estimated that in 1972, the Philippines may have to import as much as a million tonnes of rice. Such violent undulations in production are characteristic of a farming system where the impact of science is superficial.

The lessons are clear. We must develop a labour-intensive technology which is relevant to our own socio-economic and agro-ecological conditions. We must achieve greater stability of production both by conserving every drop of rainfall and by tapping our ground-water resources for crop growth. We must maximize the income a farmer gets per litre of water and per unit of time. We must improve the quality of food particularly of pre-school children and pregnant and lactating mothers, if we are to avoid the widespread incidence of under-development of the full genetic potential for intellectual expression. Malnutrition and undernutrition can be banished only by increasing the purchasing power of the poor and through education. With regard to education, we should keep in view the fact that in terms of absolute numbers the number of illiterates is growing in the country. Hence, in addition to various forms of literacy drives, a massive "techniracy" (technical literacy) movement should be launched to provide technical skills to illiterate peasantry.

How can our scientists help to evolve technologies which can lead us to these goals?

In my view, two important principles should be exploited. First, instead of being all the time discouraged by unfavourable factors, we must

capitalize on the favourable features of our natural and human endowments. An advertisement in a Swedish journal, while pleading that human excreta should not be flushed, states as follows: "One person uses and pollutes 7000 gallons per year of clean water to flush his toilet. What a waste of good water! The same amount of biological waste could be transformed into seven gallons of odour-free humus." In our country, the use of flush toilets is very limited, so we may not be faced with a water pollution problem of such magnitude. Yet most of the organic waste is not only allowed to go unused for productive processes but to remain a source of contamination and infection. Have our research institutions given much thought to developing organic waste recycling systems, although Mahatma Gandhi pleaded for such recycling over 40 years ago? Though endowed with abundant sunlight during most part of the year, what use have we made of solar energy except in limited fields such as solar evaporation for salt production and direct solar drying for processing crops? We have nearly 30 million hectares of land with assured irrigation facilities. In multiple cropping trials, about 26 tonnes of grains have been produced in a hectare in a year at the International Rice Research Institute, the Philippines, and about 15 tonnes at I.A.R.I., New Delhi. What use have we made of these possibilities? Would we have been so panicky at the delay of the monsoon by a few weeks, if only we knew how to use science to produce even five tonnes of food per hectare per year in our irrigated areas?

Another of our great biological assets is our large population—particularly youth. Indira Gandhi has often pointed out that the two genuine majorities in the country are the youth and the poor. What have we done to capitalize on this asset? In fact, all references to youth today sound as though they are a burden on the country and that if they did not exist, we would have no need to strive to create opportunities for remunerative and productive employment! What a tremendous increase in the output of crops, farm animals and fish we can bring about, if the energies of youth are canalized for pest control, water management, genetic upgrading of cattle and composite farming of fish.

The second principle we should capitalize upon is the phenomenon of synergy or the whole being something more than the sum of the parts. Buckminster Fuller, who has used this secret of nature so well in his engineering creations, has often called upon scientists to learn from nature and work for the release of synergistic interactions. This is particularly important in a poor country with scarce resources. The High-Yielding Varieties Programme in wheat, rice, *jowar*, *bajra* and maize was the first serious attempt to harness synergistic interactions in enhancing yield. It succeeded in wheat but did not do so in other crops, since no attempt was made to exploit the package in a manner that multiplier effects among components of the package could be generated. This is primarily due to

the absence of a match between social organization and the needs of technology.

If the basic principles of capitalizing on our favourable assets and developing and releasing synergistic interactions are followed in our scientific endeavour, our national goal of eradicating poverty can be reached faster.

Given a wide range of goals, the secret of success lies in identifying right priorities and in choosing right strategies. Seen in this light, I attach high priority to life-saving research in agriculture. The aim of this research is to develop methods by which either crops badly affected by unfavourable weather can be saved by suitable techniques or alternative cropping patterns made available so that there is no total loss of crops and income during a year. All scientists in the country, irrespective of the discipline to which they belong, have a role to play in developing crop life-saving techniques for their region. If they respond to this challenge, they would be contributing to meeting a basic prerequisite for speedy progress—relative stability of production and income and thereby of prices.

We cannot hereafter shift the responsibility for poor economic progress in the agricultural sector to any lack of response on the part of the peasantry to new technology. This is clear from the wheat example mentioned earlier. Also, a State like West Bengal, which produced only about 50,000 tonnes of wheat four years ago, now produces over a million tonnes. Conversely Punjab, which produced about 50,000 tonnes of rice three years ago, now produces over a million tonnes of this grain. Our farmers have thus shown that they are capable of converting small Government projects into mass movements, provided the technology is economically sound. The goal of scientists should be the rapid development of economically viable technologies whose principal characteristic should be ease of adoption under a given socio-economic milieu.

Science, Technology and Development

M. S. Thacker

The world today is at a crossroad, created by the mighty forces of science and technology. One road shows promise of leading up to peace and plenty and equal opportunities for all peoples; the other leads away from all these.

“For the poor, the economic is the spiritual; to them God can only appear as bread or a bowl of rice.” These are words of Mahatma Gandhi. And these words come appropriately to one’s mind while discussing the hunger, poverty, disease and squalor that affect nearly three-quarters of the world’s population.

I am not attempting to define the terms “less-developed areas”, “underprivileged” and “underdeveloped”. Many developing nations of the world may be poor in material and economic prosperity but are certainly not poor in thought, ideologies, art or culture. But in economic terms, we have a few countries where, thanks to the harnessing of science and technology over several decades in various fields of human endeavour and to the combination of several fortuitous circumstances, an economy of affluence has been built up. Elsewhere, mankind struggles in different stages of development.

The wide, and in some cases, tragic gap can easily be gauged when one realizes that one-tenth of the peoples of the world enjoy 60 per cent of the world’s income while 57 per cent of them have less than 10 per cent at their disposal. If the present trends are to continue, the gulf between the poor and the rich nations of the world will widen still further and this at a time when great continents have awoken to freedom and their populations are clamouring for certain minimum standards of life. These enormous disparities among the peoples of the world are a problem not only for the poor nations, but for the world as a whole. Prosperity, like peace, is indivisible.

The most important feature of our world is perhaps that it is passing through a period of revolutionary change. Today we are in the midst not of one revolution, but several. All of them are rapidly and visibly changing our ways of life, our sense of values, and our attitudes in the political, social and economic fields.

Perhaps the most important of these different revolutions will prove to have been due to the upsurge of science and technology. In the last century, science was essentially the concern of a few private individuals and institutions, but it has emerged as the most important instrument of national development and economic uplift. And need I mention the almost ubiquitous influence of technology in all fields of human endeavour, whether public or private? Advances in nuclear science inspire hopes that mankind may have at its command before very long vast and cheap sources of energy. Radio astronomers and optical astronomers have extended estimates of the age of our galaxy and are striking farther and farther out into the boundaries of the universe. Man has encompassed his

world with artificial satellites and has reached the inviolate moon. The arts of agriculture and medicine are vastly improved and the same can be said for almost every field of human endeavour. We have much deeper understanding of the biological processes. The sciences dealing with the earth and its environment are in an equally lively state. The air, the earth, the oceans and the sun contain riches which can support increases in population at higher and higher standards of living.

The advanced countries of today have absorbed the revolutionary discoveries of science and technology. In the less developed areas, however, the deliberate adoption of science and technology as a means of progress has today to contend against various odds — lack of capital, social inhibitions, overpopulation, inadequate know-how.

What is the strategy of development to be adopted? In my thinking, a broad strategy must allow for three essential elements: (a) a survey of physical resources and their exploitation; (b) the encouragement of capital formation; and (c) the development of human resources. While all three elements are important for growth, I consider human resources as pivotal.

A problem of considerable importance which the leaders and planners face is the relative weight to be given to the development of physical and of human resources. There are multipurpose river valley projects, and plans for roads, factories and airlines which are essential and which cannot be postponed. There are pressing and contending forces within every country for early development of these facilities. But these are, as it were, symbols of a modernizing state. They constitute the external manifestations of the people's urge for action and for a higher standard of living. The planners in these countries have to relate such development in a balanced manner to other needs and priorities. In all this, I would give the highest priority to the development of human resources. Education, the training of scientists, technologists, and engineers, technicians and craftsmen, managerial and administrative personnel and a host of professional and semiprofessional workers of all kinds are perhaps still more of a "must".

The problems of education in the less developed areas are manifold. Generally, education is dealt with as a part of social services. It has still not been adequately realized that investment in education and in the development of skills and capacities among the people is investment for economic growth and should really form an integral part of a country's economic plans. The building up of an educational infrastructure is basic to all growth in any economy, advanced or less developed.

Education, however, is only one aspect — a very important one in my opinion — of the development process, but there are also others.

The provision of largescale sources of lowcost energy will determine, more than any other single resource, the availability of such basic

necessities as food, water and the material of industry. Perhaps even more urgent is the need to improve levels of nutrition in many areas of the world in order to bring the people to the necessary level of physical and intellectual vigour.

I would say, and readily accept, that totally imported science and technology may not be relevant to the needs of the less developed countries. I would also accept that the development of science in these areas should be such that it is suited to the material needs and genius of the people concerned and that such a development of science should gather momentum gradually. I would accept that view, but we must not make a fetish of it or find in the absence of such a science an excuse to delay action.

We know that help extended to the less developed areas takes the form both of capital aid and of technical assistance. Technical assistance, well conceived and wisely administered, will, in the long run, help the less developed areas to acquire the requisite skills and abilities to solve their problems themselves. I also realize that every developing country has before it a struggle against its limitations of social structure, natural environment, lack of capital and other deterrent factors. With the best efforts that they can put forward — and this effort is in itself a necessary condition — the developing countries will need both capital and technical assistance not only as a temporary measure or for short periods, but in conformity with the nature of the problems they face.

Capital for economic growth can be provided by the flow of external capital or by domestic savings. But available domestic savings in the underdeveloped countries are low. Many economists have dealt with the subject of capital formation, and I do not propose to enlarge upon it.

But I should like to point out that as development progresses the countries will be relying more and more upon their own financial resources. Could they not be aided in this process by import policies on the part of the advanced countries which would provide them with essential markets for the commodities and manufactures they must sell if their standard of living is to rise? The normal interplay of economic forces between the developed and less developed countries may otherwise contribute only to the progressive impoverishment of the weaker brethren.

There is an associated problem which one has to consider. Do the best possible conditions exist in the receiving countries for deriving optimum benefits from such assistance? There are internal stresses and strains in the form of pressures, economic and sectarian. Public opinion in these countries has to make sure that all other interests are subordinated to the main task of development. In this important area, the scientists and technologists in the less developed areas should assume a more positive role in helping to form a public opinion adequate to the needs of our age.

Scientists and technologists may feel that they are not directly involved in political decisions, and perhaps this is so. But no one can deny that the scientist has become a man of power and influence in the twentieth century. Whether he likes it or not, he has attained a high place in decision-making. Scientists and technologists must therefore assume greater responsibility than hitherto in the planning process, at both the national and international levels. They are responsible for the efficient operations of most of the attributes of modern living. They must surely play a fitting role in the creation of a modern India and modern world. I do not want it to be thought that I want every scientist to rush into politics. My view is that, in a world which is becoming increasingly dependent on science and technology, scientists must recognize their own significance in the political and social context, as they already realize it in the physical and mechanical worlds which they have taught us to know.

I believe also that scientists have an international role to play which is no less significant. Scientists, whose achievements are honoured and respected for the benefits they can confer on mankind, are essentially international in outlook. I look forward to a time when their constantly growing network of scientific interests will be an important element in establishing the community of man. For the world must become more than a world; it must become a community. Just as we cannot accept the existence of a slum at the end of our garden so we cannot, or should not, tolerate poverty next door to abundance. Can the rich nations of today turn a blind eye to the grinding poverty and misery in other parts of the world? Various societies have tried to evade their responsibilities when such situations arose within their own borders in the past, and history is replete with examples of what followed.

However, is it enough if the rich nations of today were to help in improving conditions in the rest of the world? Are there not obligations and responsibilities on both sides? The generous help offered by such countries should be tendered without strings or conditions. The receiving countries must be allowed to develop in freedom, according to the genius of their own peoples. But, for their part, these nations must remember that progress cannot be merely handed to a people from outside. The soil must be prepared, so that the people themselves are determined to pursue the often difficult path of progress. Whole masses must be fired with enthusiasm for a different way of life. They must understand the choice they are making. The quick transition from a primitive economy to a highly industrialized state cannot be accomplished without a gigantic effort.

During the last decade or so, technical assistance has come to play an important part in the international field. A great number of programmes are assisted by the United Nations, the specialized agencies, inter-governmental organizations, regional commissions, bilateral agreements

and many semipublic and private agencies. The recipient countries are indeed grateful for all the excellent work done by them. Nevertheless, I wonder whether the moment has not come to undertake a careful review of technical assistance programmes and to gauge how far they have been really effective or productive. A frank and objective discussion of the manner in which these programmes are functioning might be valuable.

I have in mind what I might call master plans or regional plans, aiming at the kind of balanced development I have stressed. I am keenly aware of the various difficulties which will have to be surmounted before such an idea can be translated into action. Nobody denies that the task is colossal but it is not beyond the realm of either human conception or human endeavour to realize. Astronomical figures are spent for purposes which have been the subject of discussion at several conferences. Enormous resources could be released for diversion to the more urgent needs of the underdeveloped countries. Given goodwill, imagination and foresight, coupled with the tools that science and technology have placed at our disposal, the task of human betterment, formidable though it may appear, is not beyond accomplishment.

International organizations are demonstrating every day that it is possible for individuals to take an objective view even in the midst of controversy. They have given practical evidence of the way in which a man can outgrow narrow nationalism to consider the needs of the world as a whole. We have here perhaps the germ of a new idea. Is it fanciful to imagine that a kind of world committee of wise men — a brains trust — might draw upon all the vast fund of experience we are accumulating in the international organizations and agencies to help in preparing — and in examining — development plans? Such a body might be of changing membership to include in turn the scientific disciplines of the nations of the world. It could meet in frequent sessions to observe, comment and advise. Perhaps at this moment the idea, as I suggest it, is somewhat vague, but I feel sure that could be further examined.

Economic Growth and Social Justice — Role of Technological Policy

Dr. Atma Ram

Speaking to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said:

“I have long felt that the prevalent economic theories tend to aggravate the problems of the developing countries. In fact, I think it is obvious now that they do not entirely solve the problems of the other countries either. We, in India, have all to think what is the objective towards which we strive. Is it merely to raise the GNP? Today even the professional economists are realizing that ‘growthmanship’ which results in undivided attention to the maximization of GNP can be dangerous, for the results are almost always social and political unrest. Therefore, increase in the GNP must be considered only one component of a multidimensional transformation of society.”

This is a profound statement, coming from the highest in our political leadership, on the question of economic growth. It is particularly relevant to the goal of “Garibi Hatao”. In view of its great significance as a new approach to economic development, this statement has been the subject of many comments. Some call it “New Economics”. Some see in it a new argument to curb the private sector. Yet others view it as possible disenchantment with economic growth. They argue that if GNP does not grow, equitable distribution will only mean distributing and spreading poverty; that there can be economic growth without social justice, but not social justice without economic growth; that attack on growthmanship is misconceived, and so on. All this sounds well. In a system of mixed economy, such comments are neither unexpected nor unusual. The idea may not be new, but the determination is. While propounding his theory of social justice about a century ago, Karl Marx did, in essence, say what is now styled New Economics. He may not have used the term GNP, which is of a later origin.

Soon after economic planning started in India, with the main aim of removing poverty from this otherwise richly endowed land, exercises in determining the rate of economic growth, per capita income, price index, and such other things became quite fashionable. Considering the enormous magnitude of the problem of development, and the conditions under which it had to be brought about, the officially reported 5.3 per cent rise in national income (net national product) in 1969-70 should be considered satisfactory. However, because of the increase in population, the effective rise of per capita income was 2.9 per cent. At any rate, there was increase in per capita income. Yet strong voices have been raised on many platforms, in Parliament in particular, that during all these twenty-five years of freedom the poor have become poorer and rich richer, in spite of socialism being the goal. Industrialization has manifestly led to increasing urbanization — more slums, *jhuggis* and *jhonpris*.

Before Independence, the people had believed that the root cause of all the physical wants — want of food, shelter and clothing — from which

a good deal of the population had been suffering for centuries, was foreign rule. Once freed from its shackles, the wants would disappear, they had hoped. However, these wants still haunt us. People who had been suffering all this as the inevitable consequence of foreign domination will no longer tolerate it, now that they are citizens of a free nation.

The country faces the twin problems of poverty and overpopulation. They are interrelated. It may be true that poverty cannot be eliminated without checking population growth. But what galling poverty we have in contrast to the vulgar exhibition of the affluent few!

An increasingly menacing problem is the mounting unemployment. Some place the figure at about fifteen million by the end of the Fourth Plan. A sizable portion of it is due to the increase in population, which has outstripped the employment potential. Unemployment of the educated and trained people has been a source of increasing strain on the Plans, and has led to the diversion of substantial funds into short-term palliatives. Unemployment of the educated not only tends to put scarce resources out of circulation, but also generates frictional forces which greatly hamper progress.

On the international plane, the rich countries are developing faster, being in possession of means and skills unmatched by anything possessed by the underdeveloped world. A recent World Bank study established that the annual rate of rise of per capita income of a US citizen is more than the per capita income of an Indian. The per capita income of a Spaniard, a Bulgarian, a Lebanese is almost ten times that of an Indian. The phenomenon of "ever widening gap" between the developed and the underdeveloped countries and, what is worse, between the rich and the poor in the same country is most disturbing and even explosive. Economic power is getting more and more concentrated in a few hands, in a few nations. It is often said that in India, about a dozen big industrial houses control the economic life of the country.

The GNP has been increasing, but what makes up the GNP may have little relevance to the GNP concept — a hundred cars or a thousand tonnes of cereals, a million metres of cloth, or a thousand airconditioners. It is also immaterial who contributes to the GNP — a big firm or a hundred small enterprises.

For some years the Government have been engaged in preventing concentration of economic power in the hands of a few industrial and financial groups. Statistics give only very limited information, particularly very little as to how all the concentration has taken place. A number of administrative and legislative steps have been taken. A Monopolies Commission has also been appointed.

There is no doubt that the problem of unemployment, and the endeavour of removing physical wants, providing education, sanitary living conditions, and national security cannot be solved without fast economic

growth. But it has to be regulated economic growth if we wish to prevent the poor from becoming poorer. In the midst of the legislative and administrative measures taken to prevent concentration of economic power, one aspect which indirectly but very subtly leads to this concentration appears to have been overlooked and that is the choice of technology, the powerful accelerator of economic growth.

Modern technology is capital-intensive and labour-short. The trend of the progress of technology has generally been the replacement of human skills by machines through the investment of capital. This is often called sophistication. Conditions in India are just the opposite. Our country is short of capital and affluent in labour; in fact, there is the increasing spectre of unemployment.

Who can attract capital, whether local or foreign? Obviously the man of money. Whose goodwill is needed? Of the man of money. Goodwill is as much a commodity as capital. *Paisa paisa ko khinchta hai* (money attracts money). New entrepreneurs find it difficult to establish new concerns without the support of the big business magnates. The advance of technology, the pressure of competition and the struggle for survival are leading to amalgamation and gigantizing of the industrial corporation. Amalgamation has now become a common feature in some countries.

Modern technology has the tendency of creating concentration of economic power, centres of monopoly, centres of imbalance and centres of unrest. According to recent reports, a major part of the loans of nationalized banks and Government loaning corporations goes to big business, which means perpetuating and strengthening the economic hold of the very monopolies the Government wish to curb.

A recent announcement by a leading industrial house floating a new concern gives out that more than half the capital (running into several crores) is either subscribed or underwritten by Government financial institutions. In this tragic phase of capitalistic struggle for survival, should the state agencies who underwrite growth of private business become undertakers of socialism?

Technology has to be used for the good of the common man and should not perpetually mortgage him to poverty. Some people, in their excessive zeal to improve the common man's lot, begin to condemn technology and technological advance. This is not correct. Technology has put such enormous power at man's disposal today that everybody on the earth can be assured of all the basic needs, good sanitary conditions, enough leisure to enjoy life, and protection against natural calamities. The question is: What technology? For what purpose? And under whose control?

What should be the criterion of selecting technology? The test should be the suitability to our needs and conditions rather than superiority. A technology which tends to create social and economic imbalances, and reduce the employment potential would not be desirable, however modern.

Science is judged by its excellence; technology by its economic and social benefits. A technology may be very suitable to one country which has one set of conditions; it may not be so to another country which has a different set of conditions. Science is universal; technology is not. Indiscriminate and injudicious adoption of technologies which are developed in other countries to suit their economy and conditions of life creates and has created difficulties. Moreover, technology and its products create their own patterns of consumption and patterns of distribution, and once established they become resistant to change. It is then that technology determines the course of events, rather than events regulating the course of technological developments. In fact they generate social barriers and begin to act as opponents of social change. Selection of technology is therefore fundamentally relevant to achieving social justice.

In selecting technology, questions of prestige have the least relevance. In recent years, a good deal has been said and written about the place of intermediate technology in the less developed countries. An impression has been created of its usefulness because of the technological backwardness of these countries rather than on merit. They therefore feel offended about proposals for the use of intermediate technology. Intermediate technology is more relevant to our needs and conditions. Contrary to general belief, Japan has shown that non-automatic technologies are not necessarily primitive, nor need sophistication necessarily be automatic.

If an objective analysis was made of technology versus concentration of economic power, it may be found that injudicious selection of technology has been responsible for much of the present-day imbalances. Quite a number of flourishing small-scale units have succumbed in the face of competition by big units armed with big finance, not on quality or performance of the products — a result contrary to the goal of socialism. Why? Simply because no thought has been given to the selection of technology. In the socialist countries, the state being the sole custodian of the production and distribution apparatus, this problem does not arise. In the system of mixed economy, apart from the industrial legislative measures, Government have to be alert about this subtle consequence of technology, which can be too serious and ramified to be tackled by legislative measures alone.

It is, therefore, necessary to enunciate a national technological policy, taking cognizance of our conditions and requirements. I have been pleading, particularly during the last five years, for a clear statement of technological policy and would like to reiterate that plea. Delay in the formulation of this policy may make things worse. Not all the administrative and legislative measures are likely to succeed in preventing concentration of economic power in a few hands unless backed by a well-defined

policy in matters technological. But what should be the aims of our technological policy?

The aim of our technological policy should be to provide the basic needs of the people by putting our national resources to use most judiciously, efficiently and expeditiously, to achieve full employment, to generate technological competence, to become progressively independent of foreign aid, and to attain economic competitiveness in the world market. An approach which cannot ensure gainful employment to the vast masses of the country will not do in the long run..

Socialism means different things to different people. If the poor get poorer and the rich become richer, where is socialism? In a country like ours, we should be concerned principally with the needs of the most needy strata of the population. Hungry people need food to eat, the shelterless houses to live in, the naked clothes to wear, the illiterate education, and all these need to live under minimum sanitary conditions. If they do not get these, they are not enthused over ideology, howsoever "progressive" it may be.

I doubt if enough thought has been given to the question of relevance when we borrow technology. We have reached a stage when, instead of adopting borrowed technologies indiscriminately, we should scan and choose technology which fits into our needs. In doing so, various aspects have to be taken into consideration. In certain industries like steel-making and other metallurgical processes, basic chemicals, aircraft production, the country must have the very best and economy of scale must be ensured. So also in the case of products meant for export to international markets. But there are a vast number of other industries which produce goods for internal consumption; these could be used as the means for providing employment to vast numbers and still maintain competitive standards. There should be no question of encouraging inefficient economy, but of supporting beneficial economy.

Gandhiji used to say that it is not mass production but production by the masses that would do the trick. This is even more true today than it was in his time.

India has a long heritage of modern science. But in technology, there is much oriental wisdom that we have yet to bring to fruition in our effort to couple economic growth with social justice.

Technology Transfer and the Developing Countries

George Skorov

The scientific and technological revolution has created significantly new conditions for rapid economic growth of the less developed countries which can now leap over some of the ground traversed by the presentday industrial nations. They can draw on the stock of world experience, both positive and negative, to avoid the adverse effect of man's haphazard economic activity on the environment, to adopt all that is best and make a rational use of the industrial countries' advanced technologies in the interests of their own progress.

Those are the opportunities.

But the post-colonial record shows that technical progress has made slow headway in the Third World. The reason is not hard to see: most of the developing countries still lack the conditions necessary to realize the potentials of technological progress. The development of science and technology in these countries is faced with a number of objective difficulties, both domestic and external, resulting from the multistructural nature of economy, backward social set-up and subordinate place in the world economy. The neocolonialist policy of multinational corporations is yet another serious obstacle to the technological progress of the developing countries.

If the young national states are to advance along the road of technological progress, a whole range of interrelated measures has to be taken. These may be listed under two major heads.

On the domestic plane, there is a need to free the economies of their social fetters, to renew the material and technological basis of production by mastering scientific and technical achievements of the advanced countries, and building up a national scientific potential to carry out a profound cultural revolution, to develop public education and to train national personnel.

On the international plane, it would be necessary to alter gradually the inequitable economic relations of the developing countries with the capitalist West which accounts for over nine-tenths of their trade and, at the same time, to promote mutually advantageous co-operation with the socialist world and among themselves.

The effectiveness and scope of the modernization process will largely depend on each country's social orientation and preparedness to introduce social changes.

The use of scientific and technological achievements of the advanced countries has a special place in the complex of measures aimed at speeding up the young nations' economic development. This is the main lever which can help them to raise the technological level of their economies and to shorten the transition to a highly efficient, mechanized and automated production, which is the basis of an advanced economy.

How can this be done? Is it more sensible from a national economic standpoint to import readymade technological innovations from

other countries, or to make use of scientific ideas and discoveries to develop technological innovations on a national basis? Those seem to be the two extremes of a whole range of possible solutions. Any cut-and-dried answer to the questions formulated above would take into account neither the diversity of the Third World nor the dynamism of the very task of reconstructing the national economy. For what is right at one stage of development may prove to be wrong at another, higher stage. It is important, therefore, to formulate a general approach to the solution of this problem.

In view of the extremely limited scientific and technical capability of the developing countries, it would be a dangerous illusion to believe that they can reconstruct their national economy entirely on their own. No less a danger lies in the opposite view that the only way out for them would be to borrow scientific and technical knowhow, technology and equipment from abroad.

In our opinion, the strategy of scientific and technological progress in the developing countries should be based on such a combination of national effort, utilization of scientific and technical achievements of the industrial countries and international aid which would open up the prospect for self-sustained growth of the scientific and technical potential of the Third World countries on the basis of an international division of labour in research and development.

The basic difference between this strategy and the “technological colonialism” policy of the multinational monopolies is that in the former case the division of labour means eventual introduction of equitable exchange and true interdependence between various partners, and in the latter it means an entrenchment for all time of the present inequitable relations between the developing and the industrially developed capitalist countries on the basis of the latter’s scientific and technological superiority.

At present most newly independent states are trying to carry out technical reconstruction of their economies chiefly by importing machines and technologies from advanced industrial countries, adapting them to local conditions and putting them to use in the national economy. They also acquire the necessary technical information, patents and licences, and use the services of foreign engineers and technical experts. In Western economic writings this set of operations has been described as “transfer of technology”.

This term is somewhat imprecise. The technological flow proper is only part of the process. Its other significant components are the acquisition of knowhow, mastering of advanced methods of organization and management and, what is most important, formation of a hard core of national skilled workers, technicians, engineers, designers, scientists, administrators and managers. It is in this broader sense that the “technological transfer” concept is used below.

The crucial importance of trained manpower for the technological re-equipment of the economy does not require detailed substantiation. New technologies can never be mastered and radical reconstruction of the production capacities can never take place without a pool of skilled and competent men possessing theoretical knowledge and practical experience. V.I. Lenin foresaw the immense difficulties of social transformation in the East which accounts for a majority of the world's population, and emphasized that "this majority must become civilized".¹ This cannot be done unless general education and vocational training is widespread and the level of cultural attainment of the population is brought in line with modern standards. But the training of national personnel in the developing countries acquired real scope only after independence.

Organization of national research on a sufficiently wide scale in the developing countries is most important for their technological progress. Technology is usually designed to tackle specific problems in given social and economic conditions. Foreign technologies cannot be mastered, adapted to local conditions, improved or renewed without an adequate scientific infrastructure and local research and development (R&D) potential.

The pressing need for the development of national science is also due to the fact that each country has a host of specific problems (like inventory of natural resources, forecasting seismic activity, regulating the flow of rivers, combating local pests and epidemics, and exploiting the continental shelf). These require local research as the basis for a rational decision-making and policy formulation suited to local conditions.

The development of national science is also important for the education system itself. In a sense, the state of education depends on how deeply science has penetrated the entire sphere of formal education and training. That is why the developing countries consider it essential — to the extent they are able to do it — to formulate a national science policy, to train national researchers, to set up laboratories and research institutes, and to lay the groundwork for building up their scientific potential. This tendency has been reflected in the decisions taken by the UNESCO-sponsored regional conference of Ministers for Science in Africa (Lagos, 1964), Asia (New Delhi, 1968) and Latin America (Santiago, Chile, 1965, and Caracas, 1971).

As the developing countries emerge from their technological and economic backwardness, national science begins to cover an ever wider range of problems and its role in economic development tends to increase.

One must also bear in mind that the technological transfer is not an act of charity. Foreign technology is imported not free of charge but on a commercial basis. This puts a heavy financial burden on the young states. It has been estimated that in the late 1960s the developing

countries were paying something like \$1,500 million a year for patents, licences, knowhow, trademarks, expertise and consultancy services alone, and by the end of the present decade this figure is expected to reach \$9,000 million, that is, 15 per cent of their expected total export (foreign exchange) earnings.² To this one must add the high import costs of patent-clear equipment, overpricing of raw materials and semi-manufactures, payments to foreign firms for the transfer of production secrets and technological knowhow (notably, through acquisition by foreign investors of equity participation in newly created companies), and profit repatriation of the wholly owned subsidiaries and joint ventures.

According to our estimate, the total annual foreign exchange payments by developing countries for the transfer of technology under all these headings will be in 1980 at least twice as high as the above figure, that is, around \$18,000 million to \$20,000 million.

To overcome some of these difficulties, the Second UNCTAD Conference in New Delhi (1968) proposed the setting up of an International Bank for Transfer of Technology. In September 1970, after the suggestion had been debated in the UN Economic and Social Council and the UNCTAD Trade and Development Board, it was decided to set up an inter-governmental Group on Transfer of Technology within the UNCTAD. This proposal is now being carried out. The programme of action submitted to the Third UNCTAD Conference in April-May 1972 provided, among other things, for the following additional measures:

1. creation of institutional machinery in developing countries, specifically dealing with the transfer of technology;
2. training of specialized personnel;
3. establishment of an advisory service in the UNCTAD secretariat; and
4. directing a part of the research and development expenditures in the developed countries to projects of particular significance to the developing countries.³

The developing countries continue to receive the bulk of their technology from the capitalist countries. The emergence of the socialist states as exporters of technologies struck a telling blow at the monopoly of the capitalist West and altered the general climate of international economic relations. But the West is still by far the most important supplier of modern technology in the world market. This means that the transfer of technology has been going on chiefly within the framework of agreements between private or public enterprises of the developing countries and Western industrial companies. This is fraught with real dangers for the young states.

In contrast to the import of consumer goods, purchase of technology is not a once-and-for-all operation. The exporter and the importer, as a rule, engage in long-term relationship under agreements on technical co-operation. Apart from current operations and the installation

and adjustment of the purchased machinery, these agreements regulate the terms for renewal of equipment, the purchase of fresh patents and licences, consultancy services and so on. Thus, the transfer of technology gives rise to new forms of dependence, which the big industrial companies have been trying to use to put pressure on the young states.

Western politicians and economists often present the activity of world monopolies, particularly their investments in the developing countries, as the most effective channel for the transfer of the latest technology to the economically backward countries. The Pearson Report to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, for example, says: “. . . The key question is the productivity of foreign investments for the host economy as a whole. In most cases, its contribution goes beyond the taxes generated by foreign firms and payments to local labour and services. In particular, the contribution also includes the transfer of advanced technology into the host economy. In the absence of foreign investment, the acquisition of such knowhow will typically be difficult and costly.”⁴

We do not intend to contest the importance of the technological innovations accompanying foreign investments, but such importance should not be overestimated either. It is common knowledge that foreign capital investments are chiefly of a “raw material” orientation. In the mid-1960s, the Pearson Report says, 40 per cent of all direct investments in the developing countries went into oil extraction, as against the 27 per cent in manufacturing. Exploitation of a country’s raw material resources, even if the latest methods are applied, neither helps to strengthen economic independence nor raises the technological level of the rest of the economy. It is typical of the extractive industry that the greatest benefit resulting from the introduction of new technology in this branch of the economy goes to the foreign raw material consumer rather than to the host economy. The higher the technical level in the extractive industry, the greater the labour productivity and, consequently, the higher income is received by the owners of the company, to say nothing of the fact that the sooner the mineral deposits are exhausted.

The main motivation behind the activity of private capitalist companies, whether at home or in the developing countries, is not the development of the productive forces but profitmaking. Such is the philosophy of free enterprise. Foreign capital is attracted to the developing countries by a higher rate of profit, the prospect of quicker returns and the possibility of getting a foothold in the host market. The latter has a special attraction for the foreign companies.

Since many developing nations have been raising effective tariff barriers, the setting up of affiliates, subsidiaries and joint ventures under national signboards is often the only way to penetrate into the domestic

market. All the major decisions in such companies, like investment policy, renewal of basic assets, product mix, hire and pay of local labour, and profit repatriation, are being taken unilaterally by company boards which fall outside the jurisdiction of the host state and are motivated by profit considerations rather than the desire to find optimal solutions to national economic problems.

The agreements on scientific and technical co-operation with foreign companies usually place heavy restrictions on freedom of action of local enterprises. The most widespread of these is the ban on exporting manufactured products to third countries. This clause inflicts grave economic damage on the developing countries, the smaller ones in particular, since it slows down the recouping of equipment, seals off potential market and makes production investments less effective. Another widespread restriction is a commitment to purchase raw materials and intermediate products from the equipment supplying firm, something which often reduces the entire "industrialization" to a mere processing of imports or the local assembly of machines from imported components, instead of providing for the full production cycle. This inflicts considerable financial losses on the importing countries.

It is hard to establish the exact amount of these losses. For example, in India, one of the more advanced Third World countries, the import component in some industries amounts to 20-25 per cent of the total value added. In lesser developed countries the figure is apparently much higher. At any rate, estimates show that in 1968 Colombia overpaid some \$20 million for imports of intermediate products in her pharmaceutical industry owing to the overpricing or "price mark-ups" by the US supplier corporations. According to the same source, the net returns of US corporations from the operation of their subsidiaries in Colombia's pharmaceutical industry were distributed in the following way: profit remittances — 3.4 per cent, payments for patents and licences — 14 per cent, and profits due to overpricing of intermediate products — 82.6 per cent. Intermediate products used in the chemical, electronic and rubber industries were also said to be much more expensive than the world average.⁵

Thus, the economic effect of technology imports from capitalist countries into the developing ones should be measured not only in terms of equipment costs, royalties, profit and dividend payments as against the value of final product, but also with an eye to the actual losses due to overpricing of imported raw materials, as well as other "strings" attached to the agreements.

What kind of technology do the developing countries need? Such a question, at first glance, may seem to be somewhat surprising. As long as the developing countries intend to raise the standard of their economy to a modern level, they need advanced technology, that

is, machines, equipment and technological knowhow which are being used in the industrial countries. This answer, which is on the whole correct, requires some qualification.

Modern technology has evolved in the advanced countries where capital is abundant and labour is expensive. This technology, as a rule, is capital-intensive and labour-saving. The developing countries are in a different situation: they are typically short of capital and have plenty of cheap, unskilled labour. The optimal utilization of resources in this case obviously requires different inputs of living and embodied labour, and would therefore call for other technological methods.

The technology of industrial countries is highly productive and is intended for mass production. Capital investment and R&D expenditure involved in its elaboration can be recouped only if there is a fairly large market. The domestic market in the developing countries is usually very small, and even the recent trend towards subregional and regional economic integration has not so far significantly changed this state of affairs. Export markets for manufactures are also severely limited because of the protectionist policy followed by the advanced capitalist countries. That is why in most of the developing countries the advantages of a highly productive technology turn into their opposite.

Another point is that the economic requirements of countries situated in the temperate zone call for technological solutions that are unfit for tropical countries and therefore may require some modifications.

That is not to say, however, that the developing countries cannot use modern technology and should therefore mainly rely on labour-intensive methods. Such a solution would in fact perpetuate the technical backwardness of the Third World. The economic revival of the developing countries can only be achieved through largescale and highly efficient production based on the application of modern science and technology. Only this type of production will enable the developing countries to raise the standard of economy to a level which will mark the end to their economic dependence.

In most modern industries, especially those with a continuous production cycle, like steelmaking, petrochemical, fertilizer and cement production, electric power generation, and so on, the technical level and the type of technology are predetermined by the very nature of the production process. This leaves no choice: the relationship between capital and labour inputs is virtually preset. But in some sectors of the economy it is possible and, at the present stage, expedient to use various technologies and production methods, including those which are labour-intensive. These include: agriculture, construction, handicrafts and smallscale cottage industries and even some factory-type production, for instance, transistor radio sets. Such sectors which, by the way, provide the living for the bulk of the labour force in the developing countries allow for the use not

only of the latest technologies but also of the more labour-intensive ones, suitable for the specific conditions of surplus-labour economies. This raises the problem of choice of an optimal — under the given economic conditions — technology with higher or lower labour inputs.

The utilization of labour-intensive technology in the developing countries has not yet received due attention in Soviet economic literature.⁶

There seems to be no consensus on this subject among non-Marxist scholars either, though ILO and some other international organizations have generated lately some fresh ideas on the matter. However, a good deal of additional research and testing of working hypotheses will be required before a satisfactory solution to this problem is found. Still, it has already become obvious that neither from an economic nor, particularly, from a social standpoint would it do to underestimate the labour-intensive methods in some branches of the underdeveloped economy. Whatever their drawbacks may be, they still constitute at low stages of development a potential source for increase of production and labour productivity.

What are the main features of the labour-intensive technology that would allow the developing countries to make the fullest use of their manpower resources? First, it should be sufficiently productive so as to be economically justified, without preventing the growth of employment opportunities. Second, it should be relatively cheap so as to allow for a wide application. And third, it should be easy to handle so that people with very little or no training at all would be able to use it.

Such technology is sometimes labelled “intermediate”, for it has an intermediate position between highly productive capital-intensive technology in modern industry and the most simple and rudimentary tools that are being used in labour-intensive processes. Recent UN publications have come up with another term, “appropriate technology”, which means technology suited to the developing countries’ specific conditions.⁷

The technology known under the two terms should not be confused with obsolescent or secondhand equipment which lies somewhere midway between the machines of yesterday and today. As a matter of fact, such machines can also be used in the developing countries, but this obviously cannot be the main line of technological reconstruction. In Russia, the essence of technological methods which can be profitably used today in a number of economic sectors in the Third World is best rendered by the concept of “semimechanization”, the only difference being that in the developing countries it can be successfully applied to basic and not only ancillary operations, as has been the case in the USSR economy.

The definition of “appropriate technology” contains an internal contradiction. Technical progress means raising the productivity of labour, that is, reducing labour inputs per unit of output. In an advanced

economy the most effective method of production is the one which allows for the maximum output at the lowest possible inputs of living and embodied labour. But in the developing countries such an approach would lead to further redundancies, higher unemployment and immobilization of manpower resources. That is why the developing countries are aiming at higher employment even at the expense of a slightly lower economic effect. In other words, "appropriate technology" is a gain in employment but a loss in potential growth of labour productivity. Nevertheless, this internal contradiction is not the main obstacle in the way of the utilization of intermediate technology.

If the economy of the developing countries provided for a centrally made choice between various technologies at the micro-economic level, society could arrive at an optimal correlation between the growth of employment and an increase in labour productivity. But the problem is that their economies are a combination of different social sectors and types of business in which the choice of technology is usually made at a level of an enterprise, be it private or state owned. At this micro-economic level, irrespective of the form of property, the decisive criterion is economic effectiveness, maximum returns and the highest rate of profit, since otherwise, the enterprise would not stand up to competition and would go to the wall. That is why even in the branches that allow for choice, preference is often given to the most productive technologies.

To this it should be added that as the technical level of production rises and production methods are intensified, the possibilities for using "intermediate" technologies are rapidly diminishing. The main line in the development of production still consists in raising its effectiveness, whereas labour-intensive technology acts as something of a brake.

Since the developing countries have to build many new branches of modern industry and the infrastructure, it becomes clear that the use of labour-intensive methods has very definite spatial as well as time limits. Modern industry cannot be based on labour-intensive processes. The decisive role in overcoming the developing countries' economic backwardness belongs to modern highly productive technologies. But at the present stage in the development of multistructural economies, and given their factor endowment, the state of manpower resources and the prevalence of smallscale production, labour-intensive methods can do much to mobilize untapped labour resources, raise the effectiveness of production and alleviate the imbalances arising from the breakdown of the colonial type economic structure.

That is why the renewal of the industrial and technical basis of developing countries is not equal to a mere transfer of technology. This renewal should combine three main types of technological innovation: the technologies already being used in highly advanced countries; original technologies specially devised for the conditions of the developing

countries; and technologies of the future based on the latest promising scientific discoveries and essentially new technological solutions.

It is extremely difficult for the developing countries to overcome their technological and economic backwardness. They cannot do this alone, and for a long time they will be in need of extensive aid from the industrialized countries.

The "go it alone" slogan, objectively, is a policy of self-isolation and autarky, refusal to use world scientific and technical experience and a deliberate slowing down of the development of the productive potential. Such a policy would run against one of the main trends in world economy, that of intensification of economic ties between countries, growing international division of labour and increasing internationalization of world production and exchange.

Under colonialism this trend was making headway in such forms as forced restrictions of the independent development, deformation of the economic structure of the colonies and establishment of inequitable relations within the system of the international division of labour. But in today's world the newly emerging nations are in a position to resist the prejudicial forms of this trend and, with the support of the forces of socialism, to work for a transformation of international economic relations that would make them advantageous for all the parties concerned.

At the same time, as the socialist countries' joint declaration on the tasks of the Second UN Development Decade pointed out, the developing countries have an incontestable right to receive compensation for material damage from the former colonial powers and also from capitalist states which continue to exploit the human and natural resources of Asian, African and Latin American countries. Such compensation can be made in various forms and in different ways.⁸

The socialist countries reject the "rich North, poor South" concept which is based on the fallacious idea of an "equal" responsibility of all the industrialized states, both capitalist and socialist, for overcoming of the backwardness of developing countries.

Guided by the principle of internationalist solidarity the socialist world has helped and will continue to help the newly independent countries to overcome the colonialist aftermath, above all, because the interests of world socialism objectively coincide with those of the peoples of former colonies and semicolonies. But the socialist countries consider economic, scientific and technical aid as supplementary to the developing countries' domestic resources. The crucial role in their economic revival belongs to their own efforts to mobilize and make use of all the available means.

The idea of combining national and international efforts to overcome the technical and economic backwardness of the Asian, African and Latin American countries has been incorporated in the World Plan of Action for the Application of Science and Technology to Development, worked

out by the Consultative Committee of the UN Economic and Social Council as part of the Second Development Decade, 1971-1980. This plan contains quite a few useful and constructive proposals. In particular, it recommends that by 1980 the developing countries should increase their allocations on research and development on an average from 0.2 to 1 per cent of their Gross National Product. For the Third World as a whole this would amount to over \$5,000 million.⁹

Some worthwhile suggestions on the amount of the industrialized countries' allocations for the promotion of science and technology in the developing countries have also been made by various international agencies and research groups. UNESCO, for example, believes that in the 1970s, the highly advanced countries could allocate for this purpose something like 5 per cent of their total economic aid.¹⁰ The science policy research group of Sussex University has suggested that the industrialized countries should allocate for this purpose 0.05 per cent of their Gross National Product.¹¹ It has also been suggested that the advanced countries should channel at least 5 per cent of their total civil R&D budget, or roughly \$2,250 million, into the studies directly relevant to the developing countries' problems. Total aid to the promotion of science and technology in less developed countries would then amount to some \$3,500 million a year.

These figures indicate the order of magnitude and the relative share of the national and international effort required. Obviously, the implementation of the World Plan of Action as well as of other similar proposals can be taken as a serious proposition only in the context of a substantial relaxation of international tension and an end to the arms race. Otherwise, the idea that all countries, regardless of their social system, should pool their efforts would seem unrealistic, to say the least. The problem of international aid, perhaps more than any other, shows the strong link which exists between the problem of security and that of economic development of the Asian, African and Latin American countries.

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol 33, p. 501.

² UNCTAD, *Transfer of Technology*, November 10, 1971, pp 14-18

³ United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Third Session, Santiago, Chile, April 13, 1972. TD/106, November 10, 1971, pp. 21-23.

⁴ Partners in Development, Report of the Commission on International Development, New York, 1969, p. 101.

⁵ See C. V. Vaitos, "Bargaining and the Distribution of Returns in the Purchase of Technology by Developing Countries," *Institute of Development Studies Bulletin*, Vol 3, No 1, October 1970, pp. 20-23.

⁶ The most significant contribution to the analysis of this problem in the USSR has been done by S. Kuzmin (Central Economico-Mathematical Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences), G. Shirokov (Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences), and L. Fridman (Institute of the World Working-Class Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences).

⁷ This term is not very apt either, as Dr. Dandekar, Director of the Indian School of Political Economy at the Poona University, points out: "There cannot therefore

- be any single technology appropriate to the particular factor endowment of an economy.” Dandekar Nilakantha Rath, *Poverty in India*, Bombay, 1971, p. 110.
- ⁸ UN Document A/8074, September 21, 1970.
- ⁹ *United Nations World Plan of Action for the Application of Science and Technology to Development*, 1971, No 4, pp. 39, 57.
- ¹⁰ UNESCO/NS/ROU/198, Paris, July 31, 1970, p. 16.
- ¹¹ *Science, Technology and Underdevelopment: The Case for Reform*, University of Sussex, January 1970, pp. 32, 36.

Technology Acquisition by Underdeveloped Countries in the 19th and 20th Centuries

Eugeniusz Olszewski

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru wrote ironically about the pride Bengal could take in the fact that it had facilitated the industrial revolution in England by covering its expenses, together with other colonial countries, yet without itself deriving any benefit.¹

The policy of hampering industrial development in the colonial countries adopted by the major economic powers was the main reason for the eventual lagging behind in technology of the countries of the Third World. The technological revolution, consisting in introduction of machinery, which took place in Great Britain two centuries ago and became the basis of the Industrial Revolution, reached the majority of the European countries as early as the first half of the nineteenth century, but to many countries of the Third World it came only in the middle of the twentieth century. By this time the leading industrial powers had not only passed through another technological revolution, caused by electrification, but had initiated still another one, that of automation.

The fact that these technological revolutions happened at different times in different countries makes it difficult to compare these events with one another and to draw conclusions from such comparisons which could have practical implications for the current technological, and hence economic, policies of various countries. But we may assume that these difficulties do not diminish the usefulness of such comparisons which can lead to practical conclusions.

This has been attempted by the International Co-operation in History of Technology Committee (ICOHTEC) which was called into being in 1968 within the International Union of the History and Philosophy of Science. The international research being done by this Committee concerns the acquisition of technology by non-initiating countries. The first stage of this research was summed up at two symposia: at Pont-a-Mousson (France) in 1970 and in Moscow in 1971, within the framework of the Thirteenth International Congress of the History of Science.²

The subject of both these symposia, the participants in which were not only historians of technology but also those of economy and of material culture, was the acquisition of technological progress by European countries, the United States and Japan during the period from the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain to the First World War. In spite of that limitation, there emerged from the papers and discussions a tentative formulation of certain patterns which can be equally well applied to countries only now attaining technological progress, hence to the countries of the Third World.³

When considering the development of technology we must make a distinction between the development of technological conceptions and the development of technological realizations. By technological conceptions we mean mental, graphic and space models of technological activity, while

by technological realizations we mean the concrete achievements which reflect these conceptions. And although technological conceptions and realizations are closely linked with each other, since the correctness and usefulness of conceptions is verified by the realizations which have been originated by them, and at the same time the realizations improve conceptions and give rise to new ones, the laws governing the development of these two aspects of technology, however, are different.

The development of technological conceptions and, consequently, that of technological processes and creations are impelled by the need for these processes to be the most efficient possible in given circumstances and for the creations of technology to best satisfy the needs of the population, or, in class societies, the needs of the ruling class above all. But these external, social factors are not the only ones to determine the development of technological conceptions, since this development is equally influenced by an autonomous internal factor, that of its own logic and symmetry. And though we can point to many examples when technological conceptions had their origin in needs, there are also numerous reverse situations, when conceptions forestalled the needs and led eventually to their appearance (aviation, radio, film),⁴ or even were formulated long before the possibility of their own realization, the examples of which we find in the technological inventiveness of Leonardo da Vinci.

The autonomous nature of technological conceptions makes them only partly dependent upon social, economic and cultural circumstances in which their originators happen to live. This relative independence explains the fact that a particular conception can be invented by people living in different countries. So, for instance, the conception of an industrial steam engine appeared in the eighteenth century both in the late feudal, far from being progressive, economic conditions of Tsarist Russia in which Polzunoff had to work, and in the conditions of a progressive, early capitalistic economy in which James Watt happened to live.

These days the dependence of technological conceptions upon the development of science is becoming more and more pronounced. Whereas for a long time, until the end of the eighteenth century, that dependence manifested itself only sporadically, for the past two centuries it has grown steadily to reach, in the second half of the twentieth century, the form of a feedback, so much so that the rapid changes occurring in science as well as in technological conceptions and realizations have now won the name of a scientific-technical revolution.

From these features of technological conceptions we may draw the conclusion that they cannot be investigated when considered within the boundaries of only one country, because the inventors of various countries contribute to their appearance, either working on them independently of each other, or passing on the developing conception to each other

in a way which brings to mind a relay race.

On the other hand, the technological realizations should be investigated from the point of view of their dependence upon social and, above all, economic conditions of particular countries (or groups of countries sharing similar conditions), while the importance of technological achievements should be rated according to the influence they have exercised upon the economy and culture of the country in question. From this point of view, the steam engine, invented by Polzunoff, could have only a marginal significance, as it did not affect in the least the development of Russian economy.

The basic notion which goes together with a technological conception and realization is that of a technological revolution. It is at the same time a revolution of realizations, as seen in a number of countries in which those revolutions did take place.

Now, a revolution of technological conceptions consists in a substitution of one set of conceptions for another, more perfect one. This process, like that of the whole development of technological conceptions, does not as a rule take place within a single country and can, therefore, be only partly dependent upon social factors. Such a revolution may affect only one branch of technology, or just a group of similar branches. However, there are also major technological revolutions which cover the whole system of conceptions common to technology as a whole.

Revolution of technological conceptions constitutes a premise for the revolution in technological realizations. While the revolutions of technological conceptions have been linked more or less closely with scientific revolutions since the early nineteenth century, revolutions in technological realizations depend as a rule upon social and economic conditions of a particular country.

Revolutions in realizations, though they may have come from the same revolution of technical conceptions, usually take place in different countries at different times and assume different forms. In those countries in which revolution of mechanization came as late as the twentieth century, it occurred as a rule jointly with the revolution of electrification. Both these revolutions may be only a stage on the path leading straight to the revolution of automation, as it is the case in the Soviet Republics in Central Asia.

Those countries which introduce a technological system of a new kind later than other countries benefit, of course, from the technological experience and knowhow of the latter. We can, therefore, speak of the acquisition of revolution in technological realizations by the countries which had not been its initiators. This acquisition does not express itself for the most part in a simple application of the technological system that has been worked out in another country, and so in other circumstances. Usually the system must be adapted to the natural, economic, demographic,

cadre and social conditions of the country that acquires it. And the acquisition takes place only when it is carried out by the local cadres and not when the construction and exploitation of an establishment is done by foreigners who merely engage the untrained manpower of that country. Thus, for instance, the construction and exploitation of the Suez Canal did not mean that Egypt had acquired the modern system of construction and exploitation of waterways. That did happen, but only in 1956, after the Canal was taken over by the Egyptians.

The fact is that every country is not capable of acquiring a given technological system; each must fulfil certain conditions, namely, those which make up the notion of the receptivity threshold.⁵ Going beyond that threshold, as far as any particular technological system is concerned, means, among other things, that the technical cadre of the country is able to adapt that system to the situation prevailing in that country. This is not the only condition whose fulfilment means that the receptivity threshold has been crossed; there are more of them, such as adequate capital and natural resources, sufficient manpower, an adequate level of general education, and the existence of a social class which is interested in the acquisition of technological progress and which recognizes an adequate system of social values.⁶

Attempts to implant a technological system in a country which has not yet crossed the receptivity threshold in respect of that system are doomed to failure.⁷ On the other hand, when a technological system is introduced into a country which has crossed that threshold, a feedback between technology and economic and social conditions of that country is likely to develop. In that case, production, being based upon a new technological system, stimulates economic and social factors, in fact, a whole technological culture, as a result of which the country becomes capable of acquiring other, ever more complicated systems; in a word, there will be not only increase of production but also economic development.

In some particularly propitious circumstances, the economic development may be so successful that the country which acquired a technological system created abroad begins to overtake other countries, as far as the progress of a given branch of technology is concerned, and eventually itself becomes an originator and producer of new technological systems. That threshold of overtaking was crossed in the main branches of technology by the United States and Germany in the nineteenth century and by the Soviet Union and Japan in the twentieth century.

One is tempted to apply in this respect the terms used in space flights: under certain conditions a country reaches its "first technical velocity", that is, the receptivity threshold which enables it to rise to a certain level; but, once higher social and economic parameters have been

achieved, the country reaches its "second technological velocity", which enables it to "take off" from the known technological systems and reach the systems so far unknown. However, whereas one can determine exactly the conditions under which a space rocket can reach the first and second cosmic velocity, it is not easy to establish conditions under which a country is supposed to exceed the threshold of receptivity and the next stage, of overtaking, in a certain branch of technology. Even less is it possible to make generalizations about technology as a whole

The discussions which were held at the two above mentioned symposia of ICOHTEC drew attention to the importance of two threshold conditions: the policy of a government as well as primary and vocational education.

The revolution, which in the second half of the eighteenth century brought about the mechanization of the British technology, took place within the framework of a liberal economy, practically without the government's intervention; this situation was subsequently reflected in the economic theories of Smith and Ricardo. The implantation of the new technological system in other countries, however, was done, more or less with the intervention of governments; this was the case not only in Germany, Poland or Japan, but also in France and the United States.

This activity by the governments, however, took different forms: internal ones, such as attempts to raise the level of education, facilities for the import of scientific and technological information, credit aid to enterprises, and lastly the development of government-owned industry; as well as external ones, such as, above all, customs policy. In some cases, as it happened for instance in 1815-1930 in the then Polish kingdom; autonomous within the Russian Empire, plans were drawn up for the development of industry, and especially plans for the acquisition of technological progress, which were based on the selection of certain systems of technology which could meet the needs of the country.

At the same time, the government's intervention would be guided not only by purely economic considerations, but also by various political, social, national and sometimes even nationalistic motives. Thus, for instance, in Poland, which in the nineteenth century was deprived of its independence, economic development as well as the expansion of education and technology was the means by which national identity could be confirmed. In imperial Germany and imperial Japan, on the other hand, after those countries had passed the threshold in their industrial development, new technological systems began to serve nationalism and imperialism, the catastrophic sequels to which are only too well known to be mentioned here.

Governments had also a decisive influence on the development of both primary and vocational education, which conditioned then, as it does now, the achievement of the receptivity threshold. The size of that

threshold, by the way, changed considerably in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century it was mainly the vocational training at workshops, following the minimal primary education secured by the state, which played the leading role in preparing the technical cadres in European countries.

But in the second half of the nineteenth century the situation was basically changed. At that time, the newly created technique of smelting steel, and to an even greater extent the subsequent revolution of electrification, could be implanted only in those countries which could command qualified cadres of engineers, technicians and skilled workers. That is why the emergence of higher and secondary technological schools in the United States and Germany was such an essential factor in those countries enabling them to cross the threshold of overtaking. It must equally be remembered that engineering sciences whose achievements in the second half of the nineteenth century became the basis for the formation of many branches of engineering owed their creation above all to the Paris Polytechnical School, founded by the revolutionary government in 1794.

The dependence of the receptivity and overtaking thresholds upon the quality not only of technical but also scientific cadres, and upon the planned policy of governments, became even more apparent in the second half of the twentieth century. This applies equally to the countries of the Third World. Such are the conclusions drawn from the research done by ICOHTEC, and they have found confirmation in a recently published article by S. Husain Zaheer: "Science and Technology in Underdeveloped Countries".⁸

While reflecting upon the reasons for the limited success of the Development Decade, Zaheer points to two factors: "First, the absence of enlightened leadership which would recognize the vital role of science and scientist in development. . . . Secondly, political instability and uncertainty, which induces politicians lacking in foresight to give a higher priority to arms build-up than to education and development." At another place he emphasizes the importance of technical and scientific cadres, when he writes that the Asian and African countries of the Third World "can be divided into two groups: the first consisting of countries like India, Pakistan, the UAR, Ghana, Indonesia, etc., in which for historical reasons a nucleus of science, scientists and scientific education already existed; and the second, of countries like the Congo and Guinea (Africa), where almost nothing existed, not even lawyers, teachers, doctors or engineers, as a result of the deliberate policies of the respective imperialist powers."⁹

Thus the experiences of the past have found confirmation in the latest period.

(Translated from the Polish by Ludwik Wiewiorkowski)

- ¹ Comp. : Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, chapter 7.
- ² The material of both these symposia is now in press.
- ³ Comp : E. Olszewski, *Badania nad wdrażaniem postępu technicznego przez kraje nie będące jego inicjatorami* *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, (Research on the Acquisition of Technology by Non-initiating Countries, Quarterly Journal of History of Science and Technology) Warsaw, No 31, 1971, pp 565-575
- ⁴ Comp : M. Daumas, "L'histoire des techniques. son object, ses limites, ses methodes", *Documents pour l'Histoire des Techniques*, Paris, No 7, 1969; pp. 17-18.
- ⁵ This notion was introduced by Prof M. Daumas in his paper, now in press, which he read at the opening of the above mentioned symposium at Pont-a-Mousson
- ⁶ Comp : The paper, now in press, by Prof M. Kranzberg "The Acquisition of New Technology in the United States in the 19th Century", presented at the above mentioned symposium in Moscow.
- ⁷ Many such examples were mentioned at these symposia; one of them concerned the introduction of coke fuel into big furnaces which ended with a failure, both in Poland and in Italy, because of the inexpert adaptation of the British system to local conditions in those countries.
- ⁸ Article published in the collection "*Science and Society. Essays in Honour of Dr. A. V. Baliga*" Bombay 1972, pp. 107-116.
- ⁹ *Op cit.*, pp. 115 and 108

Role of Leadership in Development Administration — A Conceptual Analysis

E. H. Valsan

Development administration is a term which has become popular in the context of the era of developmental planning, particularly in the Third World. It got currency in the light of the efforts of scholars and politicians to emphasize the importance of a change-oriented, action-oriented administration in order to implement economic and social planning. The traditional or colonial approach to what is called public administration was thus looked at as a law-and-order-and-revenue-oriented approach and it was found inadequate to tackle the problems of the era of developmental planning.

This paper will restrict itself to one important problem, viz., the problem of leadership for development administration. However, this major problem is closely linked with all other problems and hence the first attempt to list some of them below:

1. Fixing the objectives and goals of development.
2. Survey of available resources
3. Projection of needed resources: men, money and material.
4. Formulation of a plan and methods of implementation.
5. Creation of developmental departments and units.
6. Staffing of the new agencies.
7. Co-ordination of multiplicity of organizations and activities.
8. Creation of vertical and horizontal subdivisions of the agencies.
9. Delegation of authority and decentralization of power.
10. Creation of effective communications media within the departments as well as communication with the masses.
11. Recognition of the increasing needs of the people and innovative response to their specific needs according to cultural, social and other variations
12. Development of administrative and political capabilities in society.

Whereas any number of other problems and tasks can be added to the list, it is important to emphasize three points which are often neglected by writers on development:

1. Maintenance of law and order becomes all the more important in the context of development than under ordinary public administration situation. This is because real development involves political development which teaches the masses about their rights and duties. As the demands for rights increase proportionate to the increase in needs, political agitations and other types of disturbances tend to increase, often threatening the stability of society.

2. Collection of revenue according to the newly stipulated progressive policies is equally important for development. Otherwise national, state, and local governments will become mendicant institutions dependent upon foreign, national and private aid.

3. As developmental activities tend to accentuate the process of bureaucratization by increasing the number of civil servants, the

traditional problems of routine, red tape and corruption tend to increase under development administration.

It is in the light of the increasing variety and confusing contradictions of problems mentioned above that one has to look at the problem of leadership for development administration. We are concerned with leadership not only at the top but at all levels of national life.

Discussion of leadership normally tends to take a very high-sounding attitude towards established leaders in such a way as to make one feel that leadership is an extraordinary and at times divine quality which makes it impossible for ordinary people to attain. Western writers particularly found it convenient to attribute heroic and heavenly qualities to leaders of the developing world during the early period after independence or revolution in a country. This was common particularly when they failed to understand the real cause of the popularity of those leaders.

An important word generally used to describe popular leaders is "charisma". The word was used to describe Gandhi, Nehru, Nasser, and Castro not only to emphasize their popularity and "blind" following, but also to discredit their second lines of leadership who were then assumed to have no charisma. It is important to analyse the utility of the concept of charismatic leadership from the point of view of development administration.

According to Max Weber, who introduced the concept to social sciences, charismatic leaders are holders of specific gifts of the body and spirit and these gifts are believed to be supernatural, not accessible to everybody. Such leaders appear during times of distress: political, economic, ethical and psychic. However, recent usage of the term has been more mundane, and it is doubtful if those who use it really pause to think before they attribute charisma or its absence to someone. This happens because charisma itself is a "charismatic" word — implying a magical appeal to those who use it. There are certain words in all languages which are used more often than others. At times a new word is introduced and a whole generation of writers tend to use it frequently. During the last decade "charisma" has become popular in social science and journalism.

The case of India's Prime Minister is a typical example of the abuse of the word charisma. When Indira Gandhi succeeded Lal Bahadur Shastri in 1966, despite the general welcome received from many quarters, several writers observed that, though she was the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, she lacked the charisma of her father. Writers had attributed absence of charisma to Shastri also when he succeeded Nehru. After the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965, however, Shastri also looked charismatic, at least to some! Today, one comes across frequent references to Indira Gandhi's charisma!

If charisma is God-given, magical and supernatural, Indira Gandhi

must have had it from the time she was born. The fact is that charisma is not inherited, and that must have been the reason why people did not notice it in her in 1966. In this connection it is important to recall Weber's description of charisma as what is "believed to be supernatural, not accessible to everybody". It is a property of conduct and personality regarded by those who respond to it as a manifestation of endowment with, or possession by some divine power. Thus Weber only felt that the leader is thought to be endowed with the divine qualities (Shils, 1965, p. 200).¹ Thus what is important is the charismatic image projected by the leader and as seen by the people. Thus, those who call Indira Gandhi charismatic today are right if they look at it from the point of view of the masses who adore her after her series of successes in the political battles fought within the party, country and with Pakistan. It is possible that a large number of such masses do believe now that she possesses some supernatural or at least superior qualities "not accessible to everybody". Many people saw such divine qualities in Nehru who himself was a nonbeliever.

However, the question arises whether the explanation of the presence of charisma with magical, supernatural-looking qualities in one leader at the top can help development. Elsewhere this writer has attempted to answer this question by suggesting an alternative concept of inspiration (Valsan-1970).² Inspiration is a rationally observable experience which moves intellect, spirit and emotions. We need not go into the religious connotation in which the term is at times used. Even in the mundane day-to-day life of people and nations we learn about various sources of inspiration for action. In the developmental context what is needed is inspiration for collective and individual action for the achievement of social goals.

The concept of inspiration can help us to understand the more creative aspects of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and of any other leader better than the concept of charisma. Charisma may keep an audience and a crowd of followers in respectful awe, but inspiration can move them to action. Further, charisma does not leave its followers any clue to its source except divine grace for which they can only pray, whereas the source of inspiration for the leader can be studied systematically by the people and to a great extent used for their own development.

It is common knowledge that Indira Gandhi drew inspiration for national service from a multiplicity of sources. Her father, mother, grandparents, Mahatma Gandhi and the people of India inspired her to enter the struggle for freedom at an early age. Each one who inspired her also drew inspiration from the goals set before the nation by the Indian National Congress at that time.

Inspiration can be felt even when suffering for a major cause. Thus both Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi suffered imprisonment, and every sad experience in the jail strengthened their will for sacrifice

in order to achieve the inspiring goal of India's independence. Their experience in jail in turn inspired the masses with the fervour to fight for freedom. (One has yet to hear about charismatic imprisonment!)

After independence Jawaharlal Nehru continued to inspire Indira Gandhi and the nation. At the same time she drew inspiration from the sources which kept Nehru inspired, namely, the poverty and the problems of the people. The concept of inspiration is a democratic concept because not only is it the leader who inspires, but the followers also can inspire the leader. It is this feature that added to the popularity of Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. Those who failed to see charisma in Indira Gandhi in 1966 failed to see her sources of inspiration as well. As she began to draw inspiration from the problems and the support of the people and party workers, she herself grew in her capacity to inspire. This mutuality and dynamism of the concept of inspiration is impossible in the concept of charisma

An important source of inspiration is challenge. The challenges before Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1966 were enormous. The famine that followed and the debacle in the elections of 1967 presented new challenges to her. The crisis in the Congress party further put her on the spot. She often went to the people in order to draw inspiration. With the heritage of an inspired and inspiring family and personal commitment to the cause of the nation, she was able to inspire confidence in the people, which led to victory in the crucial challenge of the elections of 1971.

Inspiration can be drawn from success as well. It was to a great extent the success in the parliamentary elections and the high self-confidence inspired by the electorate which gave Indira Gandhi the strength to stand up to the task of meeting the refugee problem and of leading the nation to total victory in the war with Pakistan. Success in the war and the creation of Bangladesh further gave confidence to the people as well as to the leader. The elections in the States held in 1972 re-established her Congress party in most of the States.

It is oversimplification to describe such a span of inspired and inspiring life of a great leader with the blanket word "charisma", which gives very little credit to her intellectual, emotional, spiritual and other personal attributes. It minimizes the importance of long hours of hard work and energy put in by her for the cause of the nation. It is in the light of this discussion that we have to look at the problems of development administration and the role of inspiring leadership for development. Winning the elections and the war have not solved the problems of India. Problems of development have only increased. Greater strains on the economy due to war and greater expectations by the people who voted for Indira Gandhi's party have only increased the intensity of the challenge of development administration.

Development of political and administrative capabilities involves both

technical competence and individual commitment. Even technical competence becomes easier to acquire if the morale and aspirations of the individuals are high. In the developmental situation, material incentives alone cannot be depended upon to keep the morale of the workers high because developmental needs imply great scarcity of material resources. Thus the political and administrative personnel are called upon to make high-level contribution often on the basis of personal sacrifice. Such sacrifice in a competitive world by competent people is possible only if they are inspired by some higher ideals and goals as are held out by the national leadership in response to the needs of the masses.

Here it is important to introduce the concept of “chain of inspiration”. Theorists of public administration are used to the term “chain of command”, borrowed from the military terminology. Development cannot be brought about only by command; it requires people’s participation. It requires not only inspired and inspiring leadership at the top but also a vibrant chain of inspiration running through all levels — horizontal and vertical — of administration and society. Thus both in the political and in the administrative hierarchy there is need for highly competent individuals who draw inspiration from the national leaders, from goals, from each other and, above all, from the people.

Is it possible to institutionalize inspiration? As institutions are constituted of individuals and since inspiration is an individual and collective experience, there is no reason why through human engineering people in the institution cannot be elevated to a high level of inspiration. Successful development programmes all over the world have had some methods to keep this level high. During the struggle for independence, Mahatma Gandhi used techniques of leadership and inspiration with great dexterity. His followers, inspired by him and by the challenges before them, had nothing but jail and suffering to expect on the material plane. Still, the ultimate goal was inspiring and that, together with the sincerity and the exemplary qualities of the leaders, mobilized their activities. Perhaps we need to look to that era to learn how some of the techniques of inspiration then used can be used today in order to meet the new challenge of development. It was not just the charisma of Gandhiji that won India her independence, but the vibrant chain of inspiration among the freedom-fighters also helped, for inspiration can be, and is, unlike charisma, transmitted from people to people.

Those who are interested in development will not be contented by the charisma of a prime minister or president. Looking at charisma with awe can have even negative and benumbing effect on the people. People who just go to have a *darshan* of the leader may find only “charisma” in him or her and may return home and continue their routine. On the contrary, those who understand the ideals and goals for which the leader stands and fights can feel inspired to follow and to participate in collective

action for development. Hence the hypothesis suggested by this writer elsewhere:

“Success in development will depend largely upon the number of people rationally inspired for social action and not on the number of people who assemble to watch and admire the charisma of the leader.”
(Valsan, 1970; p. 390)

On the basis of this assumption certain measures for the institutionalization of inspiration can be undertaken both at the Centre and in the States:

1. Selection of the most competent and development-oriented colleagues for political and ministerial positions. They should be able to inspire confidence among the civil servants and the masses.
2. Insistence upon the political leadership to set examples for others to follow.
3. Re-examination of the bureaucratic set-up not only on the basis of organizational criteria, but also on the basis of person-oriented studies, bringing to the fore hidden talents waiting for recognition and challenging responsibilities.
4. Selection of the most competent and inspiring men with experience as heads of training institutions and as their faculty.
5. Training politicians in the dynamics of administration and the administrators in the ideology of democratic socialism and goals of development.
6. A person-oriented approach in selecting heads of developmental departments, particularly in the States. Very often people with interest are transferred from one job to another giving no one a chance to give total commitment to a particular area or aspect of development.
7. Identification of political and administrative leadership interested in development in the States, districts, towns and villages. Talent-and-commitment-hunting must be an important task of some of the confidants of the leader at the top.
8. Transformation of the bureaucracy, which is supposed to work as agents of change for development, into a more egalitarian social group than it is today. Despite talk of socialism, Indian bureaucracy today reflects great inequalities on the basis of class, status, salary and prestige. Bureaucracy involved in development programmes also continues to reflect these inequalities. Development workers, who are really in touch with the masses, are poorly paid and hence the difficulty in attracting the right type of development workers.
9. Responsiveness to the demands and needs of an enlightened electorate which in India is emerging to be a source of inspiration to the leadership of the nation and the States. Capacity to inspire them for collective action and sacrifices is most vital.
10. A re-examination of the role and performance of our universities and

colleges as centres for training future leadership. The curricula and the research done in social sciences, particularly need to be organized with a sense of realism and not for cramming and quoting outmoded theories and fashionable concepts coming from the West. Originality in studying and interpreting our own social phenomena are essential in order to build up an innovative and rapidly developing society.

Many more measures which can be taken in order to institutionalize inspiration in every walk of life can be listed. What is important in the Indian context today is to emphasize the need to identify, develop, maintain and reproduce cadres of political and administrative leadership at the national, State, town and village levels, inspired by and inspiring the people for social action against poverty, unemployment and social inequalities.

1. Edward Shils, "Charisma, Order and Status," *American Sociological Review*, XXX, No 2, 1965.
2. E.H. Valsan, *Community Development Programs and Rural Local Government: Comparative Case Studies of India and the Philippines*, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1970.

Education and Income Equality

Jagdish Bhagwati

India has made considerable strides in spreading educational facilities, at both primary and higher levels, around the country during the period of planned development since 1950. Among the major objectives of this educational expansion has been a reduction in income inequality.

However, as I argue below, we need to take more seriously into account than we have so far the fact that the benefits of state subsidization of education are likely to accrue disproportionately to the better-off classes and castes—at *all* levels of education. Now that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is in an unparalleled position to undertake genuinely progressive policies, steps can be taken to ensure that these adverse effects are eliminated and education is made into a more effective instrument for promoting income equality.

I. Basic Hypothesis

I would formulate my basic hypothesis about class structure and its interaction with educational expenditures currently as follows:

For each class of education, the state will subsidize the cost of education; and the benefits of these subsidies will accrue disproportionately to the "non-masses" at each level of education.

As I argue below, the unequal accrual of benefits comes primarily from the differential costs and benefits from education which are facing the different groups and which, therefore, enable the elite to take advantage of these subsidies while shutting out a large proportion of the masses from this course.

II. Primary Education

Thus, the little sociological evidence which corroborates this thesis which I have been able to find, supports the notion that the lowest castes and income groups typically have not been able to have the same effective access to primary education as the higher castes and income groups because, for them, (i) the opportunity cost (of labour) of primary education is higher, (ii) the benefit from primary education is lower, (iii) the private rate of return to them from such education is therefore lower, and at the same time (iv) the cost of capital, against which such rate of return must be compared, is higher than for the higher-income and caste groups.

These hypotheses are based on the following assumptions about the lower caste and income groups:

(i) The opportunity cost of labour, resulting from the fact that children of primary-school age cannot work during the time that they attend school, is higher because typically these groups can and do use children of

this age in gainful work, whereas this is not possible (or allowed) with the other, higher caste and income groups.

(ii) The benefits from primary education are lower for these groups again because (a) the probability of finding rural jobs such as primary school teaching, post office and such other jobs requiring primary (and secondary) education is lower for these groups; (b) if higher returns accrue through increased productivity on the farm, it is unlikely to accrue in full to the educated but low-income landless labourer, whereas these returns would accrue fully to the educated but richer landholding farmer; and (c) in so far as the higher returns accrue through higher mobility to the urban sector where jobs requiring primary education (e.g., watchmen in Delhi colleges) are relatively less scarce, the lower-income groups with less urban contacts and generally lower mobility would correspondingly have less access to such returns from primary education.

(iii) At the same time, clearly in a world where many of the members of the lower-income groups, especially in the rural areas, have indebtedness at high rates of interest, their opportunity cost of capital is greater than that of the middle and upper-income groups in general; this asymmetry is further reinforced by the general banking and lending practice of charging higher interest rates to the smaller borrowers.

Evidence for these hypotheses should not be difficult to find. A good example is to be found in Oscar Lewis' careful account of Rampur in northern India in 1953. His analysis clearly confirms in a broad way the arguments set out above; it is best to quote him:

... In terms of primary school attendance the castes of the village fall into three groups which cut across the usual caste rankings in some respects. The relatively low-caste Nais and Khatis are grouped with the Jats and Brahmans in the category with highest school attendance; the Camars and Jhinvars form an intermediate group, while the Chipis, Lohars, Kumhars, Dhobis, and Bhangis (mostly low castes) make up the group with lowest school attendance. . . . As part of the national effort to raise the lot of untouchables, Harijan (low-caste) students are not only exempt from the 2-annas-per-month school fee but may apply for special scholarships of 1 or 2 rupees per month. But only some Camar families have taken advantage of this opening. Although the Bhangis and Dhobis make up fourteen of the village's 150 families, they have no children in the primary school, and the Kumhars, with seven families, have contributed only one student. Economic and occupational factors seem to be involved here. The group with highest school attendance includes those with the most economic security, especially in the case of the Jats, who are the landowners of the village. It also includes occupational groups (Nai and Khati) whose work

does not demand the help of children in the 5-14 age bracket. There is no great demand at present for the services of the barber and carpenter, and in their work children can be of use primarily after twelve years of age. In the case of Kumhars, however, children can be put to work at various unskilled or semi-skilled tasks: carrying clay, breaking the clods, adding water, taking care of the donkeys. The same may be said of the Bhangis. Since the struggle for livelihood is serious, it may be hard to spare children in the 5-14 age group when their work is of real assistance to the family. Some lower-caste informants also said that untouchables are discriminated against to some extent at the schools and are not treated as well as the higher-caste children. Moreover, education is not always seen as an asset. When there are educated villagers without jobs, the value of such training may be called into question.¹

Other evidence, giving the average family incomes by caste, also seems to underline the broad correlation between low income, low castes and low school-participation rates.

I would expect that these results would broadly hold for most parts of India. Also, data on drop-outs from primary school should also confirm my general thesis here: even when participation is tried, it may not be carried through to completion, because of the realization that the rates of return *are* significantly low in relation to cost of capital, by the lower income and caste groups. (The drop-outs in low-caste groups, however, may also reflect the factor listed by Lewis: the social harassment from castes refusing to mingle with the Harijans and related low-caste children.)

There are a number of hypotheses here for more detailed empirical investigation:

- (i) Are school-participation rates lower for lower castes and lower income groups?
- (ii) Are drop-out rates higher for these groups?
- (iii) Can these lower participation and higher drop-out rates be related to the differential rates of return and cost of capital to these groups *vis-a-vis* the higher castes and income groups?
- (iv) Are there factors which are tending to reduce these differentials and ensure a steadily less inegalitarian distribution of the subsidies to primary education: e.g., are the participation rates rising and drop-out rates falling in specific areas for the lower caste and income groups over time; and is this phenomenon to be explained in terms of increasing benefits (among which would be state-provided measures such as quota-determined access to jobs and to subsidized higher education, increasing access to jobs owing to exogenous factors such as growth of surrounding towns or influx of governmental programmes, etc.) or lower costs (among which would be state-provided subsidies to these groups for school attendance)?

III. Higher Education

It is equally true that the State subsidies meted out through higher (post-matriculation) education are differentially available to income groups depending on their economic status.

Not merely is the college participation rate for the lower income groups likely to be much lower than for the middle and upper income groups; even within the latter groups, the participation rates are likely to be linked to the income level. This is because, again, both the opportunity costs of education would tend to be higher and the benefits lower, the higher the income groups.

The evidence supporting this hypothesis should be best obtained by sample surveys designed to collect it; however, there is some evidence which seems to be broadly suggestive and consistent with the hypothesis as stated.

Thus, I would expect that the returns to lower income groups would be lower for two main reasons: (i) for equivalent qualifications, the sons (and daughters) of the more prosperous families would tend to get better-paid jobs; and (ii) again, for equivalent qualifications, they would also generally get jobs quicker, thus procuring higher returns from earlier employment. Both these hypotheses seem eminently plausible from casual observation of the employment situation in the urban areas. And, interestingly, the second factor listed here seems to be supported by some Ceylonese evidence that I have seen recently and which I strongly suspect would be pertinent to India as well.

IV. Socialism and Education

Clearly, therefore, it would appear likely that the higher income groups manage to get the subsidies which come *via* either primary or higher education; and educational subsidies would not appear to be the quite so egalitarian an instrument as they are often believed to be. In fact, as is so often the case with our mixed economy, the benefits of state subsidization seem to accrue predominantly to the higher income groups, no matter what the area of subsidization.

Such an outcome may be the inevitable outcome of a political system which attempts to combine progressivism with a basically unchanged political structure. It may be that the income groups which would benefit from these educational subsidies are politically more powerful and manage to use education, which is considered socially progressive, nationally a matter of pride, and in principle an instrument of egalitarianism, to distribute relatively innocuously to themselves the benefits of state expenditures. If one accepts this thesis altogether, there is little scope for

shifting the distributional impact of educational subsidies in the desired direction of the lower income groups.

However, one might take a more optimistic view and argue that partly the result has been the outcome of an inadequate understanding of how difficult it is to have programmes truly beneficial to the lower income groups when economic opportunity and political muscle are likely to make the higher income groups more capable of taking the state-subsidized opportunities under governmental programmes. Economists have certainly aided and abetted in this outcome, by concentrating on nearly everything except income distribution in their major concerns; the calculation of dubious numbers, masquerading as rates of return to education undifferentiated by social class and caste, is only one case in point.

If one believes that there is indeed some degree of freedom to introduce reform in the distributional impact of state subsidies to education, clearly the answer lies in broadening the employment opportunities to the lower income groups and lowering their opportunity costs by suitable policies.

These policies must include a reallocation of the educational subsidies, at all levels of education, so as to redirect them to the lower income groups such that the richer groups pay for their children's education fully, whereas the poorer groups are subsidized. They would also include an enhanced quotawise reservation of jobs for these groups. But, quite aside from quotas, we need to attack the present economic regime's built-in discrimination against the lower income groups, which we noted in Section II, by ensuring that institutional devices are invented and implemented which ensure equal economic opportunity for people from different economic and social backgrounds. There is need to examine the present working of the labour markets — for different levels of education and differentiating between the public sector, the bureaucracy and the private sector — to devise such policies to ensure truly equal opportunities for all. The appointment of a governmental committee to examine this issue, with really first-rate academic economists and sociologists, is urgently necessary. Let me suggest one possible scheme, which should be appropriate for hiring clerks in all kinds of offices, for example. Rather than work with the current practice of hiring people, from the vast pool of available people with the requisite B.A. or similar qualifications, by the principle of "who knows whom" which works against the underprivileged and lower-income groups, why not require that there be a *random* selection from the qualified applications? We could require that such jobs would have to be registered with the Employment Exchange; all applications which meet the necessary qualifications would then be pooled and then lots drawn to make the appointments. Such a system would be a useful supplement to the

special examination system under which the *top* governmental services are recruited and which works, on balance, quite fairly. Another such egalitarian move would be to rule out legally the widespread practice of appointment of the sons of businessmen to lucrative managerial positions by these businessmen in “their” *public* limited companies and thus to insist that these positions be available to the public *on merit*. Unless such imaginative new practices are devised, and the mere expansion of public sector employment is not regarded naively as synonymous with the grant of equal opportunity for all,² education cannot become the instrument of egalitarianism in the manner we have traditionally assumed it to be.

¹ Oscar Lewis, *Village Life in Northern India*, pp 42-45

² Often, the public sector plants, recruiting at many levels in the same way as the private sector firms, have merely replaced private-sector discriminatory practices with similar public-sector discriminatory practices!

India's Green Revolution

Norman E. Borlaug

It is an honour for me to have been invited to prepare an article on the Green Revolution for inclusion in the Abhinandan Granth which is to be presented to Her Excellency Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, in recognition of her outstanding leadership in all facets of human improvement including the social, economic, agricultural, medical, industrial and educational aspects.

The term "The Green Revolution" is a phrase coined by the popular press to describe the rapid increase in cereal grain production in some of the developing nations during the past five years. India has been in the vanguard in this change in food production. Its methods of attack and progress have set the pattern and become the model for other developing nations to follow in their assault on the most fundamental of all problems: food production.

Food is the first necessity for life; without it man can survive only for a few weeks. Nevertheless, food is something that is taken for granted by the people of the affluent nations, where there is an abundant, cheap supply.

People who have never known hunger, all too often, if not generally, believe that food comes from the markets and stores; they fail to look beyond to the land where the toil and struggle of millions of farmers are required to produce their daily bread. Therefore, people from such privileged nations cannot fully comprehend the significance of the Green Revolution to the people of the developing nations, who depend primarily upon cereals as the main source of food.

Without the visionary, stimulating, indomitable leadership of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, there would have been no Green Revolution in India nor perhaps in any other developing nation. Many Government officials, hundreds of scientists and extension workers and millions of farmers contributed to the genesis and success of the Green Revolution, under her stimulating leadership.

In a small, modest way, several foreign scientific colleagues and I were privileged to collaborate with Indian Government officials and scientists in this revolution in agricultural production. It is from this vantage point that I shall briefly describe the leadership role of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in the genesis, organization, development and impact of the Green Revolution.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was the first leader of any of the new developing nations to put unequivocal faith in agricultural science and technology as a means of expanding food production and their power to relieve hunger and suffering.

Not only was Prime Minister Indira Gandhi concerned with using science and technology to expand food production to reduce suffering and to meet national needs, but she was well aware of the sense of confidence and political stability that would accrue to the nation if dynamic progress could be made on the food production front. Her excellent feel

for possible indirect, intangible values of a breakthrough in the food production front were made clearly evident by the overwhelming mandate she received in the 1971 elections. This mandate has brought political stability and an environment favourable for continued development on both the agricultural and industrial fronts.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi also hoped that by increasing food production India would be freed, as soon as possible, from the dependence upon other nations for its most important basic need — food — and thereby give the country complete and independent control over its future social, economic and political destiny. These indirect benefits are already being realized.

It is apparent that, even though Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had great faith in the potential value of science and technology for solving India's food production problem, she was at the same time a realist about how to achieve this objective.

She selected at the outset a group of dynamic leaders, both administrators and scientists, whom she placed in charge of all of the key posts in agriculture and food. Moreover, she insisted that their recommendations be given high priority in the overall development plans of the Planning Commission.

Once decisions were made by the agricultural leaders, based on sound experimental data, they received the wholehearted — both moral and financial — support of the Prime Minister. An example of the vision, courage and decision with which such endeavours were undertaken was the project to import 18,000 tons of Mexican dwarf wheat seed in 1966. Never before had the world witnessed anything approaching such a large seed import. Many observers from foreign countries predicted utter failure of the undertaking. Instead, the importation of this seed, coupled with the launching of a sound wheat production campaign, built around experimental data developed in India from 1962 to 1965, was highly successful. It gave birth to the Green Revolution.

The result was that national wheat production began to rise spectacularly in the 1968 harvest, three years earlier than would have happened, had this large volume of seed not been imported.

But underlying Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's faith in science and technology as a means of helping to solve the food production problem was an even more amazing intuitive understanding of human nature, the great faith in the receptivity of the small farmers of India. Analysing it now, it is evident, it was upon her faith that they would accept the new methods of cultivating their crops once the benefits of such change were demonstrated to them, that the dynamic action programme was based.

Millions of small farmers in India have accepted the new technology during the past five years and thereby increased national wheat production spectacularly. They have vindicated Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's

faith in their receptivity. And in the process, a myth has been destroyed, namely, that “illiterate farmers are ultra-conservative and will not change their ways”, as had often been stated by oversophisticated scientists and educators in some affluent countries.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was impatient to have the experimental results on wheat, maize and rice, being developed at the experiment stations, extended to the farms as soon as justifiable.

Research *per se* (to develop information) was considered only a means towards an end; but her final objective was to increase production. Accordingly, a wheat production campaign strategy was established under the All-India Wheat Research and Production Programme. Under this programme a package of production practices was formulated, in which the best variety of seed and advanced agricultural practices (fertilization, land preparation, planting, irrigation) were incorporated.

Government economic policy was brought into line so that it would be possible for the small farmer to adopt the new technology. Among the dynamic actions taken by the Government to achieve this goal, were:

- (1) The establishment of a stimulatory floor price for the grain crop;
- (2) The purchase at harvest by Government, of grain in sufficient quantities to stabilize the market and prevent the grain price from falling below the floor price, and
- (3) The opening of credit availability so that the small farmers could purchase inputs, that is, fertilizer, seed, etc., and thereby permit them to participate in the new technology.

Moreover, dynamic adjustments were made by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Government to increase both fertilizer importations and domestic manufacturing capacity, as soon as it was evident that the rhythm of adoption of the new technology was advancing faster than anticipated. This modification of policy was not easy, because it involved reallocation of scarce foreign exchange to meet the exploding demands for fertilizer, but this change in policy made possible the breakthrough in wheat, maize and rice production.

Finally, the key to adoption of the new science and technology — widespread demonstration on farms of its ability to increase yields spectacularly — was insisted upon by the heads of the All-India Co-ordinated Wheat Research and Production Programme and was wholeheartedly supported by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's enthusiasm.

The new wheat production technology was rapidly adopted by Indian farmers during 1965, 1966 and 1967. By the 1968 harvest, national production had begun a steady increase and new records have been established in each of the past five years. The magnitude of this change becomes self-evident when one compares the pre-Green Revolution all-time record harvest of 12.3 million metric tons for 1965 (a very favourable year from the standpoint of weather), with the harvest of 16.5,

18.7, 20.3, 23.3 and 26.0 (estimated) million metric tons for 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971 and 1972, respectively. The greatest part of this large increase in production, perhaps 85 per cent, has been the result of increase in yields of grain per hectare. India has become the third largest wheat producer in the world, being exceeded only by the USA and the USSR.

Not only has the Green Revolution greatly increased the production of cereal grains, but it has also brought many other beneficial effects to the Indian people, among which are:

- (1) Increased farm income. It has not, as some critics of the Green Revolution have claimed, made the rich richer and the poor poorer. An equitable distribution of benefits was assured by the Prime Minister's wise government policy, namely:
 - extending credit to the small farmer for the inputs, that is, fertilizer and seed, and
 - tightening of the loopholes in the Land Ceiling Act.
- (2) Demonstrated receptivity of the small farmer to new technology, when it permits him to increase his standard of living.
- (3) The small farmer is investing more in farm improvement to increase his productivity, that is, tube wells, threshing machines, small tractors, etc.
- (4) The farmer has learned the value of agricultural chemicals for increasing yields and production, and is investing more in fertilizers and pesticides.
- (5) Farmers are finding it profitable to increase the intensity of cropping, whereby improved practices are being used on all crops entering the rotation.
- (6) There is greater demand for labour, both because of greater harvests and because of greater intensity of cropping, and, as a consequence, wages of farm labour have increased. Up to now there has been no measurable increase in the shift of rural peoples to the cities, because of the Green Revolution.
- (7) The intensification and technification of agriculture has resulted in the establishment of many agro-businesses, which are employing more workers and which involve the manufacture and distribution of equipment and goods for agriculture, that is, pumps, casings, motors, machinery, fertilizers, seeds, etc.
- (8) The increased purchasing power of the farm sector has created a demand for other goods and thereby stimulated employment and industry, that is, sewing machines, transistor radios, bicycles, motor scooters, etc.
- (9) The increase in cereal production has provided cheaper food for everybody, including the urban workers and the landless labourers.
- (10) Perhaps one of the greatest indirect benefits derived from the Green Revolution has been the increase in experience and confidence that

has accrued to the agricultural research and educational institutions. With this added experience and confidence, they are now aggressively attacking research and production problems on other important crops, that is, sorghums, millets, pulses and forages.

Although the achievements of the Green Revolution in increasing food production are modest, compared to the great needs of the world, they are none the less a big step in the right direction. There is every hope that the accomplishments to date can be increased and expanded to other crops.

I am convinced that it is the belief of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi — just as it is mine — that adequate food is the moral right for all who are born into this world. Without food all other components of social justice are meaningless. If the Green Revolution can be expanded rapidly, it will help buy time during which world population growth must be brought into balance with our capacity to produce adequate food and to provide decent housing, clothing, education and a job for everybody.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has long been a champion for all peoples of the developing nations. I have always admired her for the position she has taken and defended on many of these issues. In my opinion she reached a new pinnacle of achievement in stating the case of the developing world when in Stockholm she recently asked: "Is it morally right for the affluent nations to deny the use of science and technology to the developing nations — which is absolutely necessary to increase the standard of living of their people — even if there is some minor adverse indirect effect on the environment?" I wholeheartedly agree with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on this very basic issue.

I take this opportunity to salute Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on her outstanding achievements and wish her, as well as all the people of India, the very best success in building an ever greater India in the years ahead.

The Problem of Nutrition

N. R. Dhar

Hunger is the oldest associate of man. In the early days of human civilization, procurement of food was difficult. Even in Europe in this century, when technology had made such advance, learned men, even the Nobel laureates of Germany, talked of food when they met during the First World War, for times of war revive man's ancient worry about food. In the Second World War, two slogans were "Food will win the war and write the peace" and "Food for victory". For all of us, food is the largest item in the cost of living and the most potent factor affecting health. Wise use of food means much for welfare and longevity.

Today, owing to the population explosion, the world's food situation is causing anxiety. Publications of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations show that eastern nations as well as South American nations are ill fed. Food consumption in India is evidently most inadequate.

The Science of Nutrition: The science of nutrition was established by a chemist, the immortal Lavoisier, who, in 1781, soon after establishing the Law of Conservation of Matter, declared, "Life is a chemical process". He showed experimentally that burning is a chemical change between combustible material and oxygen. He also stated that just as wood burns and supplies us with energy, the food that we take burns slowly in our body at a temperature of about 37°C and supplies us with energy for our daily work. He also established that the food material burnt in oxygen in a calorimeter produces the same heat as in the human body. Hence, burning inside the body and outside is the same process. Through the efforts of Lavoisier, Laplace and Liebig (the last, a student of Gay Lussac in Paris, was familiar with the researches of Lavoisier and Laplace), the quantitative methods advanced. Liebig fired the imagination of his countryman, Carl von Voit, to undertake painstaking researches on animal metabolism at the famous Munich School. Voit and his colleague, Pettenkofer, built a small room, well-ventilated by a current of air 500,000 litres passing per day, in which a man was studied under normal circumstances. Knowing the quantity of carbon dioxide and water entering and leaving the room, it was easy to calculate how much was derived from the man living in it during the period of experimentation.

These experiments established that the quantity of oxygen required depends on the chemical composition of the food materials. The respiratory quotient, that is, the volume of carbon dioxide expired to the volume of oxygen taken in has the value 1 with carbohydrate, 0.781 with proteins and 0.71 with fats. The quotient for a starving man is 0.69. Voit recorded that in starvation, protein and fat alone were burnt and that more fat was consumed during work and less during sleep. A pupil of Voit, Rubner, established the isodynamic law which showed that foodstuffs may replace each other in accordance with their

heat-producing power. Thus, 100 gms of fat, 230 gms of sugar and 234 gms of dried meat are isodynamic. Rubner concluded that 1 gm of protein generated 4.1 calories, 1 gm of carbohydrate 4.1 calories, but 1 gm of fat 9.3 calories. It was established in 1902 that all phases of metabolism originate from the chemical process taking place in the cell. Rubner's work was further expanded, specially in the United States of America, by Atwater, Benedict, and many others and precise studies in metabolism were conducted. This laid the foundation of the quantitative science of nutrition.

William Prout (1785-1850), who was the originator of the hypothesis that all elements are formed from hydrogen, advanced the view that there are three staminal principles in natural food materials: (i) saccharina, (ii) oleosa, and (iii) albuminosa. Milk, which contains all these three principles, is considered to be the prototype of a perfect food. The great French physiologist, F. Magendi (1783-1855), clearly distinguished between the nitrogenous and non-nitrogenous food materials. He conducted experiments with animals, feeding them with sugar, gum, olive oil, butter, that is, non-nitrogenous food, and observed nutritional failure in every case, and so he concluded that the nitrogen of the animal tissues is derived from food nitrogen, and, non-nitrogenous food is not converted into nitrogenous food in the animal body. The Dutch physiological chemist, J.G. Mulder (1802-1880), coined the word protein from the Greek word *proteios*, which means primary, and he recognized the resemblance between proteins obtained from animal and plant tissues. European scientists like Baron Liebig (1803-1873), J.B. Boussingault (1802-1887), and M. Verworn emphasized the viewpoint that nitrogenous food played a prominent role in nutrition and that life processes consisted in the metabolism of the proteins and the phenomenon of life depended on the presence of albumen. Liebig believed that muscular contraction, glandular activity, etc., proceeded at the expense of albuminous substances and the function of nutrition was to replace the destroyed tissue protein and the nitrogenous foodstuffs could be converted into blood but not the non-nitrogenous substances. Starch, sugar, oils, and fats serve to protect the organic tissues in the body and maintain the body temperature. Atwater defined food in the following words: "Food may be defined as a material which, when taken into the body, serves either to form tissue or yield energy or both." The ideal food is a palatable mixture of foodstuffs which are capable of maintaining the body in an equilibrium of substances or capable of bringing it to a desired condition of substances and arranged together in such proportion as to burden the organism with the minimum of labour.

The science of nutrition was developed by the Europeans, who laid tremendous importance on animal proteins chiefly because they consumed large amounts of meat, fish, eggs, and cheese. About a hundred years ago,

municipal statistics were very useful in empirically working out rules regarding the amount of food necessary per capita per day. In cities like London, Paris, and Berlin, the food-sellers kept fairly accurate accounts of the edible materials sold and the number of citizens was also known accurately. Hence it was possible to determine the food consumed per human being per day.

It is observed that in most cities in Europe the animal protein consumption is between 110-120 gms and the total caloric intake is usually 3,000 or slightly more per capita per day. In poor countries, however, the animal protein consumption is much less and today in India, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan it is of the order of 5-7 gms of animal protein and 1600-2000 kg calories per capita per day. European physiologists generally agree that the total protein consumption should be 1 gm (half of which must be of animal origin) per kg of the body weight multiplied by a factor varying from 35-40 according to the profession of the individual. It appears that this consumption is the requirement for an individual living under optimum conditions of nutrition, health and vigour. Unfortunately, only 500-600 million human beings out of a total world population of 3,500 million today enjoy the animal protein and the caloric intake required under optimum conditions. There is no doubt that the majority of human beings in the world are still underfed and suffer from undernutrition due to poverty and, perhaps, from lack of knowledge.

Food and Health: Diets can be adequate in quantity and yet be unbalanced, that is, poor in minerals and vitamins. Milk, rich in vitamins and easily assimilable minerals, is in short supply almost all over the tropical countries owing to lack of fodder. Milk, cod-liver oil, and other fish oils are rich in vitamins A and B which help in proper bone formation and avoidance of eye diseases. I am convinced that a well-balanced diet consisting of wheat, potatoes and other vegetables, a small amount of milk, some uncooked vegetables, and cheap fruits like banana can go a long way in the maintenance of good health in the underdeveloped countries.

Professor Thomas of the United States of America many years ago reported that the quality of protein present in potatoes and rice was definitely better than the quality of protein present in wheat. Further quantitative experiments are necessary to determine the value of proteins not only in cereals like paddy, wheat, *jowar*, *bajra*, *ragi*, maize, etc., but also in vegetables like potatoes (ordinary and sweet), cauliflower, cabbage, *lola*, and okra. We know now that tomatoes can supply all the three vitamins (A, B, C) and they are cheap. Nearly forty years ago I suggested that the old adage that "an apple a day keeps the doctor away" should be changed, specially in tropical countries, into "a tomato a day keeps the doctor away".

Many American nutritionists have indicated that leafy vegetables like *palak*, *bathua*, etc., have been helpful in the maintenance of health in poor countries like India, Burma, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan by supplying vitamin A and easily assimilable iron compounds. More research on this is necessary.

It is generally agreed that life came into existence from sea water. The body weight consists mainly of water. Approximately 70 per cent of the weight of a new-born baby is water and the amount of water decreases on ageing. Gerontology, the science of growing old, shows that the chief factor is the inability of the body cells containing both inorganic and organic substances to retain moisture. Along with the dehydration of the cells, the chemical and physiological activities also decrease. Hence the rate of metabolism and capacity for work decrease. But a simple diet of the kind described above and active habits and regular exercise can maintain the fitness of a body even after the Biblical span of three score years and ten. Underfeeding and overeating are both dangerous.

In recent years, in highly industrialized countries like the United States of America and the United Kingdom, business executives living and working in air-conditioned rooms, driving in air-conditioned cars without any physical exercise, and taking large amounts of animal food like butter, eggs, fish, and meat, are succumbing to thrombosis at an early age. This is happening mostly because the saturated fatty acids present in butter, eggs, fish, and meat are also carriers of cholesterol which settles in and clogs the arteries and veins and stops blood circulation. People of well-to-do nations have begun consuming margarine and other oil products, which contain more unsaturated fatty acids, in place of butter.

Another killer, specially in tropical countries, is diabetes. This is caused by overeating, especially carbohydrates, which damages the pancreas. It is well known that 80 to 110 mgm of glucose is the blood-sugar content of 100 cc of blood in normal health. Assuming that one-thirteenth of the body weight is the blood content of the human body, the amount of blood is between 5-6 litres per person. Hence, a healthy human being has about 5-6 gms of glucose in his blood whilst he consumes almost 500 gm of carbohydrates per day. Consequently, there is a very good carbohydrate oxidation catalyst in the body which quickly oxidizes the ingested carbohydrate, leaving only less than one per cent in the body fluid. If the pancreas, which supplies the hormone or the catalyst needed for glucose oxidation, is punctured and is inactivated, the supply of an adequate amount of hormone stops and the carbohydrates accumulate and may go up to 300-400 mgm per 100 cc of blood. This is being remedied by medical men by the injection of insulin, which is obtained from the pancreas of animals.

The consumption of a large quantity of rice with pulses or fish without a proper portion of vegetables rich in minerals and vitamins creates acidity in the body and the body cells consisting of proteins are slowly attacked and dissolved by these acids causing ulceration and bleeding. This is frequently observed amongst rice eaters of this country.

Increase in Caloric Intake: Soon after Lavoisier's declaration in 1781 that life is a chemical process depending upon the slow oxidation of food materials, an eminent French physiologist, Savarin, made the following statement: "Tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are." This statement is of fundamental importance in understanding the role of proper nutrition in the phenomenon of life.

Recently, I have been studying and determining the average caloric and protein intake of our students and workers. I have travelled and studied the problem in Calcutta, Kharagpur, Delhi, Ujjain, Indore, and in towns of Assam. I found that when tapioca sold at Re. 0.25 per kilo, the cheapest rice sold at Rs. 1.50 per kilo. Consequently, the rice-eater was at a great disadvantage and was growing emaciated. But the wheat-eater and the *bajra*-eater in Delhi, Ujjain, and Indore had not lost his flesh. So I told myself that the rebels of Bengal might stop their marauding and killing if their caloric intake could be increased by consumption of *chapatis* or *purees* of wheat and *bajra*!

In underdeveloped countries where rice is the chief food material, the caloric intake has been jeopardized by the high price of rice. A survey of the caloric intake of students in Uttar Pradesh showed that even 1,620 calories per day (which is the lowest by the world food standards) were not being maintained; the intake was going down even to 1100-1200 calories per day. In contrast, Holland, which is the most congested country in Europe but can afford to purchase its food from outside, is consuming nearly 3,000 calories per head per day.

Overemphasis on Proteins: Proteins occupy a central position in the architecture and functioning of living cells and are connected with most phases of chemical activity of the cell in the life process. We know now that many enzymes and hormones or oxygen carriers are proteins. The genes, the heredity factors, are also associated with proteins. Hardly any important physiological function in the body takes place without proteins and they are quantitatively the main material, that is, 4/41th in the dry condition forming animal tissues.

The approximate contents of proteins are: carbon 45 to 55 per cent, hydrogen 6-8 per cent, oxygen 19-25 per cent, nitrogen 14-20 per cent, and sulphur 0.0-0.4 per cent. The C/N ratio of proteins is of the order of 3:1.

It has been believed that protein is a food which in itself is adequate for all the requirements of the animal body. Pfluger was able to maintain a very thin dog in good health and carrying on active exercise during a

period of seven months with cut meat as much free of fat as possible. Rubner has stated as follows: "Protein contains the magic of life, ever newly created and then dying, a process continuous since the advent of life upon the earth. In the lower forms of life, it requires only a few minutes for a dead protein to awake as living matter endowed with all the inherited biological and chemical attributes of the given cell."

Western physiologists have always emphasized the value of protein as a food material. According to them, under normal circumstances, one gm of protein has to be consumed per kilogram of the body weight multiplied by a factor of 35-40 and half of it should be derived from animal source. The industrially advanced nations consume more animal protein and calories than the required amounts. Essential aminoacids are available in large amounts from the animal proteins while the vegetable proteins, which are largely eaten by the poorer nations because of their cheapness, are much poorer in the essential aminoacids. The essential aminoacids are: Arginine, Histidine, Isoleucine, Leucine, Lysine, Methionine, Phenylalanine, Threonine, Tryptophan, and Valine. The nonessential ones are: Alanine, Aspartic acid, Citrulline, Cystine, Glutamic acid, Glycine, Hydroxyproline, Proline, Serine, and Tyrosine.

Rubner recommends 127 gm of protein, Atwater in the United States 125 gm, and Lichtenfeld in northern Italy 118 gm. On the other hand, Siven in Scandinavia maintained himself in nitrogen equilibrium on a diet containing 25 to 30 gm of protein. The food was rich in carbohydrates containing 2717 calories or 43 calories per kilogram of the body weight, and respiratory experiments showed a heat production of 2082 calories or 32 calories per kg.

Also R.H. Chittenden of the United States showed that only one gm of nitrogen was eliminated in the faeces and that nitrogen equilibrium could be maintained with dietaries of low caloric value, 1549-1630 calories, that is, 27-28 calories per kilogram of the body weight. Chittenden tried his diet on soldiers and university teachers and students and observed improvement in mental conditions also. Chittenden also countered the traditional physiologists' view that meats stimulate digestive secretions and declared that a needless strain is imposed upon the liver, kidneys, and other organs associated in the transformation and elimination of nitrogenous products of protein metabolism.

Similarly, M. Hindhede of Scandinavia advocates a diet of bread and fruit with a small quantity of milk. This diet consisting of 500 gm bread, 1000 gm potato, 150 gm margarine, 600 gm apples and 500 cc of milk maintains splendid health with immunity to indigestion, kidney and liver diseases, diabetes, gout, etc. M. Hindhede has observed that, like Chittenden, he felt much weakness after taking much meat. He has stated: "That it is cheaper to live directly upon the products of Mother Earth rather than to first put them through cattle is so self-evident that

no one can deny it. It will, however, surprise most physicians to learn that it is also the more healthy manner of life."

It has been asserted that, without an adequate intake of animal protein and minerals, the brain power is not fully developed. In vegetarian countries like India this has been avoided by the intake of one litre of milk per day, and one litre of milk contains 35 gms of animal protein, which is the amount required for optimum health. There is no doubt that milk, vegetables (leafy ones), radishes, and onions taken in the uncooked conditions are responsible for the maintenance of health of the average man in India. This makes it important that the State should undertake programmes to supply milk to children of the poorer classes.

World Population and Food: After this examination of the quality of food, let us turn to the quantitative requirements of food for mankind.

The following table gives an estimate of population at different times:

8000 B.C.	..	.	.	.	Half million
5000 B.C.	..	..	.	.	20 million
1000 B.C.	.	.	.	.	100 million
1 A.D.	..	.	.	.	200 million
1650 A.D.	..	.	..	..	545 million
1750 A.D.	..	.	..	..	728 million
1850 A.D.	..	..	..	.	1,117 million
1900 A.D.	..	..	.	.	1,600 million
1950 A.D.	..	..	.	.	2,400 million
1959 A.D.	.	.	.	.	2,885 million
1969 A.D.	..	..	.	.	3,500 million
1999 A.D.	.	.	..	..	6,200 million

Currently, the world population grows at about two per cent per year with regional growth rates varying from less than one per cent in Europe to more than three per cent in Latin America. Demographers have estimated that it took 600,000 years for the human population to reach 1,000 million about 1800 A.D. but only 130 years more to reach 2,000 million. The increase in the rate of human population has continued since then at an alarming rate. The effect of this is being felt even in the industrially advanced nations like the United States. This is evident in the statement of President Nixon: "This growth will produce serious challenges for our society. I believe that many of our present social problems may be related to the fact that we have had only 50 years in which to accommodate the second 100 million Americans." Professor Garnett Hardin of the University of California has said: "It is getting more difficult to get clear air, clean water, quiet, solitude when you want it." At a recent meeting of the French Academy of Sciences, Professor Moureu reported that in Paris the air was being appreciably polluted by the presence of carbonaceous compounds given out from factories and motor transport. In the United Kingdom, with a present

population of 55 million, thoughtful people are declaring that their country is overpopulated and the population should be brought down to 30 million for a proper standard of living.

As we saw earlier, only 500-600 million in the present world population of 3,500 million can be regarded as well-off. Lord Boyd Orr, the first Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and an expert on the problem of nutrition, has urged the European nations to help the people of the developing countries in Asia, Africa, and South America in their war against hunger and poverty. He has stated that the expert knowledge available in Europe for creating prosperity should be utilized by Europeans in advising the industrially backward nations. Lord Boyd Orr is optimistic about the value of the application of science offered by the advanced nations in improving the standard of living of backward peoples. This may remove want in the whole world, which may be converted into one "brotherhood" of mankind. Professor Blackett, the eminent physicist, is also hopeful that the existing knowledge acquired by the scientists of the world for food production, when properly applied, may meet the world food crisis.

Nearly sixty years ago, during the First World War, I was a student in the University of London and could obtain a very thin slice of bread during lunch or dinner because the United Kingdom then produced only 20-25 per cent of its food requirement and the German submarine campaign prevented the inflow of food materials. After spending very large sums of money on agricultural education and research, the United Kingdom is now producing only 40 per cent of its food requirement.

When I went to Paris in 1917, I found the position much better there because French agriculture was sound and produced practically the whole of its food requirement. Even in 1926 in Berlin, I found scarcity of good bread and people lived mostly on boiled potatoes.

In Madrid in 1958 and also in 1968, and in Yugoslavia in 1960, I noticed difficulty in food procurement. At the International Fertilizer Congress in Yugoslavia in 1960, the chemical industry of the country arranged a lunch for only the foreign members of the Congress but some Yugoslav members stayed on for the lunch, which showed the uneasy food situation.

The following table, arranged in the descending order of population density, shows some very interesting conclusions regarding the population pressure and the supply of an adequate diet:

Holland has the heaviest pressure of population on land: only 0.8 acres of land per capita. This is very unsatisfactory because experts have declared that at least 2.5 acres of land per capita should be available for a balanced and adequate diet. Holland has reclaimed large areas of land from the sea. During the last sixty years, a large part of the Zuider Zee, situated in the north of Holland, has been converted

Country	Population in million	Area of country in sq. miles	Area/ Population
Holland.. ..	10.04	12868	1260.7
Belgium.. ..	8.5	11755	1382.94
Turkey	18.8	296185	1575.4
Japan	80.2	142275	1774.0
United Kingdom ..	46.22	94279	2039.8
Italy	45.87	119000	2594.3
Korea	28.5	85225	2990.3
India	360.0	122000	3388.9
Hungary	9.31	36000	2866.81
Denmark	4.04	16576	4102.97
Poland	23.93	121131	5061.8
Pakistan	70.1	361007	5149.8
France	40.81	212659	5210.9
Philippines	19.2	115600	6020.8
Yugoslavia	15.75	99000	6349.2
China	463.5	8032663	6760.9
Spain	28.0	195504	6982.2
Nepal	6.28	54000	8598.73
Israel	1.17	10400	8888.8
Ireland	2.95	26607	9017.28
Cuba	4.78	44206	9248.12
Thailand	17.3	198247	11459.3
Indonesia	60.73	35268	12107.1
Burma	16.82	261757	15562.25
United States of America	150.7	2977128	19756.3
Egypt	19.1	386198	20219.7
Sweden	7.13	178426	24323.5
Colombia	10.77	439829	40838.35
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics ..	193.2	8708070	45124.5
Iran	13.00	628000	48807.7
New Zealand	1.87	103410	55299.4
Argentina	16.1	1079965	67078.5
Brazil	49.0	3288240	67107.0
Venezuela	4.6	352143	76552.9
Algeria	8.87	847500	95546.79
Canada	13.55	3887878	286928.27
Australia	7.91	2974581	376053.22

into arable land by the Dutch Government. Similarly, in order to bring more land under cultivation and produce more food for Holland's population of 10 million, attempts are being made to reclaim more of the Zuider Zee (which is now called Yesel Lake) and other lakes.

Within our country the State of Kerala has only 0.7 acres of total land per person. Hence, this State is much more congested than even Holland and is the most crowded in the entire world. In the case of West Bengal, only 0.86 acres of total land is available per person.

Presiding over the National Academy of Sciences, in 1935 I had stated: "Figures show that 1.2 acres of land under cultivation are available for each head of the population in India as against 2.6 acres in France. Hence we have in this country one half the area of cultivated land for one unit of population." In the intervening forty years the population of the country has increased vastly.

In Uttar Pradesh, approximately 8 maunds (300 kg) of wheat are produced per acre per year. Hence the food material produced in 0.48 acre of land available per capita is capable of supplying 5,62,600 k calories per acre. One kilogram of wheat consumed produces 3,750 k calories in the body. Hence, the caloric intake per day per capita in Uttar Pradesh cannot exceed 1,460 kilo calories from cereals. The total caloric intake for the whole country is 1,620 as recorded by the United Nations Statistical Department, against 3,480 k calories in Ireland. This vividly brings out the fact that ours is a half-fed nation.

Nitrogenous Fixation in the Body: For the last forty years we have carried on systematic research on the slow oxidation of energy materials mixed with soil, sand, titania, ferric oxide, ferric phosphate, and other materials. We have experimentally observed that carbohydrates, fats, etc., fix atmospheric nitrogen, utilizing the energy obtained from the slow oxidation by air. This phenomenon of atmospheric nitrogen fixation is greatly enhanced by the absorption of light, artificial or solar, and by the addition of calcium phosphates. We have also experimentally shown that these reactions can take place even in the complete absence of micro-organisms, enzymes, etc., and can be purely surface catalytic and photochemical processes. It is interesting that all the carbohydrate-rich food materials investigated by us, for example, rice, *ragi*, potato, wheat, tapioca, maize, sugar and banana, all of which are extensively eaten, can add nitrogenous compounds to the systems by the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen. In other words, these cheap carbohydrate-rich food materials in their oxidation in the animal body can be useful in creating valuable protein and aminoacids. It is remarkable that even in the dark both essential and nonessential aminoacids are produced in nitrogen fixation but the amounts of essential aminoacids are greater in light and in presence of calcium phosphates.

The experimental results with protein-rich food materials like meat, fish, pulses, cheese, milk powder, egg-yolk, and egg-white show clearly a certain amount of nitrogen fixation in their slow oxidation but the fixation with protein-rich materials is much smaller than obtained with carbohydrate-rich materials. The nitrogen fixation with carbohydrate-rich

materials varies from 74 to 95 in light and in dark 34.3 to 53.3 whilst with protein-rich materials the increase varies from 6.2 to 24 in light and in the dark 2.6 to 12.6. The evidence is very strong in favour of marked protein increase in the system by the intake of carbohydrate food materials.

Malnutrition and insufficient intake of calories is the order amongst the majority of human beings in the world. From our researches on the problem of atmospheric nitrogen fixation in the slow oxidation of carbohydrates and fats, I am of the opinion that a certain amount of nitrogen fixation and aminoacid synthesis takes place in human beings. The shortage of proteins can be certainly met partially by the intake of cheap carbohydrate food and vegetables rich in calcium phosphate, and vitamins fortified by small amounts of milk. It can be concluded that, if very careful experiments are carried on quantitatively on animals including human beings, the results are likely to show appreciable nitrogen fixation even in the animal body kept on a diet rich in carbohydrate, aided by calcium phosphate. From our experimental observations on nitrogen fixation in the slow oxidation of the food materials and the survey of the vast literature on animal metabolism it can be concluded that even in the body tissues carbohydrates enriched by calcium phosphates can add appreciable amounts of animal cell by fixation of atmospheric nitrogen and saving the protoplasmic nitrogen as is readily happening all over the world in soils and on chemical surfaces.

India's Population Problem and Policy

S. N. Agarwala

India is the second most populous country in the world, after Mainland China. With a population of 547 million, according to the Census of 1971, India has 14 per cent of the world population in a land area which is only 2.4 per cent of the world. The average density of the population of India was 138 per square kilometre in 1961 (more than double of what it was in 1901), but two States, Kerala and West Bengal, had a density of above 390 and another three States, Bihar, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh, above 250 persons per square kilometre.¹ The density of India is more than 40 per cent higher than that of Europe, excluding the Soviet Union, and more than seven times that of the United States of America.² In 1971, India's density increased to 182 per square kilometre or 466 persons per square mile.

At the present rate of population growth, which is estimated to be around 2.5 per cent per annum, India is expected to double its population before the end of the century and cross the one billion mark. A study of the pattern of growth of India's population indicates that while between 1891 and 1921 the population of India increased by only 15 million, after 1921, the population has tended to grow at a much faster rate. The decadal increase has been as follows:

	<i>Decadal Growth</i>
1921-31	28 million
1931-41	38 million
1941-51	44 million
1951-61	78 million
1961-71	108 million

Causes of Rapid Population Growth: The rapid increase in population after 1921 is not due to any spurt in the birth rate, but is due to a decline in the death rate. Though still high when compared to some Asian and all of the Western countries, India's death rate has declined dramatically since 1921. While in 1921, the estimated death rate for India was 48.6, in 1971 it declined to around 14-15 per thousand population. As a result of the decline in the death rate, expectation of life at birth has nearly doubled. While in the 1921-31 decade, an infant could hope to live up to 27 years of age, today it is expected to live up to 50 years.

The main reasons for the decline in mortality were control of epidemic and endemic diseases like malaria (which previously claimed about two million deaths every year), improvement in drinking water facilities, improved drainage, increase in medical and health facilities, use of antibiotics and introduction of new drugs, development of a more effective food distribution system and avoidance of famine catastrophes of the past.

Though the death rate has declined, child and infant mortality rates are still high in India. Whereas less than 45 children out of 1000 born die in the first year in some Asian and most of the Western countries,

the number of such deaths is about three times higher in India. During 1968 and 1969, the infant mortality rate was reported to be around 137 to 140 in rural India,³ whereas it was 180 in Uttar Pradesh, the highest in the country.⁴

Though the death rate has declined over the years, the birth rate continues at a high level, leading to rapid population growth. The birth rate in 1971 was estimated to be around 39 per thousand population. It was around 49 per thousand population up to the 1911-21 decade and slowly declined to 45 during the 1931-41 decade. The birth rate further declined to around 42 in the 1951-61 decade.⁵ It was estimated to be around 41 in 1961⁶ and perhaps remained at the same level till 1966.

TABLE: BIRTH AND DEATH RATES IN INDIA
1901-11 — 1951-61

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Birth rate</i>	<i>Death rate</i>
1901-11	49.2	42.6
1911-21	48.1	47.2
1921-31	46.4	36.3
1931-41	45.2	31.2
1941-51	39.9	27.4
1951-61	41.7	22.8

Source: Davis, Kingsley, *Population of India and Pakistan*, Princeton University Press, 1951, p. 85, Registrar General of India, *Vital Statistics of India for 1961*, New Delhi Office of the Registrar General of India, 1964, p. XIII.

One of the consequences of the high birth rate is that India has an age structure which is typical of most underdeveloped countries, having a very broad base and a tapering top. Nearly 41 per cent of India's population is below the age of 15 and only 12 per cent above the age of 50. Thus, 53 per cent of the population depends upon 47 per cent of the population in the productive ages between 15 and 50, indicating that the "dependency ratio" is more than one, while it is around 0.75 in the developed countries.

A larger percentage of the dependent population tends to reduce savings and investments and inhibits the rate of economic and social advancement, as a large proportion of the scarce resources are diverted towards consumption. Also, an increasingly larger number of persons continue to enter the working ages, swelling the ranks of the unemployed. Before the beginning of the First Five Year Plan, an estimated 3.5 million persons were unemployed in India. At the end of the Third Five Year Plan, their number increased to 10 million, even though 31 million additional jobs were created during the three Plan periods.

The present age structure is also conducive to higher population growth as bigger cohorts of males and females continue to enter the reproductive ages, especially since universality of marriage is the pattern in India. This would tend to further aggravate the unemployment problem.

Another characteristic of the Indian population is that only 20 per cent of the population lives in urban areas. Roughly 82 per cent of India's 109 million urban population resides in cities having a population of 20,000 and more, and 52.4 per cent or 57 million resides in cities having a population of 100,000 and more.

The General Pattern of Fertility: While fertility in India is higher than compared to the developed countries, it is relatively lower than that of some developing countries. In India, the average number of children born to a couple who remains married throughout the reproductive period is between six and seven. The Indian woman marries at an early age and, therefore, generally tends to have her first child before she reaches the age of 20. She then adds another three or four children before she is 35.

Indian fertility is higher than that of the developed countries mainly because, along with the limited use of contraception, other factors such as universality of marriage, the religious and cultural value of having children in general, and at least one son in particular, tend to increase the fertility of Indian women. The low level of literacy and rural residence also inhibit acceptance of any change in the traditional values and behaviour of the people. The fatalistic attitude to life, which is ingrained in the Indian people right from childhood and which is fostered through the process of socialization, acts as a barrier to the adoption of an attitude in which voluntary control of fertility implies the right of self-determination. The traditional joint family also encourages higher fertility in India, as the biological parents may not be called upon to provide for the basic needs of the children, the family jointly being responsible for all the children born within the family.

On the other hand, fertility is lower than in some of the developing countries because of the high incidence of widowhood and the negligible number of widow remarriages, taboos on sexual activity for long periods after childbirth and during religious periods. The practice of prolonged breast-feeding also contributes to the lengthening of the period of post-partum amenorrhoea, postponing conception.

Population Growth and Food Supply: One of the consequences of rapid population growth is the increasing demands on food supply. During the last decade, food production in India has increased from 81 million tonnes to 108 million tonnes. The population, on the other hand, has increased from 439 million to 545 million during the same period. As a result, available food supply per capita has increased from 0.184 tonnes to 0.197 tonnes. Obviously, this increase is not adequate.

According to available estimates, at least one-fourth of India's households are underfed and one-half of the households live on diets which are substantially inferior in quality and may, therefore, be considered malnourished. India's average consumption of calories is 2,000 per day, which is 57 per cent of that of the developed countries, where consumption is 3,050 calories per day.

Our demand for food will increase in future not only due to growing population but also due to higher income, as income elasticity demand for food is positive. It is estimated that in 1976 our demand for food will be around 150 million tonnes. This means that food production should increase at an annual compound rate of 5 per cent.

Even during the period of the spectacular success of the Green Revolution, food production has not increased very fast. It increased by 4.97 per cent during 1961-71 and by 2.98 per cent during 1967-70. The whole of the increase in food production, however, cannot be attributed to the Green Revolution.

It is also to be noted that today only 28 per cent of the total foodgrains output is covered by the Green Revolution. There is need for a breakthrough in other foodgrains like rice and millet. The Green Revolution has, thus, only provided a temporary relief to the problem of feeding the teeming millions.

It is evident that high fertility is conducive to rapid population growth, specially in conditions of declining mortality. The Western experience indicates that the large family system was replaced by the small family system under the pressure of the force of industrialization and urbanization. When society changed from an agrarian rural economic base to an industrial urban economic base, it was soon evident that it was not advantageous to have large families, and gradually the small family replaced the large family. Higher aspirations and expectations arising out of higher levels of economic and social development also tended to influence people to have smaller families. This process took a period of 50 to 60 years. Obviously, with the large population base already existing in our country, it is not feasible to wait for the turn of events to take its own course. An organized programme to reduce fertility through the use of contraception has to be undertaken on a nationwide basis.

The Indian Population Policy: In general a country can have two kinds of population policies: population-responsive policies and population-influencing policies.⁷ Population-responsive policies are those that overcome the effects of rapid increases in population size and density, high birth rates and high population growth rates. Policies concerning employment, food supply, building of cities and towns, and resource development fall in this category. Population-influencing policies are those that attempt to bring about a reduction in fertility and mortality and in growth rates, or those that beneficially influence internal migration. Family planning

programmes and other policies to reduce fertility, public health and nutrition programmes that lower mortality, and transportation and industrial planning that influences internal migration fall in this second category.

Talking only of the population-influencing policies aimed at reducing fertility, India was the first country in the world to adopt family planning as an official policy in 1951. Jawaharlal Nehru, our late Prime Minister, clearly enunciated the policy of the Indian Government when he said:

“This question of family planning is one of very great importance. It is necessary as a social obligation in the present circumstances of India and for the health and happiness of the family. The growth of population is intimately connected with our strategy for development in India.”⁸

Indira Gandhi also voiced similar thoughts when she said: “To plan when population growth is unchecked is like building a house where the ground is constantly flooded. Family planning in our country is an essential part of our whole strategy of enlarging welfare. Greater welfare is in fact the only reason for family planning and we need it, not because we are against more children, but because we want every child to have the best opportunity possible in life. We want our children to inherit a better world than our own. This is the aim of every father and mother and this is the objective of planned development.”⁹

That the thinking of the enlightened world was soon geared to the same line became evident when, on Human Rights Day, December 10, 1966, Secretary General U Thant of the United Nations issued a Declaration on Population signed by the Heads of State of twelve countries, including Indira Gandhi.¹⁰ These Heads of State shared the following convictions:

“We believe that the population problem must be recognized as a principal element in long-range national planning if governments are to achieve their economic goals and fulfil the aspirations of their people.

“We believe that the great majority of parents desire to have the knowledge and the means to plan their families; that the opportunity to decide the number and spacing of children is a basic human right.

“We believe that lasting and meaningful peace will depend to a considerable measure upon how the challenge of population is met.

“We believe that the objective of family planning is the environment of human life, not its restrictions; that family planning, by assuring greater opportunity to each person, frees man to attain his individual dignity and reach his full potential.”

The Indian Family Planning Programme: The objective of the Indian family planning programme is to reduce the birth rate from 40 to 25 per thousand by 1981 and more immediately to 33 by 1974. Increasing financial allocation is being made available in the various Five Year Plans for expenditure on family planning. In the First Plan an amount

of Rs. 6.5 million was made available. In the Second and Third Plans these amounts were Rs. 49.7 million and Rs. 270 million, respectively, whereas in the Fourth Plan an amount of Rs. 315 crores had been earmarked for family planning.

The family planning programme in India is "time-bound and target-oriented". The programme is based on the principle of free choice and coercion is not involved. A sound base of family planning education and motivation is being laid to ensure long-lasting results. The family planning programme is integrated with the maternal and child health and nutritional services so that opportunities are provided for ensuring the health of the mother and the children. The parents are thus assured of better chances of the survival of their children to adulthood. A network of services is provided through the primary health centres and sub-centres to reach the remotest rural areas. A system of commercial distribution of Nirodh through 221,558 retail outlets makes it available to people at highly subsidized rates. Efforts are also made to reach people in the organized sectors such as the industries, railways, mines, tea plantations, defence services, etc. The co-operation of voluntary organizations is obtained for better involvement of the people.

Progress of family planning till 1965 was poor. But after 1965, considerable progress has been achieved. Till the end of March 1971, an estimated 8.7 million sterilization operations have been carried out, 3.8 million IUCDs have been inserted and nearly two million persons are estimated to be currently using conventional contraceptives, chiefly Nirodh. Thus, around 14.5 million out of the 100 million couples in the reproductive age group have been covered by family planning. But some of these persons must have either crossed the reproductive age or died. It is estimated that current users of family planning methods would be around 11 per cent of the reproductive couples.

It has been calculated that as a result of governmental efforts an average of 1.75 million births have been annually averted since 1965-66.¹¹ The demographers have estimated that this has resulted in a two point decline in the birth rate, other things remaining the same.¹² Thus, if the birth rate in 1965-66 was 41 per 1,000 population, it should be around 39 today. Fragmentary evidence available from the Sample Registration and other data give support to this view.

The progress of family planning has not been uniformly good in all the States. Broadly speaking, Punjab, Orissa, Haryana, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala have done better than the other States. States like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and West Bengal have not made satisfactory progress.

The Government of India fixed family planning targets for the first time in 1966-67 and since then targets have been fixed each year. It is interesting

that while none of the States in India have been in a position to achieve the all-India targets there are 36 districts which have exceeded the all-India target of 19.5 per 1,000 population in sterilization for the period 1967-71, and there are nine districts which have exceeded the IUCD target of 15.3 per 1,000 population. Four districts, namely, Mayurbhanj in Orissa, Greater Bombay in Maharashtra, Kapurthala in Punjab and Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh have exceeded the combined sterilization and IUCD target of 34.8 per 1,000 population for the years 1966-67—1970-71.¹³ It has been found that those districts which are better off economically and socially have, by and large, performed better in family planning.¹⁴ It has also been noticed that those States which are economically better off and are better administered have achieved greater success in family planning.

Studies have brought out that the district magistrate/district collector/zilla parishad officer is the most important district authority on whose initiative the success of family planning movement depends.¹⁵ Wherever the said district administrator took interest in family planning work, the progress in that district was much faster. This is largely because the district collector is in a position to bring about greater co-ordination among different government departments like co-operation, Panchayat Raj, community development, revenue, health, family planning, etc., and can put the combined resources of different departments to family planning work. The recent success of mass vasectomy camps is largely attributable to the dynamic leadership of the district magistrate/collector. It has also been observed that whenever there is greater co-operation between the district authority and the elected political representatives, the progress in family planning work is faster.¹⁶ The district family planning officer, who is responsible for promoting family planning work in a district, does not have the necessary authority to seek adequate co-operation from different government departments. Again, all of them are not necessarily equipped with managerial skills and qualities of leadership. There is need for reorganizing the family planning staff structure at the district and lower levels and of properly defining the job responsibilities of each employee so that there is greater co-ordination among them.¹⁷ There is also need for viewing family planning programme as management "system" instead of taking several decisions which are often unco-ordinated and piecemeal.

Contrary to the general impression it has been found that the progress of family planning work in the rural areas is fairly good and about 55 to 60 per cent of the total sterilizations and IUCD insertions have been carried out in the rural areas.¹⁸ Also, there is no organized religious opposition to family planning in India and persons belonging to various religious faiths voluntarily accept family planning. Figures indicate that of the total sterilizations done in India, the share of Hindus is 87 per cent and that

of Muslims is 8.6 per cent, while their percentage in India's population is 83.4 and 10.7 per cent respectively.¹⁹ The following are the figures for various religious communities.

Table 2: Percentage Distribution of Different Religious Communities in the Population and Acceptance of Sterilization and IUCD.

			<i>Sterilization</i>	<i>IUCD</i>	<i>Percentage of India's population 1961</i>
Hindus ..	.	..	87.0	84.6	83.4
Muslims ..	..	.	8.6	7.4	10.7
Christians	..	.	0.7	2.1	2.4
Sikhs	..	..	1.0	2.7	1.8
Others ..	..	..	2.7	3.2	1.7
			100.0	100.0	100.0

Both foreign experts and Indian demographers have expressed doubts about the verity of the performance figures issued by the Department of Family Planning, Government of India. The system is such that there is no outside check and verification of the figures emanating from a primary health centre or an urban family planning clinic. When considerable emphasis is laid on higher performance, and when prizes and awards are given on the basis of quantum of performance, there is a likelihood that people tend to exaggerate performance. But this can only be proved or disproved when a proper system of evaluation of data is introduced.^{20/21} The age-data of users is specially deficient and this casts doubts on the calculations of births averted. There is also need for obtaining figures of Nirodh used in respect of districts and in respect of the age of users.

Future Outlook: The population of India is likely to reach the one billion mark by the turn of the century. So far India's population has grown because of a rapid fall in the death rate. In future it will depend more on the fall in the birth rate. The death rate which at present is around 14-15, is likely to fall to about 10 by the end of the present decade. Further decline will be more difficult, and will take a longer time. The critical factor in determining the growth of population will, therefore, be the birth rate. If the birth rate falls rapidly from the present 39 to about 25 per thousand in a period of ten years or so, the population might reach the one billion mark only towards the end of the present century. Should this not happen, the one billion mark may be reached ten years earlier.

It is not easy to comprehend all the social, economic and political problems which India will have to face when it will be required to feed, clothe, educate and find employment for a population twice its present size. The success of the family planning programme, therefore, is of critical importance.

The task of bringing about a decline in the birth rate will not be easy not only because it involves a change in the attitude, norms and values of the people, but also because prevailing demographic factors favour a larger increase of the population in the future. A fall in the death rate will result in the survival of larger number of infants and children due to a fall in infant and child mortalities. The people will also live longer. The incidence of widowhood and maternal mortality will tend to decline resulting in a larger number of married couples living through the reproductive period. With the spread of urbanization and modernization, the importance of such factors as abstinence from coitus on religious days, sending the wife to her mother's place for long durations, prolonged breast-feeding, etc., might also decline. All these factors, other things being the same, will tend to push up the birth rate.

The success of family planning would require a change in the attitude of the people of India so that a two-child family becomes the way of life. But how to bring about a transformation in the attitude of the people is a critical question. In the Western countries, this change was brought about after the Industrial Revolution and with the rising expectations of the people for a higher standard of living. Subsequently, such factors as the status of women in society, the high cost of the upbringing of a child, compulsory primary education of children, and others contributed towards a change in the attitude of the people favouring a smaller family. But if the demographic transition is to occur in India only after her people attain a high standard of living or when there is universal general education, it may take too long and by that time our population might become too large and unmanageable. Hopefully, therefore, India and countries similarly situated would develop their own pattern to bring about a rapid decline in their birth rate. Perhaps, a rapid change in the attitude of the people in favour of a small family can be brought about through an extensive educational-motivational programme, in which all political parties and social leaders join hands.

¹ Office of the Registrar General, *Census of India 1971, Paper No. 1 of 1971, Provisional Population Tables*, New Delhi: Office of the Registrar General of India, p 51

² United Nations, *Demographic Yearbook 1967*, New York: United Nations Publications, Sales No E/F/68 XIII 1, pp 104 and 106.

³ Office of the Registrar General, Vital Statistic Division, *Infant Mortality in India*, New Delhi, Office of the Registrar General of India, 1971.

- ⁴ *Ibid.*, 1971.
- ⁵ Davis, Kingsley, *Population of India and Pakistan*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951, p. 85 for data up to 1941. Later estimates are based on the Census Actuary.
- ⁶ Agarwala, S. N., *Birth and Growth Rates in India*, Bombay. Demographic Training and Research Centre, 1969, p. 1 (Mimeographed).
- ⁷ The National Academy of Sciences, *Rapid Population Growth, Consequences and Policy Implications*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971, p. 70.
- ⁸ Nehru, Jawaharlal, quoted in *Progress of Family Planning Programme in India*, New Delhi: Ministry of Health and Family Planning, Department of Family Planning, Government of India, January 1971.
- ⁹ Gandhi, Indira, Inaugural Address delivered at the *Seventeenth International Conference on the Family, 1966: Report of the Proceedings*, Bombay: Family Planning Association of India, p. 15.
- ¹⁰ Issued by Secretary General U Thant of the United Nations, "Declaration on Population," *Studies in Family Planning*, Number Sixteen, January 1967, p. 1.
- ¹¹ Department of Family Planning, *Family Planning in India, Programme Information, 1970-71*, New Delhi: Department of Family Planning, Government of India, June 1971, p. 14.
- ¹² Agarwala, S. N., "Effect of Family Planning Programme on Birth Rate in India, 1961-71," *Newsletter No. 36. April 1971*, International Institute for Population Studies, Bombay, 1971, pp. 7-8.
- ¹³ Agarwala, S. N., *Family Planning Performance in India*, Bombay. International Institute for Population Studies, 1971, p. 4 (Mimeographed).
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- ¹⁵ Patankar, Tara, "Family Planning Programme Administration. Observation of Some Factors Determining Performance", a paper presented at All-India Seminar on Family Planning Problems in India, held at International Institute for Population Studies, Bombay, February 20-22, 1972, p. 3.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- ¹⁷ Raghu Ram, N. V., *Systems and Management of Family Planning*, Hyderabad, Administrative Staff College of India, 1971, p. 43.
- ¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, *Family Planning in India, Programme Information, 1970-71*, pp. 10-11.
- ¹⁹ *The Times of India*, Bombay, November 17, 1971, p. 3.
- ²⁰ Agarwala, S. N., "Evaluation of Family Planning Programme," paper presented at All-India Seminar on Evaluation of Family Planning Programme in India, held at International Institute for Population Studies, Bombay, July 13-15, 1970, pp. 5-6.
- ²¹ Agarwala, S. N., and Maslowski, James J., "An Evaluation System for India's Family Planning Programme", paper presented at All India Seminar on Evaluation of Family Planning Programme in India, held at International Institute for Population Studies, Bombay, July 13-15, 1970, pp. 4-6.

Nuclear Research in India

H. N. Sethna

It is the declared policy of the Government of India that atomic energy will be used solely for peaceful purposes, namely, for the betterment of the standard of living of our people by increasing the means available to them for a richer and fuller life. The Government has stuck to this policy during the last twenty-five years, despite repeated demands from interested quarters that India should go “nuclear” and manufacture atomic bombs. The development of atomic energy exclusively for peaceful purposes was evolved under the late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. The subsequent Prime Ministers, whenever an opportunity arose, have reiterated their faith in this policy. The late Dr. Homi J. Bhabha, the architect of India's Atomic Energy Programme, had obviously an important say in initiating this policy.

The peaceful uses of atomic energy now fall into two main categories: (a) the production of electricity, and (b) the uses of radio-isotopes in industry, medicine, agriculture, research, etc.

The importance of the peaceful applications of nuclear energy and especially its use as a source of electricity was recognized by the illustrious father of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. For example, in his address during the inauguration of the research reactor CIRUS at Trombay in January 1961, Jawaharlal Nehru remarked: “If you have the picture of the future of India that you are trying to build up, of the power that you require . . . you will come to the conclusion of the inevitability of our building up atomic power for peaceful purposes from now onwards.”

Power is a most valuable commodity in this era of science and technology. Power is required to drive the wheels of industries, to run the transportation network, for long-range communications, for energizing irrigation pumps for agriculture, for electrification of rural areas, etc. Indeed, as the late Homi Bhabha once aptly remarked: “There can exist no power on earth without power.”

Since early days, when man in his present form appeared on the surface of the earth, he has been using the muscular power in his body for obtaining his daily needs and protecting his life against numerous adversaries. The ordinary fire produced by rubbing two pieces of dry wood or stone was probably the first example of the use of chemical power by man. As he became civilized, and got organized into social groups, he began to use animals such as bullocks and horses as a source of power for transportation and other needs. It is only from seventeenth century onwards, that the utilization of chemical power by man increased enormously. The Industrial Revolution and the beginning of the era of experimental sciences soon enabled him to understand the mechanism for the conversion of one form of energy into another. The understanding of the principles of electricity and magnetism and the inter-relationship between the two led to the invention of devices for the conversion of other forms of energy to electric power. Man found that unlike other sources

of power, electricity could be transmitted over long distances very quickly, efficiently and cheaply. Thus it has become the most important source of power of the present century.

Electricity is now being produced conventionally in two ways: (i) by converting the mechanical energy of waterfalls into electrical energy by turning a turbine coupled to a generator in a power house, and (ii) by burning coal, oil, or gas in a furnace and utilizing the heat generated to produce steam, which will further drive the electricity generators. In this process, the chemical energy of the coal, oil, or gas is used. The latest method of producing electricity is by using nuclear energy or the energy contained within an atom. It has now been found that for the same weight of fuel, nuclear energy releases more than a million times as much heat as chemical energy.

A nuclear power station designed for the production of electricity is exactly like any other power station with the only difference that the heat is provided by a substance like uranium or plutonium in a reactor, not by coal, oil or gas burned in a furnace. For continuous operation of such a station, what is known as a chain reaction has to be sustained in the fuel at a steady controlled rate.

Scientists have found that atoms of certain elements (including certain types or isotopes of uranium) break into fragments when a single neutron of suitable velocity is added to their central nucleus. (A neutron is an electrically neutral particle found inside the nucleus of an atom.) When this happens, the atoms of the element split into two smaller atoms, releasing energy mostly as heat. For example, when atoms of uranium are split by such a process, they give off in addition to heat and other forms of radiation, two or three additional neutrons. These neutrons can be used to split further nuclei of uranium and thus continue the process. This is called a chain reaction.

For the chain reaction to continue at a steady rate the number of neutrons which carry on the reaction must be controlled. This is generally done by absorbing the excess neutrons in a substance such as boron or cadmium made up into control rods. The neutrons have also to be slowed down to suitable velocities by what is known as a moderator. The moderator can be substances like ordinary water, heavy water, graphite, etc. The whole assembly of fuel, moderator and control rods is called a nuclear reactor. A reactor is thus a new type of furnace in which heat is produced by splitting nuclei of certain elements. The heat generated inside the reactor is used to produce steam which ultimately drives the electricity generators. This is how the power of the atom is used to produce electricity.

The nuclear reactor is thus a very complicated furnace as compared to that in a conventional thermal power station. The materials used in this furnace must be special, since they have not only to withstand the large amounts of heat produced, but should also not be affected by other forms

of radiation released during the chain reaction. In addition, a nuclear reactor should have a thick shield of concrete or other suitable substances to prevent the escape of the dangerous radiations released. A nuclear power station, unlike other power stations, must take suitable protective measures for the health and safety of workers inside the plant, as well as continuously monitor the levels of radioactivity in the surrounding areas, in order to control the ill effects of radiation on humans as well as on the flora and fauna.

The Government of India, recognizing the importance of atomic energy for a developing nation like India, set up an Atomic Energy Commission soon after Independence, in 1948. By 1954, the activities of the Commission had increased rapidly, and research, test, and experimental power reactors were already in operation in many parts of the world. The Government set up a separate Ministry, namely, the Department of Atomic Energy, with the responsibility for developing nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes.

Unlike other advanced nations of the world, India did not have initially the trained scientific and technical personnel required for atomic energy work. So, one of the first acts of the Atomic Energy Commission was to train physicists, chemists, metallurgists, engineers, biologists and a host of scientists in other disciplines. Also, a clear cut programme was chalked out by its Chairman, the late Dr Bhabha, to indicate the direction in which the country should proceed. The ultimate aim of this programme was to utilize the vast resources of thorium within the country for power production. In fact, a three-stage Nuclear Power Programme was formulated by him. In the first stage, power reactors will use natural uranium as fuel, from which plutonium will be obtained as a by-product. The plutonium produced in the first stage reactors will be used as fuel in the second stage to produce the fissile material uranium-233 from the fertile thorium. These second stage reactors will be what are called "breeder reactors", that is, they will produce more fuel than they consume, thereby assuring the country of an ever-increasing supply of fissionable materials to meet the increasing power demands. Once enough uranium-233 is obtained, this will be used as a fuel in the third generation reactors known as uranium-233-thorium breeders.

The Indian Nuclear Power Programme has, as its main goal, the production of power at as economical a rate as possible, using indigenously developed technology and know-how to the maximum extent. To achieve this aim, the Atomic Energy Commission decided in 1954 to set up at Trombay, near Bombay, an establishment for research and development in all aspects of atomic energy. This centre, now renamed The Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, is the hub of all nuclear activities in India.

In order to train personnel in reactor technology, it was decided to construct a research reactor of the "swimming-pool type" at this Centre

in March 1955. This research reactor, now called APSARA, (1 MW), the first reactor at that time in Asia outside the USSR, was built and commissioned entirely by Indian scientists and engineers. The reactor attained criticality on August 4, 1956, and is now in continuous operation at Trombay. In constructing and operating the APSARA, Indian scientists and engineers got the initial training for the operation of research reactors.

In April 1956, it was decided to set up a bigger research reactor at Trombay with Canadian assistance. The reactor chosen used natural uranium as fuel and heavy water as moderator. The decision to build such a reactor was taken since it was felt that this will offer training to a cadre of technical personnel in reactor technology, who would be available for the construction of the first stage power reactors in the country. This reactor is also capable of producing a very large number of radio-isotopes. The reactor, now known as CIRUS (40 MW), became fully operational in October 1963, and is now being used mainly for research in nuclear sciences and technologies, and the production of radio-isotopes. A third research reactor named ZERLINA (100 W), was also designed, engineered and built by Indian scientists and engineers at Trombay, and is now being used for investigations on new reactor concepts.

Simultaneously, action was taken to achieve self-sufficiency in the fuels used in reactors. An Atomic Minerals Division was established as early as 1949 to explore the country for atomic minerals like uranium, thorium, etc. This Division was responsible for locating large deposits of uranium in the Singhbhum Thrust Belt of Bihar at Jaduguda, Narwapahar and Bhatin. Since 1968, a uranium mine and a mill are in operation at Jaduguda, and the mill treats about thousand tonnes of ore per day. Thus, today we are producing our own uranium in substantial quantities to be used as fuel in reactors.

In addition, from the raw uranium we are producing nuclear grade uranium in the Uranium Metal Plant at Trombay since January 1959, and fuel elements for the reactors CIRUS and ZERLINA in the Fuel Element Fabrication Facility, also set up at Trombay. The know-how and technology developed in these plants are now being used in the setting up of a huge complex known as Nuclear Fuel Complex at Hyderabad. This complex will produce the nuclear-grade uranium and fuel elements required by our thermal power reactors under construction and planned. Some plants in this complex have already been commissioned.

Recognizing the importance of plutonium as a fuel in the long-range nuclear power programme of the country, a decision was also taken in July 1958 to set up a Plutonium Plant at Trombay to separate the by-product plutonium from irradiated uranium rods in the CIRUS reactor. The successful operation of this plant has given the Indian scientists the know-how and the technology for building a larger plant

to be located at Tarapur which will handle the spent fuel from the Tarapur and Rana Pratap Sagar atomic power stations. The plutonium produced in this plant will be stored and used in our second stage breeder reactors.

Steps are also being taken to augment the production of heavy water which is used as a moderator in our first stage reactors. Besides the heavy-water plant at Nangal, three other heavy-water plants are now under construction at Kota, Baroda and Tuticorin. It has also been decided to set up the fifth heavy-water plant at Talcher in Orissa.

In addition to basic research in various disciplines connected with atomic energy work, scientists and engineers at the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre have also been fabricating electronic and other instrumentation required for various operations like the control of reactors, monitoring of radio-activities released, re-processing of the irradiated fuel, etc. The know-how developed in the fabrication of electronic instruments and other non-nuclear devices has now been transferred to a commercial venture under the control of the Department of Atomic Energy, known as the Electronics Corporation of India Limited.

Due to the building up of such a basic infrastructure for large-scale nuclear power production, and the availability of trained manpower within the country itself, the Planning Commission of the Government of India readily agreed to the setting up of an atomic power station for the production of electricity when such a suggestion was made to it by the Atomic Energy Commission. It was decided that the first nuclear power station should be located at Tarapur, in Maharashtra, since there was an acute shortage of power in the western part of the country at that time. The Tarapur station was built as a turn-key project, executed by the International General Electric Company of the United States. This station of 400 MWe capacity uses enriched uranium as fuel which has to be imported from the United States. Steps are, however, being taken now to fabricate fuel elements for this reactor in the country itself from the imported enriched uranium. It is now a well-known fact that this power station has become commercially operational since October 1969, and is supplying power to the States of Gujarat and Maharashtra. The successful commissioning and operation of the Tarapur Atomic Power Station is a milestone in India's nuclear energy programme. The station has provided ample evidence for the economic viability of nuclear power, and ushered in the country an era of atomic power. An idea of the enormous difference in terms of economy and resources between a conventional thermal station and a nuclear one can be conveyed from the fact that to produce the same load of electricity as at Tarapur, it would require almost one million tonnes of superior grade coal per year or almost three train loads per day as against only 20 tonnes per year of uranium.

Besides Tarapur, two other atomic power stations are now under construction, one of 430 MWe capacity at Rana Pratap Sagar near Kota in Rajasthan, and another of 470 MWe capacity at Kalpakkam in Tamil Nadu. The Rajasthan station is being built in collaboration with the Atomic Energy of Canada Limited. The reactors in this station are being constructed by Indian engineers though the design and successful commissioning of these rest on the Canadians. The reactors chosen use natural uranium as fuel and heavy water as moderator and coolant, and give the most economic utilization of uranium resulting in the maximum production of plutonium. The first reactor of this station is expected to go critical in the middle of 1972, and the second by early 1975.

The third nuclear power station being set up at Kalpakkam will also house two reactors similar in design to the reactors of the Rajasthan Atomic Power Station. However, unlike at Rajasthan, these reactors are being entirely engineered and built by Indian scientists and engineers. Indian expertise and know-how and Indian industries are playing an active role in the construction of the various parts of the reactor system. In this way, an indigenous capability is being developed which will be fruitfully used later in the designing and commissioning of other reactors.

India is also entering the second stage of its nuclear power programme at Kalpakkam. A Reactor Research Centre and a Fast-Breeder Test Reactor are being set up here to develop the know-how and the technology for utilizing plutonium in reactors and to convert the fertile thorium into the fissionable isotope of uranium, uranium 233.

The Department has recently chalked out its programme for the decade 1970-1980. It envisages that about 2700 MWe of nuclear power will be generated in India by 1980. This will involve the setting up of four additional nuclear power stations with a total capacity of 1700 MWe.

Atomic research in India thus covers all the facets of power production using nuclear energy, like exploring, prospecting and developing the fuel for use in reactors, developing and procuring the right kind of materials for the construction of reactors, designing, building and commissioning power reactors, and re-processing the irradiated fuel to obtain useful by-products for further use as fuel, or for use in other peaceful applications of atomic energy.

Another equally important peaceful application of atomic energy is the use of radio-isotopes in such diverse fields as medicine, industry, agriculture and hydrology. Radio-isotopes are radio-active versions of ordinary everyday substances such as carbon, iodine, gold, etc. Most of the elements found in nature have stable nuclei inside their atoms. However, they can all be made unstable or radio-active by adding neutrons to their nuclei and this is easily done inside a nuclear reactor.

The radio-isotope is chemically indistinguishable from its stable brother, and the radiations it emits can easily be detected with suitable radiation detecting instruments. Because of these properties, radio-isotopes are now used in a variety of applications.

In industry, radio-isotope thickness gauges are being used for the measurement and simultaneous control of the thickness of various products like plastics, paper, steel, or aluminium sheets during their production. They are also being used to measure the flow of liquids in pipeline and to check the levels of contents in sealed cans. One important application has been in the determination of the movement of silt on sea-bed at various harbours using what is known as "the radio-isotope tracer technique". Such studies have been conducted in the Bombay harbour, in the Marmugao port, and in the Palk Straits, near Rameswaram in South India. These studies have enabled the port authorities to obtain a precise idea of the pattern of silt movement, and thus save considerable amounts of money in dredging operations. Besides, the tracer technique has also been used for the detection of leaks in buried pipes, co-axial cables and dams, for measurement of river flows and for investigating underground water resources. Radio-isotopes are also being increasingly used for the non-destructive testing of castings and welds in industrial products using what is known as radiography method. Recently, isotope radiography was used for the inspection of Air India's Boeing-707 jet engines.

The BARC is at present producing a number of radio-pharmaceuticals and hundreds of radio-isotope labelled compounds and special chemicals. The radio-pharmaceuticals are now being used in medicine for diagnosis, therapy and research. For example, organic compounds labelled with radio-active iodine, mercury or cobalt are now in routine use to diagnose disorders of the liver and kidney, and to locate brain tumours.

One of the most significant developments is the use of the radiations from radio-isotopes for producing beneficial mutations in cereals like rice, wheat, etc., and in groundnuts. Another use is in the preservation of perishable food. Studies are now being conducted at the BARC on the effects of radiation in the disinfection of stored grains, the inhibition of sprouting in onions and potatoes, the extension of the shelf-life of edible sea-foods and the delayed ripening of mangoes and bananas. Attempts are also being made to use radiation to sterilize medical supplies like surgical dressings, sutures, syringes, etc. It is hoped that these studies would lead to the installation of commercial irradiation units all over the country in a few years' time.

To conclude, atomic research in India will continue to develop on the basic principles laid down by Homi Bhabha that India should stand on its own feet and not rely on imported know-how in this rather sensitive and vital field.

Terms of Trade and Industrialization

John Spraos

The basic role assigned to industrialization in development strategies is due to a number of considerations. One of these, the deterioration of the terms of trade of primary products vis-a-vis manufactures, has acquired great prominence in the light of the sharply adverse trend in these terms of trade experienced in the fifties.

For India this consideration was never very significant in view of the small proportion of its foreign trade to GNP. For other developing countries, however, trade is more important in relation to GNP and even more so in relation to the market sector of their economies. As India is one of the leaders of the "Third World", I hope it is appropriate to honour Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by discussing the theme of the terms of trade and industrialization even though this theme is not fundamental to the development strategy of India itself.

The critical fact which serves as background to this discussion is that in the last decade the terms of trade of primary products have ceased deteriorating. Indeed the index of the terms of trade of developing countries either in the version of the UN Statistical Office or of the UNCTAD Secretariat shows an improvement by some 10 per cent between 1962 and 1970, which amounts to a recoupment of about half of the deterioration experienced in the preceding decade. Of course, the terms of trade of developing countries are not quite the same thing as the terms of trade of primary products. Moreover these indices measure only an average for the developing countries as a whole and some countries which have been particularly unlucky have failed to share in this improvement. Nevertheless, for the bulk of the developing world's primary product exports, the story of their terms of trade has been a happier one than was at one time anticipated.

This fact has been very convenient for those economists in the advanced capitalist world who were always suspicious of, if not hostile to, the strategy of industrialization and more particularly to the argument in support of this strategy which stemmed from the prediction of a continuing deterioration of the terms of trade of primary products.

Parenthetically it needs to be said that in so far as the observed reversal in the direction of the terms of trade is due to the implementation of the industrialization strategy itself, the reversal cannot be used to establish that the policy of industrialization was unnecessary. But it would be far too sanguine to believe that most of the reversal was attributable to the policy of industrialization and in any case almost impossible to demonstrate it. Therefore it will be assumed in what follows that a policy-induced switch to industry has had relatively little to do with the observed movement of the terms of trade. This assumption will serve to highlight the argument which is to be developed here, namely, that *the circumstances which were thought to lead to a continuing deterioration of the terms of trade of primary products justify a strategy of industrialization even when offsetting factors push the terms of trade in the other direction.*

The most general, and intellectually the most reputable, hypothesis that was advanced for predicting a deteriorating trend in the terms of trade of primary products was that the demand for such products grows at a slower rate than income. In the jargon of the economists this is expressed by saying that the income elasticity of demand for primary products is less than one. This hypothesis is both plausible *a priori* and consistent with the evidence. There are of course some primary commodities with an income elasticity larger than one, but these are exceptions.

In order to appreciate the implications of this fact and to lay the foundations of the argument which is to follow, it is necessary at this point to formulate a simple model. All models involve gross oversimplifications, and this one more than most. But, if well designed, a model should focus intensely on the question under consideration whilst not omitting factors which, if included, would drastically affect the conclusions. This is the aim here and if the conditions are satisfied, the answers which the model yields must be taken seriously.

Let us then conceive of the world as consisting of two groups of countries — one group producing only manufactures and the other only primary products. The working population is constant in each group but productivity grows. If it is provisionally postulated that productivity rises by the same percentage in both groups of countries and that prices remain constant, then the value of output of both primary products and manufactures, of real income in each group and hence of real income in the world as a whole, will all rise by the same proportion. This outcome will be a sustainable one only if the world income elasticity of demand is unity for both primary products and manufactures; in other words, if demand for both of them rises in the same proportion as world income, only then will the growth of demand for each of the two kinds of goods keep pace with the growth of their supply and markets be cleared at unchanged prices.

However, as noted earlier, the income elasticity for primary products is less than unity. For manufactures it is more than unity. If this is allowed for, but the assumption of equal productivity growth in both parts of the world is retained, then the terms of trade of primary products must deteriorate. This is because at unchanged prices demand for primary products will fail to keep pace with the growth of supply, whereas for manufactures it will outstrip supply. The pressure of excess supply will lower primary product prices and conversely the pressure of excess demand will raise the prices of manufactures. The adverse price movement will mean that the growth of real income will be less in the primary producing group than in the manufacturing one, notwithstanding the equal productivity growth. In certain circumstances the real income of the primary producing countries may not grow at all or even decline. (This last is known to economists as the case of “immiserizing growth.”)

The sort of model which yields the prediction that there will be a continuing deterioration in the terms of trade of primary products has now been outlined. Yet in the last ten years the terms of trade have behaved differently. If this were a temporary (cyclical) phase, no more would need to be said about it. Such long run historical statistics as there are support on balance the view that the terms of trade of primary products are on a declining trend, but only "on balance" and by a small margin — and they are not very reliable statistics. Suppose then that the last ten years, if untypical in registering a substantial improvement in the terms of trade of primary products, at least imply that the existence of a long run adverse trend is questionable. Is it then the hypothesis that the income elasticity of demand for primary products is less than one which is at fault? Given what we know about this, the answer must be in the negative. Even allowing for the inevitable imperfection of our empirical knowledge about this matter, it is possible to be almost categorical about it. What then? Within the (admittedly restrictive) confines of the model employed here, it can only be the assumption of equal productivity growth (explicitly labelled "provisional" when introduced earlier) which is at fault. On this subject our empirical knowledge is very limited. Admittedly, agricultural productivity in advanced economies is known to have been growing faster than manufacturing productivity over some recent decades, but this does not tell us anything about primary producing countries. The Green Revolution could indeed revolutionize traditional agriculture, but it is making slow progress and in any case does not affect export crops (which are not subject to the primitiveness of traditional methods) nor, of course, nonagricultural products.

If then it is hypothesized that productivity in the primary producing countries (which for purposes of the model are assumed to be producing nothing but primary products) is growing more slowly than in the manufacturing group, this would not be inconsistent with any well-established facts.

Moreover, it could account for improving terms of trade of primary products: whilst income elasticity affects demand, productivity growth affects supply; if a slower growth of productivity reduces the supply share of primary products by more than a lower than unity, income elasticity reduces the demand share, the relative price of primary products will need to keep rising in order to reconcile the otherwise divergent trends of demand and supply. If lower productivity growth and lower income elasticity just offset each other, the terms of trade will remain constant.

As far as the model used here is concerned, no other explanation of nondeteriorating terms of trade of primary products can fit — slower productivity growth in primary production can be the only explanation. It is of course an oversimple model. But with all due reservations, it tells a story with important policy implications. To put it at its simplest, it

is no consolation for primary producing countries that their terms of trade are not deteriorating if this is due to productivity growing more slowly in primary production than in manufacturing. In these circumstances, *if the mere ending of the downward slide in the terms of trade is taken as a signal for not pressing further with industrialization, primary producing countries will find their share of world income diminishing — the gap between rich and poor countries increasing.* (If a man works in manufacturing and his output and money income rise by 50 per cent in five years against a 25 per cent increase for a man working in primary production, and if this is coupled with no change in the terms at which their respective products are traded, the former's real income will rise by twice as much as the latter's regardless of how they allocate their consumption between primary products and manufactures.)

There is, of course, some rate of improvement in the terms of trade of primary products which will offset the slower productivity growth. It is not possible, for the time being, to attach an even remotely reliable number to this rate. But the point which needs to be emphasized at this stage is that it is not a once-over improvement in the terms of trade, but a *rate* of improvement which is needed. In other words, the terms of trade of primary products must be *continuously* improving if they are to offset a continuing disparity in productivity growth rates between primary products and manufactures. Unless, therefore, such a continuous improvement can be reasonably predicted, primary producing countries would be ill-advised to abandon the industrialization strategy, even if the behaviour of the terms of trade was the only reason for such a strategy, which it is not.

There are many concepts of the terms of trade. The one referred to so far has been that of the "commodity" terms of trade, alternatively known as "net barter" terms of trade. This is the most widely used concept and the one usually recorded in government statistics. It consists of the ratio of a price index of exports to a price index of imports, which in the narrow framework of the model of this paper coincides with the ratio of a price index of primary products to a price index of manufactures. This concept of the terms of trade is useful for many purposes. But it was a mistake ever to tie the question of industrialization to the direction of movement of the terms of trade in this sense. As has been seen, it is not critical for the industrialization case that the commodity terms of trade move against primary products. If one is to focus on any one concept of the terms of trade, the most nearly appropriate concept in the industrialization context is that of "double factorial" terms of trade. This takes into account productivity movements on both, the side of exports (primary products) and the side of imports (manufactures). Whether the terms of trade in this more esoteric sense move up or down is indeed critical for the industrialization argument. But, to reiterate it, the mere

direction of movement of the more conventional commodity terms of trade is not decisive.

Granted now that nondeteriorating commodity terms of trade do not undermine the case for industrialization, it remains to consider the argument of those economists who assert that the normal incentives of the price mechanism will generate, *via* the agency of private entrepreneurs, an amount of industrialization that is reasonably close to the optimal; it will therefore be unnecessary for the state to engage in an active industrialization drive; all the state needs to do is to hold the ring for the forces of comparative advantage to assert themselves through the unhindered operation of the market.

If spelt out, this argument would run roughly along the following lines. Since the relation between market prices and productivity affects the profitability of enterprises, a slower growth of productivity in primary production, which is not fully offset by an improvement in the price ratio of primary products to manufactures, will reduce the attractiveness of engaging in primary production, and in this way the market signals will generate a switch to industrial production as and when necessary.

There are, however, a whole number of reasons why the market signals would fail to work satisfactorily. One group of reasons arises from the divergence between market prices and social costs. In principle this is generally acknowledged by economists, though they disagree about the extent to which such divergencies prevail. The identification of this group of reasons as a source of inefficient resource allocation originated from the analysis of a static economy model, but the argument can be extended, up to a point, to a growing economy. More specific to a growing economy, and of particular importance to developing countries, is the response lag — the interval between the first appearance of the market signal and the emergence of the response it is supposed to elicit. In sluggish underdeveloped economies, this lag can be disconcertingly long. In the context of the discussion here, if a primary producing country were to wait for successive market signals to generate, of their own accord, a sustained switch of resources, it would find that it continuously devoted a suboptimal share of its resources to manufacturing industry; it would always be several steps behind on account of the response lag.

The conclusion which emerges is that the behaviour of the terms of trade in the last ten years need not shake the confidence of developing countries in the strategy of industrialization. This is not to say, of course, that a policy of industrialization is a panacea. Such a policy can be badly designed both in terms of industry mix and in terms of total pace; it can suffer from an inappropriate institutional framework. It will then prove disappointing — but this will not be the fault of the industrialization strategy as such.

Japan and Asian-Pacific Economic Development

Kiyoshi Kojima

The post-war world economy has experienced a setback around the end of each decade, but has resumed rapid expansion due to a new stimulus each time. Following the trouble of the sterling-pound convertibility in 1947 and devaluation in 1949, United States aid to Europe and Japan, and the Korean War as well, helped the speedy recovery and development of those economies, leading to an upsurge of world trade. The recession in 1957 was overcome by the emergence and great success of the European Economic Community and European Free Trade Area, resulting in the unprecedented growth of world trade in the 1960s. In 1967 the Kennedy Round of discussions under the General Agreement on Trade and Tariff was concluded in June and the system of Special Drawing Rights was agreed upon in September, on the one hand, and a series of international monetary manoeuvres started, on the other hand, with the devaluation of sterling in November, the goldrush, and so on, which ultimately resulted in the new US economic policy in August 1971 and international monetary realignment in December.

The free world economy has been facing a critical turning point. Uncertainty in the world economy will last throughout the 1970s, and there is the danger that no substantial progress will be made with regard to either trade policy or the monetary system.

The free enterprise world economy has to create a new big stimulus for expanding interdependence and trade in the 1970s and after. One of these stimuli should be the steady and dynamic economic development of the Third World. The other must be the greater success of the enlarged European Economic Community. I would, accordingly, like to propose the establishment of a Pacific Free Trade Area or the alternative of closer economic co-operation among the Pacific basin countries: the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand as the nucleus, with Asian and Latin American developing countries being associate members.¹ Both the enlarged European Economic Community and Pacific Free Trade Area may be able to get together through free trade arrangement, reaching the objective of a multilateral free trade association among almost all the industrial countries by around 1980.

Another stimulus should be brought about through the creation of new products and technology and the transformation of the industrial structure of each country in order to establish an expansive and harmonious international division of labour between them. The Japanese economy intends, throughout the coming decade, to expand the new technology-based, or so-called "knowledge intensive" industries, which consist of more sophisticated heavy and chemical industry products and softwares. This transformation will open up wider opportunities for Japan to increase imports, on the one hand of processed raw materials and metals from both advanced and developing countries, and on the other, textiles and other labour intensive manufactures mainly from developing countries.

The Japanese economy will continue to grow fast, at about 10 per cent in real terms or 15 per cent in current price terms, and her Gross National Product could be \$800 billion by 1980, as compared to \$200 billion in 1970. In spite of the revaluation of the Yen at the end of 1971, this is not an excessively optimistic forecast since there was sustained growth in Japanese real income of around 11.4 per cent per annum on an average throughout the last decade and considerably higher growth rates were achieved after 1965. In 1970, Japan's exports amounted to \$19.4 billion and her imports to \$18.9 billion. By 1980, Japan will have become the largest trading nation after the United States, with exports around \$77.5 billion and an 11.1 per cent share in total world trade.

Trade with East and Southeast Asian countries and with the United States is equally important for Japan, each direction accounting for a third of her total trade. Japan's trade with East and Southeast Asia has provided, and will continue to provide, her heavy export surplus. In 1970, Japan's exports to the area amounted to \$4.9 billion and she imported \$3.0 billion worth of supplies in return, the imbalance ratio being 1.62:1. Even if Japan tries hard to increase her imports from the area faster than her exports to the area, 1980 exports will be \$18.4 billion and imports \$14.6 billion, the imbalance ratio thus still being 1.28:1. How to fill this gap will be an important task for Japan. Moreover, because of the rapid increase in Japan's trade with the area, Japanese goods will account for 40 per cent of the area's total imports. We are afraid that this might invite Asian antagonism towards Japanese domination.

Coupled with heavy trade dependence, the increased aid and investment flows presage a testing time for Japan's economic relations with Asian countries. This will be a major challenge to Japanese economic diplomacy in the seventies and will require a new understanding of Asian problems and aspirations. Japan's policies towards LDCs should be focussed on how to increase trade between Japan and the developing countries, especially in the Asian region. Through trade growth, Asian economies are able to benefit from the rapid growth of the Japanese economy and promote their own economic development. However, how can Japan increase her imports from developing countries much faster than the growth rate of GNR? Further trade liberalization and provision of general preferences and other incentives favourable to the exports of developing countries are required. It is crucial for Japan to foster an industrial re-adjustment policy for the contraction of those industries in which developing countries already have or are gaining comparative advantage. On the other hand, export capacity should be created and increased in developing countries. To accomplish this, Japanese aid and investments should play a crucial role, and in this way the north-south trade in the Asian-Pacific Area can be efficiently reorganized.

To implement these policies, the Japanese have to be most careful

not to give occasion in the Asian countries to nationalistic fears of Japanese domination. A new code of investment behaviour will have to be adopted, one which encourages export-oriented industrial growth in less developed recipient countries. And there will have to be close co-operation with other industrial countries in joint-venture investment, joint aid projects, and multilateral aid giving. An international organization among the advanced Pacific countries for closer co-operation in economic policies towards developing countries, such as a Pacific Free Trade Area, may be desirable.

Currently, the north-south problem seems to be facing a turning point; there is a shift in emphasis from aid and trade expansion of a "surplus disposal" type to that of a "structural adjustment" type.

In the last decade, less developed countries sought as much aid as possible from the developed countries. This aid was mainly used to provide social overhead investment and to fill the gap in the trade balance incurred by accelerated imports of capital equipment. In short, it was not really directed towards increasing exports, and efficiency criteria were frequently neglected. Substantial foreign debts have accumulated in many developing countries and repayments and service charges surpass new borrowings. Thus, in addition to increased aid and a softening of terms of aid, the expansion of exports from developing countries is an urgent task.

On the other hand, developed countries have confined themselves significantly to providing the "surplus disposal" type aid, United States food aid under Public Law 480 being a notable example. To take another example, Japanese aid has so far been provided mainly for the purpose of increasing her own exports of heavy manufactures and chemicals.

Since about 1960, developed countries, including Japan, have been subject to more inflationary pressures. Aid of the "surplus disposal" type cannot be continued so easily. A new concept of aid and new aid policies have become necessary.

Structural adjustment in the developed countries is an essential element if new development policies are to be successful. Multilateral and non-discriminatory free trade is the most important and simple principle which should be pursued by all advanced countries in order to increase world trade. How to provide the basic conditions which are necessary to realize and maintain the free trade system is an important problem to be enquired into at present. The international monetary system must be reshaped so that the balance of payments disequilibrium is quickly and frequently adjusted by a more flexible adjustable peg system. Many tariff and nontariff barriers to trade which have been introduced mainly due to the balance of payments reason can be eliminated. However, as a pre-requisite for trade liberalization and smooth adjustment of balance of payments, structural adjustment is needed in each country's industries in response to changes in costs. Investments in inefficient, old industries which have lost comparative advantages should be contracted and capital

and employment must be transferred to other growing sectors through adjustment assistance policies. To do this, development centres must be created and stimulated. The cure of overall unemployment presents another difficult task for structural adjustment. An international code of structural assistance policy must be integrated with the GATT rules. Multinational corporations should be oriented to wants fostering a dynamic and harmonious transformation of international division of labour.

There is one particular measure that would assist the adjustment desired. A fund for assisting structural adjustment should be established in every advanced country. This should become an international obligation similar to the one per cent of GNP foreign aid target. A certain percentage (say, one half of one per cent) of GNP could be collected through taxation for this purpose. The fund should be used for bringing about the gradual elimination of uneconomic industries and the transfer of factors of production to more productive activities in which the advanced countries enjoy a comparative advantage. The optimum policy would be a "package" of subsidies to allow uncompetitive production to continue over the adjustment period and of cash grants to finance the closing down of capacity. Facilities should be provided, in addition, for the re-training and movement of redundant labour. These funds would be more efficient than direct aid to developing countries, for they would serve to raise incomes and efficiency in developed countries, as well as promoting industrialization in the developing countries. From the point of view of advanced countries, there is a clear parallel between the reclamation of uneconomic industries suggested here, and the urban renewal already widely undertaken by several governments.

An agricultural readjustment scheme was introduced in Japan in 1970 under which alternatives are provided by the government to farmers who cease cultivation of rice. Similar measures are needed in Japan to reduce capacity in traditional, smallscale labour-intensive manufacturing industries. Huge structural adjustments need to be effected in this way in the United States and other industrial countries with large and heavily protected declining industries.

Recently, the need for industrial structural adjustment, and for new trade relations, has been keenly felt in Japan. Five factors support the emergence of a new structure in production and trade. First, the availability of land and harbour facilities suitable for heavy industrial expansion is extremely limited. Second, the problems of environmental pollution are extremely serious, mainly because of bad governmental control but also because of the constraints of geography. Third, the logistic problems of supplying basic heavy industries with raw materials and energy from abroad will become too large to manage economically. In consequence it will be necessary to restructure production towards activities which require less basic raw materials and energy fuel. This

implies a relocation abroad of basic industrial capacity to service Japan's requirements for intermediate manufactured goods. In part, this relocation can be assisted by Japanese participation in investment abroad, and it can also proceed through the establishment of links with reliable independent suppliers. Fourth, Japanese labour-intensive manufactures, including traditional light industries such as textiles, will lose their competitiveness in international market as Japanese wages rise in step with national income. It can be confidently expected that by 1980, the Japanese worker will enjoy a 35-hour, five-day working week, and that wages will be about four times their present level. Fifth, because of labour shortage in manufacturing and service sectors and rapidly rising wages, inefficient and smallscale farmers should be transferred to these sectors, with only modern large farms being retained.

Throughout the coming decade, the Japanese economy intends to expand the new technology-based, or so-called "knowledge-intensive", industries. In the early 1980s, research and development-intensive industries, such as computers, aeroplanes, electric cars and other transport systems, complex assembly industries, such as communications equipment, office machinery, pollution control instruments and equipment and construction machinery, fashion industries, such as sophisticated clothing, furniture and musical instruments, and the information industry, will all become important and competitive sectors of the Japanese economy.²

These structural adjustments will take place gradually by the early 1980s, creating a huge outlet for the products of developing countries. But the heavy and chemical industries will continue to dominate export specialization throughout most of the seventies; and raw materials will remain a key factor in import specialization until late in the decade, when there will be larger imports of intermediate goods. Meanwhile, a huge amount of industrial raw materials and fuel will be required to service Japanese industrial growth; in 1980, Japan will represent 30 per cent of the world market for these commodities. Securing stable supplies at reasonable prices is now a major task. Increasing imports of cheaper foodstuffs will be another. New sources of supply of both raw materials and foodstuffs will have to be developed all round the world, but the Asian-Pacific countries will hold a large share in the growing market.

In the coming decade, it is quite certain that, as structural adjustments proceed successfully on both sides, a large market will be opened in Japan for labour-intensive manufactures from nearby Asian suppliers.

Direct foreign investment, that is, the transmission to the host country of a package of capital, managerial skill, and technical knowledge, is a potent agent of economic transformation and development.³ A large increase in Japanese direct investment in developing countries, in so far as it is welcomed by them, will significantly contribute to developing their natural resources, their agricultural production and their

processing industries, on the one hand, and to transferring from Japan to the developing countries those manufacturing industries suitable to each developing country, on the other.

Japan has endeavoured to invest in developing countries with the object of securing increased imports of primary products which are vitally important for her economy. This is called "development assistance for import". It was first directed (and is still being directed in increasing amounts) towards natural resource development projects such as oil, natural gas, iron ore, coal, copper, bauxite, and other metals. Wood and timber also have high priority. Benefits of such development assistance are limited, however, to those countries where abundant natural resources are available, and the employment and training effects are small in so far as the goods are exported in the form of raw materials. If we can extend our development investment for import to agricultural products, benefits will be spread more widely in developing areas. Thailand's successful development of exports to Japan of maize is a good example. Since February 1970, the Asian Trade Development Corporation has been providing subsidies as development assistance for import with regard to various agricultural products produced in the wider Asian area. The government is also considering whether to provide foreign exchange loans at low rates of interest to those enterprises which venture to develop new natural resource deposits.

In the field of natural resource development, developing countries have strong nationalistic fears against foreign extraction and they sometimes nationalize such enterprises. Therefore, new forms and new codes of behaviour should be invented for foreign investment. Joint venture with local capital is preferable. Import-linked investments and production-sharing methods, as have been adopted by Japan, may also be recommended; and progressive transfer of ownership may be necessary.

The development of natural resources, including timber, in developing countries is not only highly risky but also expensive for private enterprise since it has to provide infrastructure related to the natural resource development, such as roads, railways, harbours and towns, which are usually provided by the host government in advanced countries. A close combination of private investment and official development assistance should be considered so that the latter accommodates needed infrastructure, making private investment more attractive. Otherwise, natural resources development in advanced countries will go ahead and that in developing countries may be delayed. Also, risk-insurance systems should be introduced by governments or international organizations.

The establishment of facilities for the processing of natural resources within the developing countries where they are extracted is desirable from the point of view of both developing countries and Japan. But it is not necessarily economical. More careful study is required case by case.

Japan's direct investment for creating manufacturing capacity in developing countries is important and plays harmonious role for both sides, provided appropriate manufacturing industries are selected. The industries to be chosen should be those in which Japan is losing comparative advantage while developing countries are gaining it (or anticipate to do so), — for example, textiles, radio parts and components, electronic machines and motor vehicles, etc. Such industries should preferably be export-oriented, not merely serving for the benefit of the economically privileged local classes.

Their technology should be suited to local factor proportions, with larger employment and training effects than those characteristic of "enclave" investments. Joint ventures are preferable to wholly owned subsidiaries. Transfer of only parts of the package may be considered, if the recipient country desires, through loan-cum-management contracts or by transfer of technology through licensing arrangements rather than direct investment.

Suppose, a textile industry, which is losing comparative advantage in Japan, moves away from Japan through increased direct investment in developing countries. This will promote structural adjustment in Japan and open wider markets for developing country products. If other advanced countries do the same as Japan, markets for developing countries' products will become very large. The Japanese textile industry holds long experience of excellent management and technology which is more suitable to developing countries than that of America or Europe. When abundant but relatively cheap labour is combined with this in developing countries, the products of joint ventures will certainly succeed in international competition.

The point is that it is better for Japan, as she has done, to withdraw one by one from those industries in which she is losing her comparative advantage, and to invest in developing countries which are gaining a comparative advantage in those industries. In contrast with Japan, it seems to me that the United States has transferred abroad those industries which ranked in the top of her comparative advantage and has thus brought about balance of payments difficulties and unemployment, and the need for protection in her remaining industries.

In Asia, we are impressed by the success of free trade and investment zones in Kaoshiung, in Taiwan, and the development of similar area at the Jurong Industrial Estate, Singapore, as well as by the successful industrialization in India, Korea and Hong Kong. These show us the need and promise of step-by-step transfer of manufacturing industries from advanced to developing countries.

How to open wider market access in advanced countries to developing country manufactures is a crucial problem. Recently, Japan reduced tariffs to a fairly low level in accordance with the Kennedy Round agreements. Also, Japan accelerated trade liberalization in 1969-71 and the

number of items under the residual import restriction was reduced to 33 (twenty-four agricultural, one mineral and eight industrial items) by the end of March 1972. Japan has begun, since August 1971, to provide general preferences to developing countries but the benefits have so far been rather limited since the range of commodities under the scheme is limited and the quota ceiling is also so small that it was mostly filled within two months. The system should be improved so that the preferential margin is more generous. The effect of Australian preference has also so far been very limited. The European Community started to provide general preference in July 1971 while the United States has not yet decided to do so.

The general preferences to developing country products are not sufficient for opening wider markets in advanced countries, although the longer-term effects might be more significant. Thus, it should be stressed again that extension of trade preferences is unlikely to be practicable or effective unless complementary adjustment policies are implemented in both advanced and less developed countries alike.

Where tariffs remain important, advanced countries should work towards the adoption of a system of *value added tariffs* on imports from less developed countries.⁴ *Value added tariffs* involve the levy of duties solely on that portion of the value of an imported commodity which is added to materials and components in the less developed country itself. This concession is important where manufacturing activity in less developed countries depends heavily on foreign capital equipment, and on parts and components imported from advanced countries. *Value added tariffs* would minimize the impact of tariff escalation in advanced countries and encourage the migration of inefficient advanced country industrial capacity to efficient locations within less developed countries. United States Tariff Item 807 permits this kind of concession, although its terms are too restrictive. The Australian preference scheme for less developed countries can also be used to the same effect. Japan, too, has recently extended *value added tariff* concessions to Korea on a limited number of items. Perhaps the most promising means of achieving generalization of the *value added tariff* system is by negotiation among groups of interested countries. It is important to establish now a regional forum through which these negotiations might take place.

Finally, it is clear that largescale aid-investment *cum* preference-structural adjustment schemes could be given greater effect to by a group of like-minded advanced countries. It is also desirable that aidgiving and investment should be multinationalized, and freed as far as possible from bilateral tying. To realize these objectives, the possibilities for closer co-operation among advanced countries in the Asian-Pacific region should be studied.

- ¹ More detailed analyses are given in Kiyoshi Kojima, *Japan and a Pacific Free Trade Area*, Macmillan, London, 1971.
- ² Ministry of International Trade and Industry, *Trade and Industrial Policies in 1970s*, May 1971.
- ³ Harry G. Johnson, "The Multinational Corporation as a Development Agent," *Columbia Journal of World Business*, May-June 1970.
- ⁴ Kiyoshi Kojima, Saburo Okita and Peter Drysdale, "Foreign Economic Relations" in Asian Development Bank, *South-East Asia's Economy in the 1970s*. Longman, 1971, p. 302.

Urban Planning and the Social Scientist

M. S. Gore

Urban planning is not new or recent, but the social scientist's association with urban planning and his serious involvement in it is fairly recent even in the Western countries. Traditionally the urban planners have been concerned almost exclusively with the creation of physical facilities by way of housing, roads, parks, public buildings, transportation, water supply, supply of power, etc.

Even today these are the major concern of the urban planner; but there is an increasing awareness that all these facilities have to be planned for and are to be utilized by human beings. A city has to be planned in such a way that it is visually beautiful and functionally useful from the point of view of those who live in it. What is convenient and acceptable to people depends upon their ways of living and the expectations they have been culturally conditioned to. The physical structure is important not only passively in the sense that it must meet the needs of the people, but even actively or positively in the sense that in its own turn it sets the conditions for the people's responses and behaviour toward each other. The type of house, the physical distance between one house and another, and the manner of grouping of houses may tend to encourage certain patterns of interaction and pre-empt certain others.

The social scientist can make a contribution to the process of urban planning by sensitizing the physical planner to the social dimensions of his activity. He can provide data about the number and distribution of people, provide facts about their habits and preferences in housing, in travel patterns, in choice of friends, in neighbourhood preferences. He can say what types of differential facilities would be needed by the different sections of the population in the sphere of education or welfare services.

Recently the concept of urban planning has itself undergone a change. It has become inclusive of the provision of civic and social services for the people who live in the city. Here the anticipation of people's needs, their aspirations, their predispositions and susceptibilities in the choice and rejection of various options, their ability to accept change, their motivational patterns in the use or non-use of services offered to them are areas in which the social scientist would have a more direct role in the formulation of social policies and programmes.

In this paper we will try to outline the role of the social scientist both as an aide to the physical planner and as a participant in the formulation of broader social policy. There will, however, be a somewhat greater emphasis on the former of the two roles.

Let us take the case of housing as an area which is of central concern to the physical planner. The moment he is asked to plan housing, the physical planner would need answers to two questions. How many houses does he have to build? And for whom are these houses to be built? The number of people that have to be provided housing depends upon the number of job opportunities that the community offers and the rate of

growth of population either by way of natural growth or due to migration. The question about the type of people for whom these houses have to be built calls for information which is variously available with the economist, the demographer, and the sociologist. Since the pattern of housing requirements is related to the income levels of the individuals who will occupy the houses, the economists' assistance in ascertaining different types of occupational opportunities will become crucial. If the economy of the city is based on manufacturing industries we may find a preponderance of persons of the lower-income group. If, on the other hand, the types of economic opportunities are primarily in the area of trade and commerce, we may find that the proportion of middle and upper-income groups is slightly higher. The data on income and occupation distribution provides a useful base in answering the question about the type of housing that would be required for a given city.

The demographer will be able to say what the size of an average household is or is likely to be, how many of these households are likely to be single person households and how many would be in the nature of familial groups. He is also able to say what the age composition of the family group might be. These facts are important because the physical planner has to provide separately for familial residences and for single-person accommodation. In the planning of a house he may have to think differently for different income groups in terms of size as well as the facilities that the household is likely to expect.

The sociologist, or more generally the behavioural scientist, will bring in data about the type of housing that is preferred. These preferences will be related to income, but they are often also related to the ethnic composition of the community. Some housewives prefer kitchens where they can stand and cook, others like to squat and cook at the floor level. The upper-income groups are particular about closet space for clothes and other belongings, the lower-income groups look for balconies which can be put to multiple uses. The South Indian housewife may look for a place where she can grind and pound *masalas* without the fear of cracking the cement floor.

In the choice of locality, the social factor becomes particularly important. Nearness to job place and the ability to pay rent are, of course, important considerations in the choice of different localities; but equally important are considerations relating to the type of neighbourhood from the point of view of its language and caste composition. We find that in the Indian cities there is a tendency for migrants from particular parts of the country to live in particular areas of the city. This is the experience not only in Bombay but also in other cities in the country. Even in the traditional city of Banaras we find there are distinct mohallas where persons from Maharashtra, from the southern States and from Bengal reside in relatively exclusive groups.

For decisions relating to the types of special facilities and the proportion of the different types or grades of housing that need to be provided, the data brought in by the social scientists are useful. The rent-paying capacity of the individuals is commonly regarded as being a function of the total income of the individual; it is found, in fact, to be related not only to his income but also to the relative priority that he gives to housing among his other needs. Neglect of this fact has led to a curious phenomenon. Housing created for the lower-income groups by government and industry has often been left unutilized by those for whom it was meant. In some cases such accommodation has been used as a property asset rather than a consumable item by the individual to whom the house was allocated. He lets out the allocated accommodation and returns to his former hutment dwelling, using the allotment for purposes of gaining additional monthly income.

In facing up to the task of participating in the process of urban planning, the social scientist, particularly the behavioural scientist, finds himself at a disadvantage in comparison with the physical planner. The expertise that is gained by the physical planner in his particular specialization has a greater element of transferability from one part of the world to another. The type of data that the social scientist is handling are not only inadequate but also non-transferable from one society to another. What has been observed to be true about the preference and prejudices of people in one part of the world cannot become the basis for planning action in another part of the world. This is a consequence of the cultural distinctness of people in different societies. In the activity of planning the distinctness of cultures imposes the necessity of acquiring a new knowledge that describes the particular characteristics of people separately for each society if not for each city that is being planned. This poses a serious problem because usually by the time the physical planner is ready to ask his questions and wishes to move into action, the social scientist is not ready with his answers. He has to be allowed a considerable amount of time for the collection of data in the field on the basis of which he might be able to answer questions of fact and feeling in relation to the population for which the city is being planned.

Among social scientists, the economist and the demographer are at a relative advantage. Economic theory and economic propositions are relatively culture-free. Also, the data used by the economist are quantifiable and are more readily available. The demographer also enjoys the same facility. His basic data are available in the authentic form of decennial census reports. The behavioural scientist is not equipped with either the facts or the theory. He tends to look upon the economist with a measure of jealousy as at an elder sister who has married well. It is of course true that the limits within which economic activity can be

culture-free are now beginning to be perceived. Yet, within a given culture the responses of individuals in the area of economic activity would be found to be relatively constant. This is not true of the area with which sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists are concerned. The norm governing human behaviour and the historical traditions of particular groups introduce a great variety in patterns of responses characteristic of groups though over a period of time the physical and economic factors may tend to impose certain uniformities.

The problems faced by the social scientist become even more complex when he participates in planning an entirely new city. The economist may be able to see that given a certain level of investment there is a possibility of a certain number of jobs being created at a given level of technological development. The behavioural scientist is not in a position to say who would occupy these jobs, what would be the social or the educational background of individuals that would be drawn to this new area, what their expectations might be in terms of housing or education and other amenities, or in what kinds of groups they would like to live. In answering these questions he cannot just rely on his guesses and he seeks to transfer by analogy his knowledge of an existing city to the new city which is being planned, so that he says that if city "A", which is nearby and has comparable characteristics, is populated by people with such and such characteristics, the likelihood is that people in city "B" will also have a similar social composition. Such guesswork, however, introduces a further approximation in an already vague situation and generally the thinking of the behavioural scientist tends to be less tidy and exact than that of the engineer-physical planner.

The difficulty referred to above can be minimized by organizing the time-table for planning in such a way that the social scientist can get a head start in terms of the collection of facts on which his advice is to be based. Also if the planning is undertaken in an already existing city, it is likely that some knowledge of the population and its behavioural characteristics is already available; though in India, such available knowledge barely extends beyond the knowledge of demographic and economic facts. Knowledge pertaining to attitude, opinions and social preferences is not readily available.

Apart from the paucity of readily available data, the social scientist experiences another problem at a very different level in the area of urban planning. His training and discipline have equipped the social scientist to describe an existing situation and analyse it in terms of certain concepts characteristic of his discipline. Wherever it is possible he may move from description to an explanation of the particular phenomenon he has observed in terms of relationships between different variables. The activity of planning calls for other skills as well. Description, analysis, and explanation are only a preliminary to the type of activity that a planner

is called upon to undertake. He is required to forecast and even to prescribe. The urban planner is engaged not in explanations but in implementation. He is formulating and also implementing a policy which affects large number of the people. As a participant in the process of urban planning the behavioural scientist is being called upon to advise on several policy issues. This is a type of activity in which he has had limited experience.

Let us take the area of housing and see the demands made on a behavioural scientist. In this area several questions of policy are involved. We refer to them briefly here to identify the questions and tasks to which the social scientist has to address himself. For example, it is observed that left to itself, an Indian city tends to develop distinct geographical areas each of which is a cultural island characterized by a particular language, caste, religion or income, or a particular combination of them. The social scientist who is aware of the broader social goal of developing a secular society not divided by caste and creed, or the goal of an egalitarian society which is not divided by sharp income differences, may ask himself what the implications of these broader goals are for housing policy. Do they imply that a policy should be adopted whereby housing space should be made available in relation to family size rather than paying capacity? Does it mean that in the interest of social justice housing for lower-income groups should be subsidized? Does the goal of a secular society imply that a deliberate effort should be made to achieve heterogeneity in the grouping of houses? If so, what are the means or instrumentalities through which this heterogeneity can be achieved in residential areas? Also, what exactly do we mean by heterogeneity and at what level or unit of organization do we seek to achieve it — at the level of each building? — the level of a neighbourhood? — or the level of a larger-sized *mohalla* or community?

The questions can be categorized as questions relating to broad social goals, intermediary questions of policy with reference to a particular planning activity like housing, and questions about the availability and the fashioning of instruments (which largely take the form of rules and regulations), through which the intermediary objectives are to be attained. But with these arise many other questions about the desirability and efficiency of the intermediary goals and the instrumentalities devised to achieve them. Obviously, the knowledge of social sciences in these areas is inadequate. What is more, even the methodological skills of social scientists may need considerable refinement if they have to tackle these questions.

The administrator inevitably faces these questions as a part of his daily routine and he attempts to answer them through hunches, insights and intuition. When a social scientist is called upon to help in making these decisions it is expected that he can bring not only a wider knowledge

of facts but also a disciplined approach which is based on research, experimentation and a system of generalized concepts. When faced with specific questions he may find that he does not have either the facts or the tested body of theory on the basis of which he can answer the question. He may not be able to say whether heterogeneous neighbourhoods will in the long run bring the goal of a secular society nearer or will only lead in the short run to increased social tensions. He knows that homogeneous neighbourhoods give a sense of security to the rural migrant who moves to the city, but he does not know how large such a neighbourhood should be to meet the psychological need of the individual without dividing the city into clear-cut zones which interfere with communication and mobility and prevent the development of a sense belonging to the larger urban complex.

The planning enterprise demands that the behavioural scientist should go beyond his normal preoccupations of description and tentative explanation and provide forecasts and prescribe policies and solutions. He is ill equipped with facts to do the one and unprepared by training to do the other. As a remote goal he accepts his responsibility to offer practical counsel, but in the immediate present he is willing to let the administrator make all the mistakes and confine himself to his neat, little studies of small samples or small communities without indicating or even perceiving the relationship of his activity to the issue of the day.

At the back of his inability to orient himself to the demand made on him by the planner-implementor is the modesty and the diffidence of the social scientist born of his still limited knowledge. Such modesty is healthy and should be nurtured further. But there is also a somewhat mistaken notion that action begins or should begin after the process of acquiring knowledge has been completed. Yet knowledge is never complete and often in policy matters it grows only through involvement in practice. One always proceeds on the basis of available knowledge and gives best advice one can. The social scientist differs from the administrator not so much in the completeness of his knowledge, but in his ability to analyse the results of a particular administrative action or practice with the conceptual tool characteristic of his science and by his ability to add to the existing body of knowledge on the basis of his experience. The administrator meets with success or failure at the end of a series of actions: the scientist only meets with new facts with which he refines his cognitive framework.

While there may be a marginal doubt as to how far urban planning can benefit from the present state of social science knowledge, there can be no doubt that social science can gain a great deal by its involvement in urban planning. The needs of detailed planning will compel the social scientist to begin by collecting facts at the micro-level reality about the demographic characteristics of age, sex, education, income and

occupational distribution of the population for which planning is to be undertaken; it will require him to know more about the rate and source of migration, the social characteristics of migrants, their occupational preferences, and the problems and processes of their adjustment to the new urban environment; he will need to find out about factors that influence people in their choice of homes, of neighbourhoods, of shopping areas and the modes of travel; he might have to gauge the extent to which such choices are influenced, by cost, distance, social proximity and the levels of expectation with reference to a particular facility. The social scientist's knowledge of the channels and frequency of communication between different social groups, their mutual perceptions, of the state of relative tension in which they view each other would gain in depth. Before he can render effective advice he will have to be able to say which services are used, by whom and for what reason; his understanding of motivation of different groups in respect of education and occupation will have to be more specific to enable him to anticipate what volume of inputs might be necessary and justified to ensure full utilization of training facilities that will be provided.

Altogether the search for facts — not only more facts but specific facts — relating to an immediate situation will sharpen the social scientist's perception and the need for being able to give operational advice will compel him to equip himself increasingly with techniques of forecasting and prediction. The social scientist who complains of the limited scope for devising experimental situations in social research will find that he is involved in a situation where the variations of conditions in relation to different locations, different communities and different services provide him with a near experimental study design on many subjects of his interest.

The relation between the activity of urban planning and social science is thus mutually supportive, dynamic and full of challenge. The social scientist is bound to be tentative and hesitant in the advice that he can give at this stage of development of his body of knowledge, but that is all the more reason why he should address himself actively to meet the challenge that urban planning and policy formulation offer.

The Social Scientist and Social Change in India

Ramkrishna Mukherjee

I

The Indian social scientists have consistently tried to answer the "Indian question" which has been posed differently in altered situations and has called for differential emphasis on the respective social science disciplines.

In the early stages, "confronted by the disquieting spectacle of what seemed superior social organization as well as superior material culture, Indian thinkers began to look at the family, law, education, and religion in ways different from those honoured by century-old traditions" (Becker and Barnes 1952 : II, 1135-1136). This outlook, pioneered by persons like Raja Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) and Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883), provided specificity and objectivity to social research in India.

There were deterrents of course : attempts were made to rationalize the present and eulogize the past, which were particularly provoked by equally irrational and biased vilification of India (e.g., Mayo 1927). The central aim of the social scientists, however, was to strive for an objective understanding of the Indian society and to explain the "Indian question" in the colonial perspective (Singh 1955a : 463-469). Therefore, while researches were pursued in various other disciplines, economics came to the forefront of social research since the effects of colonialism were the most vividly felt in the economic life of the people (Mukherjee 1965 : 169-173).

After India's Independence also, economics retained its leadership in social research because, as Jawaharlal Nehru had aptly stated : "Our principal problem is after all not the Hindu-Moslem problem, but the planned growth of industry, greater production, more just distribution, higher standard of living, and thus the elimination of the appalling poverty that crushes our people" (Nehru 1942 : 11). In this context, the non-economic social science disciplines were left to augment their respective stocks of knowledge for their exclusive benefit or play second fiddle to the current economic, political, and administrative theses by (a) providing "facts" to the planners, administrators, etc., (b) showing the achievement or failure of some planned programmes for development, (c) highlighting some problem auxiliary or ancillary to economic planning, and so on. Since there were no significant attempts to bring the social science disciplines together and evolve a "social technology, which would have meant utilizing their assembled stock of knowledge about the social facts to prescribe how social change could be induced and controlled in a rational and wholesome way" (Myrdal 1956 : 173), even the positive advocacy for "institutional planning" took the form of rather vague generalizations in so far as the non-economic life of the people is concerned (e.g., Radhakamal Mukherjee 1964 : 42-43; Singh 1955b : 358-369)

The time, however, had changed and inter-disciplinary research (which was stressed by Myrdal and many others at that time) was not the solution to the problem, although it is as much necessary to unfold social realities as the definition of the role of different social science disciplines is for the same purpose. Thus, the role of economics in contemporary social research cannot be undermined, especially in the context of the general consensus voiced by Myrdal in the 1950's that "the major task is first to force economic development in the underdeveloped countries to the point where a more unified world system can be solidly built" (Myrdal 1956: 3). Concurrently, however, the fact cannot be bypassed that the anticipated sequential change from economic to social, and from social to ideological, may be valid over a wide time-span and a generalized perspective of human society, but with reference to a segment of that society and within a relatively short time-span it may lose its precision and even validity. Marx, who is regarded by many to have insisted under any circumstances upon a course of unidirectional change from economic to social and to ideological, has pointed out exceptions within time-place limits (e.g., Marx 1953: 399-400). So that, economic progress may not synchronize *ipso facto* with social and ideological progress; instead, the social and ideological situation may stand in the way of economic development.

Hence, it is no doubt essential to bear in mind the limitations observed in social research because of unilateral emphasis on economics or non-economic social science disciplines, of which "cultural anthropology" was regarded as the symbol by Myrdal in the following statement: "Following their old theoretical tradition of ignoring the non-economic factors, on ground that they fall outside economic analysis, economists have often simply assumed that the national communities would become adjusted psychologically, socially, culturally, and politically to the economic changes as they occurred"; and "they (the cultural anthropologists) seldom attempted to develop their science into a social technology, which would have meant utilizing their assembled stock of knowledge about the social facts to prescribe how social change could be induced and controlled in a rational and wholesome way — though they did point out to the economists . . . that their economic analysis was superficial and that the policies they propounded could cause harm when they argued for economic development" (Myrdal 1956: 171, 173). But the crucial point now is to define the focus of research, after which discipline-wise and interdisciplinary social research may be duly organized. For it is no more sufficient merely to describe "what is it" and "how is it" of the societal phenomena through discipline-wise or interdisciplinary research, and it is also inefficient only to explain "why is it" of the "Indian question" in the light of one or another theory prevalent in different social science disciplines or deduce it from

interdisciplinary and discipline-wise answer to the question "how is it". What is needed, instead, is diagnostic research on India's contemporary socio-economic-political-ideological situation in order to find answer to the question "what will it be" about the Indian society.

Consequently, social research on contemporary India should embrace all social science disciplines, instead of being heavily loaded towards one of them, and it must not remain restricted to mere description and explanation of what has happened or is happening, and what the particularly favoured theories suggest as would happen in the future. By and large, however, the social scientists have missed this key note of their task and, therefore, their comprehension of the social reality has not been substantive. Mukerji commented in 1955: "I have seen how our progressive groups have failed in the field of intellect, and hence also in economics and political actions, chiefly on account of their ignorance of and unrootedness in India's social reality" (Mukerji 1958: 240). The issue became so obvious a decade later that it was admitted in 1968 in an official review of Myrdal's *Asian Drama* (1968) in the journal of the Indian Planning Commission: "If planning from below has not developed, it is because a whole group of economists drawn from various persuasions and associated with India's Planning Commission seldom moved beyond the mechanical application of Western experience" (Thapar 1968: 5).

Admittedly, social research in India is not yet in a position to indicate what is to be done to grapple with India's current environment and mould it for a better result. In 1955, Mukerji lamented over "the most jejune and vapid generalizations about Indian problems with which we are being familiarized today in the name of scientific research" (Mukerji 1958: 232). Social research in India has certainly progressed since then, but the problem of establishing harmony between the economic and social-ideological life of the people remains as acute as before. A telling example in this context was cited in 1968 (Mitra 1968: III. 13):

"In a powerful and discerning statement in the form of a film on the Indian situation in 1967, the maker of the film has, with telling veracity, shown us how even while turning the most sophisticated lathe at an HMT factory or giving finishing touches to a supersonic jet plane at the Aircraft factory in Bangalore, the trained executive or mechanic, who is otherwise wholly modern in his attitudes, personal relations and manner of organizing work, still pins upon his machine or close to it a lurid oleograph of the god or goddess in whom he no longer believes. In another deeply sensitive film about the master of a peasant family in Mayurbhanj, whose sons have done well in the various fields of law, engineering, railway transport, sanitation, and the army, the maker of the film has shown at the end how the master, a Kayasth, would like to be reborn a Brahmin. The first film has been indignantly condemned by responsible persons as ridiculing the Hindu religion precisely over the

shots that the writer has mentioned, and the second has been acclaimed, again, precisely on account of the wish to be reborn a Brahmin. It is curious that in either case the essential incompatibility between traditional belief and modern practice should fail to disturb as it should. What seems even more curious is that traditional belief should still find staunch champions."

The situation outlined above is not unique to India, as indicated in the reviews of accomplishment of social research in other countries and especially in the "developing societies". Solutions to the problem have, therefore, been floated (e.g., McClelland 1961) and many more are likely to be presented in the future. But any such generalized solution would be inadequate and may be fallacious as counter-arguments to these solutions indicate. Also, some conscientious researchers have readily admitted that their analytical models may not be applicable anywhere and everywhere. Regarding India for which the coverage of available information is very large, Hagen stated: "The situation in India has seemed to me too complex to lend itself to analysis in terms of the analytical model presented in this volume without more intensive examination than it has been possible to give it." (Hagen 1962: 427-428).

In the circumstances, what we need is a concerted and logically structured attempt towards the solution of the problem and not the offer of a remedy at once. Accordingly, my submission is that: (i) the economists should be complemented by other social scientists who, in the words of Myrdal, have remained as "poor relations" of the former for "more than two hundred years" (Myrdal 1968: I, 28); and (ii) all of them should expound comprehensively the role of social research as a diagnostic (and not an explanatory) proposition in the contemporary perspective. For social research can no longer have an ameliorative function unless it assumes the responsibility to identify the soft spots in the social organism, viz., those vulnerable regions of the social structure through which change in the system(s) of variation is, or may be, effected.

This is a diagnostic proposition to appraise social change systematically, precisely, and comprehensively, which I explained and illustrated when I put forward the concept of soft spots in a social organism (Mukherjee 1965). It is not to be confused with the description or explanation of any social process and equating it to social change, by which the latter forfeits its analytical relevance and usefulness as a distinct concept. For, as Moore has defined succinctly, "social change is the significant alternation of social structures"; and Boskoff has aptly remarked that "theories of social change have traditionally been too grandiose, too general, and therefore too simplified in their attention to the complex variables of social behaviour" (Moore 1967: 3; Boskoff 1964: 214).

We are familiar with explicit formulation of soft spots in a broad canvas of social events; such as, to the Marxists, the proletariat (and not the "poor" *per se*) represent the soft spot to bring about a revolutionary change in the world society (vide, *the Manifesto of the Communist Party*). This, however, is not our experience with reference to a small canvas of social events, in which case we frequently find that there are explanatory generalizations which imply the concept of soft spots but the implication is usually of such a nature that it precludes the need for their detection while it does not solve the issue for which it is necessary to detect the soft spots. It would be desirable to examine these points in order to persuade the social scientists to adopt the diagnostic approach to research for a proper appraisal of social change. Apropos, we find the following facts, fallacies, and explanations.

Unprecedented activities are noticed in India for her economic development since Independence. Based on a rapid and extensive exploitation of resources, industrialization and urbanization have proceeded at a fast tempo. The agricultural sector of the economy also has made significant progress, and these developments are bringing out a new occupational profile in society and inducing changes in the pattern of living of the people. Now, it was rightly anticipated that the planned programme of economic development would begin a chain reaction which would proceed beyond changes in those behaviour patterns of the people which were *sui generis* to the changed economic situation and the consequent living pattern. It was assumed, however, that the chain reaction would lead to the alteration of those specific behaviour patterns which stood as social and ideological obstacles in the envisaged path of development, so that development would take place as a self-generating process. This assumption has proved to be fallacious and, therefore, several viewpoints are current in contemporary India to explain the situation. From these, two may be immediately excluded as illusory: (i) the people are averse to any planning for economic or social development because of their peculiar spiritual heritage and the life they have evolved on that basis, and (ii) there is no discord among economic change, economic development, social change, and social development of India. In between these two extreme viewpoints, there are three lines of reasoning which draw one's attention for ascertaining their validity and usefulness:

1. **Inevitable Time-sequence.** A lag between economic and social development is inevitable in any society, but it is reduced successively and finally disappears as the course of economic development gathers momentum. That is, in the context of the present discussion, the course of economic and social development proceeds *ipso facto* through the soft spots in the society and produces eventually a "modern", progressive and

prosperous India, for which the detection of soft spots through diagnostic research is unnecessary.

2. **Faulty Planning and Organization.** The developmental measures are not thorough enough, or they are not implemented in the right manner, to induce the people to promote them on their own accord and thus effect consequent changes in their social and ideological life. That is, in the context of the present discussion, if the developmental measures were properly planned and administered, they would automatically permeate into the society through its soft spots, so that the detection of soft spots is unnecessary.

3. **Lack of Communication.** The people are not aware of the implication and the potentiality of the developmental programmes since they are mostly uneducated; so that education (through action programmes, propaganda, and the statutory institutions of learning) and economic betterment will solve the problem. That is, the educated and the economically better off persons denote the soft spots in the social organism through whom the desired course of change in the society will be effected.

As to the first of the above three explanatory generalizations (all of which preclude the need for the detection of soft spot in a social organism), the assumption of a lag between economic and social development may be supported by historical evidence with reference to several countries which are presently regarded to be developed and advanced, but it would be desirable to learn from history of the painful consequence of imbalance and disharmony between the material and nonmaterial advance and to act in such a manner that this historical chapter is not repeated *ad verbatim* for India. There is also the point that the chasm between economic and social development is producing a "boomerang effect" and tends to nullify the gains made. Although it is rather strong, there is more than a grain of truth in Myrdal's comment: "The postponement of the promised social and economic revolution, which was to follow India's political revolution, is thus in danger of becoming permanent" (Myrdal 1968: I, 278). Therefore, instead of accepting the inevitable time-sequence between the economic and social development, we should search for the soft spots in the social organism to promote both.

The second explanatory generalization also is as fallacious and inadequate as the first one. The fact need not be doubted that the formulation of the developmental measures is not always thorough and that on many occasions they are not implemented properly. There is evidence, however, to indicate that this fact alone cannot explain the situation. This was noticed in respect of rehabilitation of the East Pakistan refugees in West Bengal during 1947-61 (Mukherjee 1965: 109-165). Also, in regard to India's agricultural development, Sen noted: "If any attempt is made to lift any part of this mesh of interlocking

vicious circles, there is usually such a pull downwards from the other chains in the mesh that any sustained progress becomes almost impossible" (Sen 1962: 4). However, that this "state of quasi-equilibrium at the existing low level" (*ibid.* : 4) is not due to the apathy of the people towards material gains or their lack of "achievement orientation" is indicated by the fact that they accept some of the developmental measures and reject others. Such as, the introduction of certain crops may be welcomed but the attempt to encourage certain forms of manuring or use of irrigation facilities may be bypassed. This kind of almost categorical reactions of the people are often evaluated on their face-value as peculiar "resistance" of the unenlightened mass, and theories on such resistance and even computer simulation of innovation difficulties yield little beyond the indication of a time-gap which is expected to be eliminated by sustained propaganda, action-programmes, and mass literacy (Rogers 1969: 81-87, 344-358). The suggestion is, thus, there that what is lacking in these situations is the precise identification of the soft spots through which the desired plan of action can be successfully administered.

As to the third explanatory generalization, one can notice at once that while proper education will no doubt instil into the minds of the people an objective awareness of reality and will develop their critical faculty in respect of the life they have led and the life they should lead, education alone may not bridge the gulf between the level of want and appreciation and the level of work and achievement. As Lerner, from his standpoint, has stated "aspirations are more easily aroused than satisfied" (Lerner 1963: 331). There is also the point that the prevailing form and content of education is such that it may not be particularly conducive to the development of the critical faculty of the people. For the lack of this faculty is not confined to the so-called "unenlightened mass"; as illustrated earlier, it is equally present among the "elite" who are educated and some of whom are regarded to be highly educated (Mitra 1968: III, 13). Indeed, it is not at all uncommon that the "elite" nurture and even propagate those aspects of social and ideological life which are, at the least, anachronistic to the pursued course of social development. It is the "elite" who have brought in religion, caste, and kinship as new dimensions in the economic, social, and political organization of India, and their role in obscurantist movements (e.g., against cow slaughter because "cow is mother" and not because "cow is wealth") is also not unknown. In the circumstances, how can education *per se* solve the problem a country is faced with, even if one forgets for the sake of argument that there is a gap between the levels of "want and appreciation" and "work and achievement"? The producers and distributors of this commodity belong to the "elite" group in society; the seeds of evil are, thus, embedded in the charm to be employed to eradicate

that evil and, therefore, the charm cannot provide the soft spot through which changes in the social organism will be effected.

Moreover, while we should bear in mind that education with a proper content will play an important role in the life of any people, we have to accept the fact that it cannot replace the need for the detection of soft spots in a social organism for another very significant reason, namely, that the identification of soft spots to induce change in society is of a larger significance than the propagation of mass education. At its best possible form and content, and the maximum expectation thereof, education can be fully effective only when it is commensurate with the entire course of socialization of individuals. Contradictory forces are, however, working in this respect through the media of family, school, formal or informal youth associations, labour market, etc. For instance, the Indian "tradition" teaches the people that acquisition of wealth is not a status symbol in society: a man is to be rated by his good manners (*sadāchār*). This is learnt at home from fairy and folk tales, mythology and maxims, and also from dutiful parents and elders. The contemporary formal education deviates from this standpoint and indicates that acquisition of wealth is an important status symbol but it has to be acquired honestly. And, when one confronts the world, virtually any field of activity brings home the truth that the qualification attached to the process of acquisition of wealth is surely irrelevant, if not also impractical. In such a situation, education *per se* loses its force and perhaps also its meaning.

Also, the third explanatory generalization, therefore, is at the least inadequate if not equally fallacious as the other two, although all kinds of research to describe the social situation, or to explain it, tend to imply or declare at the end that it is the education of the people (along with their economic betterment) which will induce the desired course of change in the systems of variation under examination. Hence, instead of pinning our faith on this common desideratum to the solution of all problems, we should adopt the diagnostic approach and detect the soft spots in the social organism, in reference to each and every societal phenomenon and system of variation under examination, in order that we may unequivocally answer the question "what will it be" about contemporary India.

III

In this brief article, I have tried to raise the following points:

(1) From way back in history, the Indian social scientists have tried to answer the "Indian question" through descriptive and explanatory research, which was adequate in the pre-Independence period to describe and explain what had happened, how it happened, and why it happened in Indian society. For this task, it was not particularly necessary to

distinguish the concept of social change from other societal concepts, like social process.

(2) In the contemporary perspective, it has become a specific responsibility of the social scientists to appraise social change systematically, precisely, and comprehensively; that is, to ascertain: (a) What are the significant alternations which are taking place in the society and in the social structure, in particular, which are distinguished from any process signifying casual fluctuation around a central tendency or mere accumulation in the societal forms, behaviour pattern of the people, etc.; (b) how are these alterations taking place; (c) why are they taking place; and (d) what will be (i.e., is likely to be, in the probability sense) the course of alternations in the immediate future.

(3) This task cannot be superseded by any explanatory generalization on the innate characteristics of the people, inevitable time-sequence of economic to social-political development, faulty planning and implementation of the developmental programmes, lack of a proper and effective communication to the people, and so on. Also, mass education and economic welfare, which in descriptive and explanatory research are often implied to be the panacea to all problems, would not be sufficient to induce the desired course of social change although their relevance to the issue is substantiated.

(4) What is needed, therefore, is to organize diagnostic research in order to identify the soft spots in the social organism (viz., those vulnerable regions of the social structure through which change in the societal phenomena and the systems of variation is, or may be, effected); so that we may unequivocally answer the question "what will it be" about contemporary India.

We should discuss, next, a logical structuring of the concept of social change, the activities involved to apply the concept to comprehend India's social reality, and the focus of diagnostic research to organize these activities. These issues, in the above order, have been discussed elsewhere (Mukherjee 1968, 1969, 1970). Here, therefore, I wish to suggest that: (i) the task outlined above is very relevant to India's future course of prosperity and progress; (ii) in order to execute it, the social scientists of all disciplines should make a concerted effort from the grass-root level of the activities involved; and (iii) since an infrastructure is needed to execute the task which cannot be accomplished through piecemeal research projects, the people and the Government should see to it that the infrastructure to conduct diagnostic research on social change in India is immediately set up.

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Indira Gandhi's Contribution to Planning in India

Narayan Datt Tiwari

As Prime Minister and Chairman of the Planning Commission, and as the one person embodying the hopes and aspirations of the poorer sections of the country, Indira Gandhi has given a new orientation, a new purpose, and a new content to planning in India. All the actions and decisions taken by the Central Government and the Planning Commission under her direction indicate her determination to usher in a new era of economic and social justice for the landless labourer, the marginal farmer, the urban wage earner, and the unemployed. Her historic decision to nationalize the major banks in the country helped to release vast sums of money for rural economic development, specially for helping the farmers, small traders, artisans and wage earners like rikshaw-pullers and taxi drivers.

The basic objectives of the Five-Year Plans have been (i) rapid economic and social development, (ii) raising the standard of living of the people, (iii) equitable distribution of income and wealth, and (iv) the establishment of an egalitarian society. There is no doubt that planned economic development activities have raised agricultural production, industrial output, and the average per capita income, but it is also equally true that the benefits of plan investment have been largely derived by the comparatively well-to-do farmers and other better-off sections of the population. While replying to the debate on the Fourth Five-Year Plan in Rajya Sabha, Indira Gandhi observed :

“I know that some families, some groups, some business houses, have taken advantage of a particular situation as it arose immediately after Independence, and it is our endeavour to see how we can curb this kind of monopolistic tendency.”

Indira Gandhi firmly believes that wide disparities in social and economic conditions must vanish if a really democratic and socialistic society is to be established in the country. It was towards this goal that soon after the nationalization of all the major banks of India, the privy purses and special privileges of the princes were abolished, and more recently the Constitution has been amended to delete the provisions relating to the special privileges of the Indian Civil Service. It was also in this context that crash programmes for rural employment were taken up all over the country. A large number of schemes were also taken up for small and marginal farmers and unemployed technical persons. Credit conditions for artisans, small farmers and other needy persons were liberalized. Various measures were taken to tackle regional backwardness and special problems relating to floods and drought. The schemes have collectively given a new urgency and direction to our planning efforts, which were so far limited mainly to an investment-output formula.

Indira Gandhi has always strongly urged planners, politicians, and the services to ensure the fulfilment of certain basic needs of the common man in the shortest possible time so that he does not lose faith in the democratic methods of economic development. Socialism, secularism, and democracy

are the three pillars of the country's massive efforts to remove poverty and ignorance, to reduce disparities — economic and social — and to achieve the desired rate of growth of economy. She has repeatedly stressed that the objectives could be achieved only if the leadership was devoted and the services committed to their duties, and only if the vested interests were not allowed to continue to hold the country to ransom. It was in this context that she gave the slogan of *Garibi Hatao*, which induced many a conservative and backward-looking person to leave the Congress organization and which united the youth, the working classes, and the peasantry to give her a massive mandate in the last election to Parliament and the State legislatures. Since then, the Constitution has been amended to remove obstacles in the way of progressive legislation. Indira Gandhi's firm resolve to change the social and economic system in India is clearly seen in her insistence on lower land ceilings and ceiling on urban property. This is a distributive justice of far-reaching importance.

Her latest directive to the planners is to provide a basic minimum level of private consumption and also of public consumption by (i) providing elementary education to each child up to the age of 14; (ii) provision of safe water supply to the rural areas; (iii) availability of electricity in all rural areas; (iv) availability of public health and medical facilities to the rural areas nearer home, (v) provision of rural roads; (vi) provision of house-sites for landless people in the rural areas; and (vii) removal or improvement of slums. These are the basic minimum goals set by the Planning Commission for each district and the States have been asked by the Prime Minister in no uncertain terms to ensure that these goals are achieved.

Much greater attention is now being given to self-sufficiency in foodgrains, steel, petroleum products, machinery and technical know-how. This policy of national self-reliance has yielded rich dividends. Monopolists, Indian or foreign, cannot now hope for acquiring a stranglehold on our economy. With her dynamic, bold, and imaginative leadership, Indira Gandhi symbolizes the aspirations and hopes of the youth and the under-privileged. She has given to the country confidence in its destiny and India's "tryst with destiny" is nearer realization. Her father showed her the glimpses of world history and she is shaping it. It can truly be said of her : "First in war, first in peace, and first in the affection of her countrymen."

Academic Colonialism

Yogendra Singh

India's struggle for political independence coincided with a powerful wave of intellectual renaissance. The two foremost leaders of India, Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, were its outstanding examples. While Tagore symbolized the values of humanism, beauty, and freedom, both Gandhi and Nehru were not only powerful intellectual symbolizers but also men of action. They were, however, not "pragmatists" in the narrow sense of the term. Streams of their intellectual consciousness were enriched by their universal world-view, a humanistic value system, and a nationalist ideology. Universalism to them was a hallmark of intellectual freedom but it was not independent of the existing reality. Indira Gandhi has forcefully articulated this reality and given it the dimension of a new national self-awareness.

This reality of intellectual and academic traditions implies that academic values born of them are fraught with basic contradictions — whether these originate from the rich imperial nations or the poor developing countries which recently gained freedom. The contradictions arise on such crucial questions as : Knowledge for whom? For what? By what methods? These questions have relevance both for the natural and the social sciences, but in case of the latter these assume added significance. Unlike the natural sciences, there is as yet no universality in the value-premises of the social sciences, and this exposes them much more to the lures of false ideologies. One such social science ideology which is powerfully propagated by the western nations is that of "consensuality" as being the social basis of the maturity of social science. Its hypothesis is that the traditional societies were "dissensual" societies as their social system was closed, mobility was rare, and the class structure was rigid and hierarchical. In contradistinction, the "modern" society which emerged in Europe during the eighteenth century led to the disappearance of "estates" and social hierarchies and allowed scope for greater social mobility. Thus, the spirit of societal consensuality served as a precondition for the emergence of social science, especially sociology. Thus social science emerged as a manifestation of societal self-awareness

For a social scientist from the "third world", however, it is logical to raise a question at this stage: Consensuality or self-awareness for whom? The proponents of this hypothesis completely forget that the European nations, to whom the birth of this societal consensuality is attributed, were about the same time acting as ruthless colonial powers and for their societal prosperity traded in other peoples' freedom. The argument indeed becomes a farce when the hypothesis of consensuality is identified as a mark of democracy. Obviously the entire argument is not only based on an ethnocentric perspective but is also historically false. With social unrests emanating from the trade union movements, racial and religious riots, and youth unrest, it would be naive indeed to

claim a consensual status either for the American or the European society.

The ideology of “consensus” is projected by a section of western social scientists, first, in order to reinforce social conformity at home and, secondly, to contain the intellectual and cultural movements for economic freedom by the elites in the developing nations. The imperialistic and neocolonial nuances of the consensus ideology are thus self-evident. The functionalist theory in social sciences, which is widely publicized by the western publications media, does not deserve a separate treatment as it is only a variant of the consensus ideology.

There are two other western social science ideologies which closely demonstrate the neocolonial character of the western social science theorization. These relate to the theories of economic development and modernization.

Most theories of economic development which emanate from the western sources postulate an abstracted universal model of development. It completely neglects the historical contexts of development and underdevelopment. We find its classic manifestation in the work of W. W. Rostow, but implicit strains of similar presuppositions may as well be found in many institutionally predisposed economists. Not only is the value frame of development postulated completely in terms of the western socio-cultural systems, which logically leads to a denigration of the most institutional foundations of the developing societies, but the variables that are taken into account for determining the form and direction of development (such as “savings”, “investment”, “marginal productivity”, etc.) are such that are meant to give an impression to laymen and to some susceptible scholars that economic development as a process enjoys autonomy over factors like international power hierarchy, corporate capitalistic market structure, and the historical antecedents of colonial and neocolonial exploitation.

It is a pity that most text-book views on economic development in the newly independent nations continue to be deeply influenced by such motivated and tendentious development ideology. With the exception of few social scientists from the developing countries, the economic theories of development are still overly biased in favour of abstracted empiricism. Models of growth are formulated which inspire awe equally amongst the unknowing bureaucrats and the political elite, but more often than not these models remain on paper as un-anticipated political upheavals, social unrests and violent movements overtake society.

The fact that academic traditions for the analysis of economic development in most developing countries have fallen unsuspected victims of this ideology proves how strong and far-reaching are the arms of academic colonialism. Of the three existentially based questions — Knowledge for whom? For what? And with what methods? — this ideology proves that uncritical acceptance of “theories” and “conceptual frames”

from the western social science by the social scientists of the developing nations might often imply that their intellectual enterprise is being used not for the country where they belong but for a so-called “professional” academic group which uses them either visibly or invisibly to subserve its ideological interests in the name of theoretical relevance and scientific objectivity. It is used not to tackle the basic and crucial issues facing the society — it is not for the people — but oriented to a “social science community” which obviously claims to enjoy an international character.

The rush among social scientists to prefer foreign journals and publishers for publication of their works, mostly of similar ideological orientations, is merely an expression of the mentality deeply influenced by academic colonialism. The same is true of the methods employed. For example, fewer model builders in social sciences in the developing countries care to critically examine the constants of the “models” derived from the west. These are borrowed entirely from alien sources; only the variables are changed, and this too is done by a few more-conscientious social scientists; otherwise, the majority seeks to apply them to the reality of its own society in thoughtless imitation.

The third important ideology of academic colonialism is the theory of modernization. The ideas such as “new industrial states”, “post-modern society” and “free nation”, etc., are projected as structural co-ordinates of modernization. The former dichotomy of “tradition-modernity”, in order to enlarge the demonstration effect of the ex-colonial and neocolonial nations, has now been rendered trichotomous by adding the new “post-modern” phase of development. The United States of America is projected as an example of the “post-modern” society par excellence. According to S. M. Lipset, it is the “first new nation” where the spirit of true democracy and modernity has really triumphed. However, noteworthy are the processes by which these attributes of “modernization” have been formulated and defined.

Among the most common attributes that social scientists from the rich nations associate with modernization are: “use of inanimate source of power”, “complex money market and banking facilities”, “rational bureaucratic organization”, “differentiation in the social structure”, high “achievement orientation” and “psychic mobility” in personality. Numerous other attributes of modernization can be mentioned, but the categories mentioned above are chosen mainly because of their inclusiveness. They subsume most such sub-attributes of modernization. The important point to note in these attributes is their explicit ideological orientation. There is reference to “structural differentiation” without raising the questions of social inequalities and class exploitation; “money and market mechanisms” are postulated as symbols of modernity, irrespective of whether the mechanisms are controlled by the corporate capitalist structure or the

economic underworld; "high achievement orientation" becomes a mark of modernization even though it takes socially deviant and crass hedonistic forms; and bureaucracy is treated as the hallmark of modernization, regardless of whether it is used to oil a ruthless military machine for the so-called "counter-insurgency" in the Asian and Latin American nations or its skill and expertise are bent to solve problems of mass hunger, poverty and social deprivation. Identification of modernization through the degree of use of "inanimate sources of energy", however, is the most non-humanistic (objective!) formulation of these all.

The justification put forward by the western proponents of these modernization attributes is that of objectivity and value-neutrality of social science. In reality, this value-neutrality is a myth and often a cover to side-track the attention of social scientists in the developing nations from raising the more crucial questions of modernization, such as the independence of the Asian and other developing nations from the economic and political dominance of the neocolonial countries, structural changes in society to reduce social inequality and poverty, and effective and purposeful control on the capitalist-corporate sector in order to enlarge the sphere of egalitarianism and social justice.

The universalistic formulation of modernization becomes an instrument of academic colonialism when the historicity of social forces that go to shape its form and direction in the individual countries are deliberately overlooked in favour of formulating a dubious and abstracted similarity in the process of modernization. Such formulations are irrelevant even when truly described and are devoid of ontological significance even if their logical rigour is acute. Nevertheless, the modernization ideology of supposed universalism has been projected so powerfully by the neocolonial nations that its influence can be felt in the realms of not only the social sciences but also arts and the humanities. The debates on freedom and alienation, on existentialism and realism have been fostered as powerful symbols of this modernization ideology, but the categories are formulated deliberately on an abstracted and rarefied height, disregarding issues of correspondence with reality. It is a mark of the success of academic colonialism if the intellectual and literary symbolizations in the developing countries proceed without corresponding sense of collective realization and apperception.

The dimensions of academic colonialism in the "consensus" (functional theories in social science), "development" and "modernization" ideologies of the contemporary western social science come out sharply when we try to analyse their place against the background of the questions we posed above: Knowledge for whom? For what? And with what methodology? All the three ideologies imply political values and attitudes in subtle forms and can be the measures of intellectual conversion of the social scientists in the developing nations in conformity with the exceptions of the neocolonial nations. The consensus viewpoint is an ideology of *status quo*, of least

changes in the system of social stratification and power. As a matter of fact, the very significance of the categories of "power" and "domination" is lost sight of through the analytical framework of this ideology. This results in social scientists' selective study of only those segments of social life which are system-integrative and contribute to stability. Since most social segments in the developing nations are undergoing the processes of transformation, and experience many tremors of inner tensions, the social scientist who is inveigled into accepting the "consensus" ideology takes to studying the trivial and the obscure elements of social life. If the object of a study is the caste system, for example, then it is the ritual dimension of this reality such as "pollution-purity", "food-transactions", "kinship matrices" which preoccupy them and not the issues of economic dominance and disguised class conflict in the caste system of India.

Until recently, few sociologists and social anthropologists studied the problem of exploited Harijans, tribals, and the weaker caste and minority groups. The western literature on caste in India offers an impressive testimony to the fact that the colonial anthropologists and administrators stationed in India had always picked up for study the caste, ritual beliefs, manners and customs of the Indian people, themes which were politically innocuous for the native social scientists and offered strategic information about ways and manners of the Indian people for colonial control by the alien masters. Whenever these social anthropologists tried their hand at political issues, such as the integration of the tribal groups with the Indian national society, their colonial interest had the better of their scholarly "objective" judgements.

The period of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to which western sociologists attribute the social change which led to the emergence of the "consensual" society in Europe, is also ironically the time when Charles Metcalfe, Henry Maine, Munro and even Karl Marx were propounding the thesis that India was a unique example of a "static" or "decadent" society and the only dynamic push that this inert mass of society ever received was from the colonial masters—the British. Marx later revised his views but the other tradition still continues. As we mentioned above, the "consensus" ideology has no use for history. If Indian history proves them to be wrong, it is none of their concern. Fortunately, historical studies now offer authentic proof to falsify these assumptions; they also highlight the nature of the traps, ideological and political, that such social science theorization offers to unsuspecting scholars.

The consensus ideology of society is obviously for the consumption of the social scientists and policy-makers of the neocolonial nations. So is also the case of the development and modernization ideologies. This is implicit in the structure of their theorization, their assumptions, and logical and contingent propositions.

The next question that arises is: Knowledge for what purpose? Here I would

like to quote some western social scientists themselves. Braestrland has said: "The old formula for successful counter-insurgency used to be ten troops for every guerrilla, one American specialist (in Thailand). Now the formula is ten anthropologists for each guerrilla."¹ Franz Boas, a prominent American anthropologist, wrote as early as 1919 that "a number of men who follow science as their profession (including at least four men who carry on anthropological work). . . have prostituted science by using it as a cover for their activities as spies."² A more concrete case of use of social science research for promoting imperialistic designs may be found in the story of "Project Camelot", initiated by the US Army's Special Operations Research Office (SORO), which began in December 1964 and had to be withdrawn because of the worldwide sense of outrage expressed by a group of social scientists. The document that was sent to selected scholars who were requested to associate with the project, reads as follows:

"Project Camelot is a study whose objective is to determine the feasibility of developing a general social systems model which would make it possible to predict and influence politically significant aspects of social change in the developing nations of the world. Somewhat more specifically, its objectives are:

"First, to devise procedures for assessing the potential for internal war within national societies; second, to identify with increased degrees of confidence, those sections which a government might take to relieve conditions which are assessed as giving rise to a potential for internal war; and finally, to assess the feasibility of prescribing the characteristics of a system for obtaining and using the essential information needed for doing the above two things. The project is conceived as a three-to-four-year effort to be funded at around one and one-half million dollars annually. It is supported by the Army and the Department of Defence, and will be conducted with the co-operation of other agencies of the government. A large amount of primary data collection in the field is planned as well as the extensive utilization of already available data on social, economic and political functions. At this writing, it seems probable that the geographic orientation of the research will be toward Latin American countries. Present plans call for a field office in that region."³

The "Project Camelot" is only one among the countless other projects which were formulated purely to strengthen the neocolonial interests of the USA in Vietnam, Latin America, and the Asian and African nations. The "Project Ariel" in Vietnam can be quoted as another well-known example. Designing of similar other projects keeps on multiplying because it is the accepted philosophy of the neocolonial countries that in order to control a people one has to first know all about them. Knowledge is here used merely as an instrument of gunboat diplomacy. For historical reasons espionage has come to be known as a dirty word, but these research projects with mystical code names and the support of millions of dollars

are worse than straight espionage. These are meant to deceive the politicians and the people against whom they are used; these beguile the social scientists who become its instruments unsuspectingly and also the public at home which looks at these projects with awe and treats them as measures of their government's benevolent concern for the less privileged nations!

The ideological overtones in the social science theories which originate from the neocolonial countries have a curious function. These contribute to the numbness of humanistic and historical concerns of the social scientists. The claim for the value-neutrality of the social science further reinforces this process. As a result of these presuppositions, the social scientist ceases to be responsible; he responds with conformity to any form of sponsored research where "big" agency and "big money" are involved. A dreadful consequence of academic colonialism is this amorality that it breeds among the social scientists at home as well as in the "client" nations.

The methodology of social research is also deeply influenced by the character of these research projects. An immediate consequence is bureaucratization of research, its craftsmanship and organization. This consequence follows logically from the huge financial support that such projects derive from the government bureaucratic organizations. The bureaucratization of such research is, however, in the interest of the neocolonial nations. It creates the atmosphere of anonymity for the researchers and their sponsoring agencies, and projects an aura of sham objectivity all around. The techniques to reinforce this impression are the uses of structured questionnaires, index cards, batteries of attitude tests and scaling methods, followed by extensive documentation of social information through data banks. Computers come as a handy technological innovation to add to the efficiency of these methods.

The clientele of the bureaucratized research in the USA is by itself a revealing phenomenon. In early twenties, it was for the advertising and marketing agencies; in the thirties, it began to be patronized by the big corporations and syndicates. During the Second World War, the federal government directly sponsored a series of such researches having strategic military significance in various parts of the world. The bureaucratic research generates a "bureaucratic ethos" from which the personality of the researchers does not remain unaffected. "These young men are less restless than methodical; less imaginative than patient; and above all, they are dogmatic in all the historical and teleological meanings of the terms,"⁴ writes an American sociologist. In their hand social science ceases to be a public concern and becomes a commodity to be delivered to the "clients" which may range from the CIA to the business corporations.

Since the research techniques and methods generated by these large bureaucratic projects favour a type of research that is client-oriented, it fragments the issues for research into artificial compartments. Research

is often conducted in areas that have utility for an agency or class with vested interests rather than in matters having urgent social relevance. Research becomes a source of careerism for the social scientist, who is happier in his role of the technocrat rather than intellectual.

Universalism and objectivity are no doubt the essentials of science. Science is different from dogma because its propositions are constantly revised. The extent to which the social sciences have assumed this theoretical status, the value-system of science remains doubtful. The mistrust is further compounded by the fact that in the countries where the investment in the social sciences has been the maximum, its uses for academic colonialism have also been the most pronounced. To a social scientist from the developing nations, especially India, where social sciences are in a relatively early stage of growth, these experiences are extremely meaningful. The understanding of the nature and functions of academic colonialism should not only render him more perceptive and discriminating in his role, but should also guard him from falling an easy prey to ideologically oriented social science theorizations. The questions he may ask as a social scientist should come from the historicity of his own society. He need not reject the principles of universalism and objectivity of the social science, but should be fully trained to discern the authentic from the nonauthentic bases of this claim. He should remember that to the extent to which he is able to expose academic colonialism, he would be promoting the emergence of a truly universalistic form of world humanism.

¹ Yogendra Singh "Sociological Issues", *Seminar*, December 1968.

² *Ibid*

³ Irving Louis Horowitz (ed.), *The Rise and Fall of Project Camelot*. (Massachusetts; The M.I T. Press, 1967), pp. 4-5.

⁴ C. Wright Mills, "The Bureaucratic Ethos," in *Sociology on Trial*, (ed) Maurice Stein and Aurther Vidich, (Englewood Cliffs, N J Prentice Hall, 1963). p 16.

Section VII

Problems of Foreign Policy

Indian Foreign Policy Before Independence and After

Bisheshwar Prasad

India became a free nation in 1947, at liberty to determine the course of its internal development and its relations with other states. It is the privilege of a sovereign people to define their relations with their neighbours, and in modern times, due to technological progress, the boundaries of neighbourhood embrace the entire globe. "This process of defining foreign policy involves a two-dimensional knowledge of events, spatial and temporal, and to the extent the government, the elite who influence state policy, and the people are aware of their national interests and traditions, their formulation of policies will be fruitful. Changing situations affect the trend of foreign policy but mainly it follows the route indicated by history which forms the background to the new policies." It is in this context that it becomes imperative for policy-makers to examine the historical basis of the foreign relations of their country, as also from time to time to review the interrelationship between the past and the present.

It must be admitted at the outset that foreign policy is primarily governed by the interests of the people, as it is the enlightened self-interest of a people which dictates their foreign relations, and this interest does not remain static but changes according to the contemporary situation. However, every new government becomes heir to the rights and obligations of its predecessor. The colonial government which preceded the Government of free India had built a system of relations with many neighbouring states in the last century and had also taken some share in the international organizations developed in the present century. The policies of the present Government of India are to some extent conditioned by the engagements and commitments of the past hundred years or so. It is, therefore, desirable to examine how far the foreign policy of the Government of free India has been conditioned by its inheritance and to what extent it has departed from it.

The basic fact of pre-1947 period was the subordination of the Government of India to the British Government's interests. These interests were twofold: the expansion of British commerce and the security of the empire. These led to acquisition of new territories and extension of spheres of influence. In the last century, there was rivalry and conflict among powerful European states owing to competing commercial, industrial or financial interests. Initially Anglo-French commercial and territorial rivalry dictated the trend of the Government of India's foreign policy. From the beginning of the East India Company's political or even commercial contacts with India, its diplomatic policies were haunted by the fear of French competition. Napoleon's visionary schemes of conquering the East and destroying the British empire in India aggravated these apprehensions at the commencement of the nineteenth century. The danger grew serious when the French and Russian emperors agreed to the Tilsit arrangement, whose basis was their joint but abortive adventure to conquer India. And though with Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, the spectre of French

invasion through Western Asia was dispelled, the Russian interest in Central Asia, Persia and Afghanistan assumed a new dimension and became a permanent irritant in Asia for the British. "The new challenge evoked corresponding response in the British foreign policy which governed the conduct of the Government of India up to the Second World War."

The French menace was not only threatening the north-western borders of India, but posed a serious danger to British interests in south-east Asia as well. In the days of Napoleonic Wars, the Dutch colonies of South Africa, Ceylon and south-east Asia had been captured by the French whose presence in the region was stoutly opposed by the British, leading to the capture of all the Dutch colonies. When Napoleonic Wars were over, though Java and its neighbouring islands were restored to the Dutch, the British did not relinquish hold on Ceylon or Malaya which had strategic importance for them.

The conquest of Burma in stages by the British also sprang from the same motive, namely, preventing the French from establishing themselves on the shores of the Bay of Bengal in such close proximity to the Indian mainland. By holding Burma and Malaya and developing Singapore as a centre of naval concentration in the east, the British assured themselves of a commanding access to the Indian Ocean from the south-east and protection of India from the sea, especially with the Dutch in Indonesia poised in friendly relations. Control over Ceylon and the establishment of British empire on the southern and eastern coast of Africa further fortified the naval security of India. Friendly relations with the ruler of Muscat and Zanzibar involving his dependence on the British, and establishment of a stronghold in Aden closed the gateway of Red Sea to all hostile elements. Agreements were concluded with the chiefs holding sway over the coastline of the Persian Gulf, the so-called Trucial Chiefs. As a result of all these, the entire region which bordered the Indian Ocean and its protrusions, the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal, came under the firm grasp of the British and the security of India on its maritime front was absolutely secure. "Interest in Burma, Malaya, Java, Ceylon, African coast, Arabia and the Persian Gulf region was motivated by the considerations of India's naval defence; and the Government of India was sensitive to any danger, however small, in this area of its security." Throughout the nineteenth century, the Government of India resisted all claims of suzerainty by Turkey or Persia over the chiefs of the Persian Gulf, Oman coast or the Arab littoral. In 1872, the British Foreign Secretary definitely prescribed the policy as "it is very clear that we cannot allow the proceedings of the Turks to interfere with our Treaty relations with the tribe." Also, the Shah of Iran was warned off Bahrein, for the British had contracted engagements with the Arab Sheikhs as independent chiefs and had assumed the responsibility of policing the Persian Gulf. The Turkish Empire was denied its claim to suzerainty over the region. In 1870, the Government of India defined its

position in very clear terms, when it wrote : "Protectorate in the Gulf (Persian) is a matter of obligation rather than of right; that we have pledged ourselves to the Arab Chiefs, who are parties to the maritime peace to watch over the peace of the Gulf, to put down aggression by sea, and to take all necessary steps for the reparation of injuries inflicted on them, and that from these obligations we cannot in good faith recede."

By the end of the century, the Persian Gulf coast, the Arab littoral and the Yemen coast had become British protectorates, whose defence was the responsibility of the Government of India and whose political and foreign relations were controlled by it. Lord Curzon definitely asserted this right when he toured the region and reminded the chiefs and people there of the paramount claims of the Government of India. At a later date, during the Second World War, when Iraq was threatened by German aggression, the Government of India reasserted its intimate interest in the security of that region and sent a strong force to occupy Basra and provide protection to Iraq against the German advance. The despatch of troops to Mesopotamia in the First Great War was also motivated by the same purpose. It is evident, thus, that the Government of India placed a premium on the diplomatic control over the entire region bordering the Arabian Sea and deemed the possession of Burma and British hold over Malaya and friendship with Indonesia as essential elements of security of India.

Protection of the extensive land frontier of India was no less important than the security of her waters and sea communications. The Government of India was called upon to determine its policy and attitude towards the neighbouring states very early in the nineteenth century when the threat of Napoleon's eastern expedition, with Russian collaboration, loomed large on the north-western horizon. To counteract his aggressive designs, missions were despatched to Teheran and Kabul to court their co-operation. It was evident that the security of India's land frontiers from the expansionist adventures of European powers lay in cordial relations with states in close proximity to the Indian frontiers. The French threat was soon past, but throughout the subsequent century and half, Russia was looked upon by the British as their main rival in Asia against whose hostile intentions and commercial competition effective diplomatic and military measures had to be adopted to ensure the defence of India and safeguard British imperial interests. As Persia guarded the route of French or Russian advance in the early period, direct relations were established with the Government in Teheran. The negotiations culminated in the Treaty of 1814 which confirmed the alliance between Great Britain and Persia, and provided for payment of a subsidy to the Shah and the training of his military force. In return, the Shah promised to prevent all European armies hostile to Great Britain from entering Persia. All alliances between the Shah and European Powers became null and void, and he was not

to enter into agreement with any other Power. But this Treaty became void soon after as the British failed to render assistance to the Shah when Russia invaded Persia and imposed the humiliating Treaty of Turkomanchai on it, involving loss of territory and the payment of a heavy indemnity. British infidelity to the alliance sorely disappointed the Persians, and the result was a gradual transference of their allegiance to Russia, whose influence grew dominant in Teheran. The British lost their footing in Iran and in that process depended on the other neighbour, Afghanistan, as a counterpoise to the fast expanding Russian imperial control in Central Asia. Iranian ambitions regarding Herat were encouraged by Russia, which led to two invasions of that territory within two decades, compelling the British Indian Government to define its attitude towards Afghanistan and determine its policy towards its ruler.

The Russian move eastwards in Central Asia, embracing the territories to the east of the Caspian Sea, inhabited by Turkomen, Uzbeg, Kirghiz, Tazik and other tribes, and comprising the Amirates of Bokhara, Khokand and Khiva, as also the Merv and Kashgar regions, excited the jealousy and fears of the British who saw in it a danger to their dominion in India and loss of commercial opportunities in Central Asia. This generated a vehement feeling of Russophobia which motivated British policy for nearly a century. The objective was to prevent Herat, Kandahar and Kabul from falling under hostile influence. Hence the British rulers of India "decided to exert their diplomacy in Herat and Kabul whose security henceforth came to be considered as the *sine qua non* of India's protection. India's foreign policy was geared to the preservation of Afghan independence and securing the friendship of its ruler." Two modes of operation were adopted to achieve this object. One was followed by Auckland and Lytton, which was to remove the non-compliant ruler and replace him by a submissive Amir who would serve British interests. Lytton was even prepared to effect division of the country and have separate kingdoms of Kabul and Kandahar. But this aim failed and, by and large, the policy followed was that of not intervening in the internal affairs of the Afghan kingdom but influencing or controlling its foreign policy. Lawrence summed up this attitude thus : "While strictly refusing to enter into anything like offensive and defensive alliance with the Amir of Kabul, I think it should be carefully explained to him that we are interested in the security of his dominions from foreign invasion; and that provided he remains strictly faithful to his engagements, we are prepared to support his independence. But that the manner of doing so must rest with ourselves." The means to be followed for the purpose was to warn Russia that its interference in Afghanistan would invite British resentment and to secure some understanding with the Czar's Government to this effect, as well as to give substantial assistance to Afghanistan in the form of arms, ammunition, money and moral support.

In 1873 the Government of India clearly enunciated its foreign policy

in the following words : "We should establish with our frontier states of Kalat, Afghanistan, Nepal and Burma, and possibly at some future day with Yarkand, intimate relations of friendship; we should make them feel that, though we are all-powerful, we have no wish to encroach on their authority, but on the contrary, that our earnest desire is to support their power and maintain nationality; and that if severe necessity arises, we might assist them with money, arms, and even perhaps, in certain eventualities, with men. We could thus create in these states outworks of our Empire, and by assuring them that the days of annexation are passed, make them practically feel that they have everything to gain and nothing to lose by endeavouring to deserve our favour and support."

When Lytton's misadventure had failed and his plan to divide Afghanistan had found no support, the Government of India, in its policy towards Amir Abdur Rahman, gave full recognition to the policy adumbrated in 1873. Kalat had been made a subordinate state; and Abdur Rahman was accepted as ruler of the whole of Afghanistan on the condition that "With regard to foreign Powers, since the British Government admit no right of interference by foreign Powers in Afghanistan, and since both Russia and Persia are pledged to abstain from all interference with Afghan affairs, the Kabul ruler can have no political relations with any foreign Power except the English; and if any such foreign Power should attempt to interfere in Afghanistan, and if such interference should lead to unprovoked aggression on the Kabul ruler, then the British Government will be prepared to aid him, if necessary, to repel it, provided that he follows the advice of the British Government in regard to his external relations." Thus by 1883, a certain normality had been achieved in respect of Kalat and Afghanistan and the danger of Russian intrusion counteracted to some extent.

The Government of India's relations with Afghanistan were governed by strategic considerations, and it acquired the right to control the external relations of Kabul and assumed the responsibility to provide defence against foreign aggression. Afghan foreign policy was fully controlled, no endeavour was made to nibble at its sovereignty. The Panjdeh incident in 1885 provided a test of British Indian intentions. Delimitation and demarcation of Russo-Afghan boundaries eliminated risks of conflict on the Russian side, while the fixing of the Durand Line between India and Afghanistan precluded chances of rift on the Indian side. The Amirs respected the agreement with India, and prospects of peace were assured. But Russian expansion in the Pamir region, railway construction in Central Asia and growing imperialism on the Chinese frontier, together with the carving of spheres of influence in that empire, created fresh alarms. The German scheme for a Berlin-Baghdad railway in Western Asia, and French projects in Southern China and Indo-China were resented as they menaced India's security. Hostility to Russia, Germany or France inevitably followed as

a consequence of this phase of economic imperialism of European Powers. The British Government opposed these schemes and the Government of India drew up far-reaching plans of defence which involved "building of fortifications and effective lines of communication, roads, railways and telegraphs, in the territories of friendly border states and frontier areas." Afghanistan once again assumed importance and the Viceroys from Lansdowne to Curzon demanded the compliance of the Amir with the extension of these means of communication in his territories. Naturally the Amir could not agree to this encroachment on his sovereignty, and a state of sullen discontent grew on both the sides. This was aggravated by Curzon's insistence on the revision of terms of agreement when Habibullah succeeded his father Abdur Rahman. The common sense of the British Cabinet prevented a breach at the moment but, when in 1907, by the Anglo-Russian Convention, Afghanistan was consigned to the British sphere of influence, the freedom-loving Afghans, inspired by incipient national consciousness, lost faith in the British, though for more than a decade no symptoms of alienation were visible on the surface. The Amir did not give countenance to the German approaches, supported by Turkey and Indian revolutionaries, for lending bases for operation on his soil to their programme of armed revolt in India. However, after the assassination of Habibullah, the accession of Amanullah changed the situation. The new ruler demanded absolute independence, for he considered British control of his foreign policy as an encroachment of the liberty of the Afghans. Lack of response by the Government of India led to the proclamation of holy war against the British. The war ended in a peace settlement which guaranteed "Complete liberty of Afghanistan in external or internal matters." Amanullah demonstrated his freedom by entering into a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union and welcoming German, Italian and French scientists and technicians to develop his country. These changes were not to the liking of the British, who tolerated the Amir for fear of his completely sliding into the Russian camp. His expulsion brought Nadir Shah to the throne. With him and later with his son, the British had cordial relations. In all calculations of danger from the north-west arising out of Soviet or German hostility, the Amir's friendly co-operation was assumed in combating it. The defence of India was considered to be closely integrated with the defence of Afghanistan up to the end of the Second World War. There developed a common bond of interest between the two states, and the foreign policy of the Government of India till 1947 envisaged the maintenance of close and friendly relations with the Kabul Government.

For over a century, the Government of India, impelled by motives of security and the need to combat the aggressive designs of rival European Powers, adopted the method of creating a barrier of friendly but dependent states on the border and subordinating their external relations. This

policy was wholly successful in Afghanistan, and similar arrangements were made with the states of Kalat, Chitral, Muscat, the Persian Gulf, Burma, Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal, that is, practically all the states bordering on India from west to east. By this means a belt of dependent states, outworks of the Indian Empire, was created. There were two gaps in this chain of friendly but dependent states. One was Sinkiang (then known as Kashgar-Yarkand) and the other Tibet. With the former negotiations had been opened as Yakub Beg, the ruler there, sought British protection against increasing Russian menace to his independence. But before any definite arrangements were made with him, the Chinese Empire reasserted its claim to that territory, invaded the country and, by extinguishing the local Muslim dynasty, established its sway there. Russian threat had been removed for the moment and, conscious of Chinese weakness, the British Government of India refrained from taking any steps to bring that region within the sphere of its influence. But a state of vigilance was maintained so that Russia might be kept away from intruding into close neighbourhood of India in that direction. With Tibet, however, similar reticence was not possible. The economic potentialities of this 'hermit state' across the Himalayas, in close proximity to India, had excited British ambitions at an early date. But all endeavours to penetrate this highland guarded by Nature failed to gain admittance to British merchants or their diplomatic influence. The Tibetans exploited the mask of Chinese suzerainty as a means for the inviolability of their soil. However, in 1890, subsequent to an unsuccessful Tibetan raid on Sikkim, which had been brought, along with Bhutan, within the British protectorate system and whose defence was insured by the Government of India, the Chinese Empire agreed to a Convention, on behalf of Tibet, defining its boundaries with Sikkim and promising limited commercial facilities. The Tibetan Lama Government made no response to it and perpetrated frequent infractions, territorial and commercial. The Chinese were impotent to coerce the Tibetans, who were jealous of their autonomy and "treated Chinese suzerainty merely as a convenient myth to be exploited to their benefit." Such a situation could not last long, and when, at the beginning of the present century, signs were evident of the intrusion of Russian influence, however incipient, Curzon adopted measures to explode the farce of Chinese suzerainty and deal directly with the Dalai Lama. Military action followed and Lhasa Government had to submit to a humiliating arrangement by which, apart from commercial privileges, the Government of India obtained the right to control Tibetan foreign relations, and the entry of any other foreign Power in that country was barred, whether it was for trade, economic exploitation or political control. By this contrivance the prospect of Russia obtaining a hold on India's northern border was blurred and it was prevented from extending its political and military influence in the close vicinity of India. In 1907, Russia fully accepted the position of Tibet lying within the British sphere of influence.

The only state claiming to have any right of controlling Tibet was China, which at the moment was distraught by internal decay and was soon to be torn by dissensions. When the Chinese sought effective interference in Tibetan affairs, subsequent to the Revolution of 1911, the Dalai Lama found protection in India, and the Government of India intervened to arrange the Convention of 1914, between the two contestants, by which the autonomy of Tibet was fully established, and the Government of India had assumed the responsibility of maintaining it. Thus Tibet was brought within the system of protected border states with whose integrity the security of India was intimately identified. There was no change in the position till 1947. "Peaceful conditions in Tibet and its freedom from external control were the two important bases of India's foreign policy towards this northern neighbour. Any likely disturbance in these, whether from the expansionism of Russia or the imperialistic ambitions of China, was sure to evoke a strong reaction in India, for with the security and freedom of Tibet were closely identified the integrity of India's northern and north-eastern frontier and its security."

Towards Siam also, a declaration of protectorate was thought of, but ultimately it was decided to let it remain a buffer state, for whose protection an undeclared undertaking was assumed. The Treaty of 1909 with that State ensured Anglo-Siamese relations to flow along a smooth channel. In the Second World War, when Japanese aggression threatened Siam, the British Indian Government recognised its obligation for the defence of Siam and took steps to effect it.

It was in the western region that vigilance was continually exercised. It has been stated earlier that the Persian Gulf area was recognized as the special preserve of Anglo-Indian influence and that every hostile attempt, whether from Persia, Turkey, France or any other European Power, was promptly counteracted. Two such moves made in the present century deserve particular mention. One was the warm-water policy of Russia which implied control of the southern coast of Iran. The British opposed it and resented the grant of railway concession by Iran to Russia which might have extended their zone of influence to the Persian Gulf. The 1907 Convention partitioned Iran into two spheres of influence, the northern under Russia and the southern with England, which precluded the possibility of Russian penetration to the coast of the Persian Gulf or the Arabian Sea. The other one was by Germany, which desired to have the railhead of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway at Kuwait on the Persian Gulf. The rising German control over Mesopotamia and the fear of the establishment of their hold on Baghdad and Basra occasioned fierce British opposition to the railway scheme, and ultimately the employment of Indian forces to oust Turco-German political control over the Tigris Valley during the Great War. Thereafter Mesopotamia became a British Mandate, and when Iraq was accepted as an independent state in 1932, the defence of that

region and control over its foreign policy were a British responsibility. In the Second World War when Iraq was threatened by Axis advance, the Government of India sent a large force to defeat the aggression and maintain British hold over that area, which was a zone of security for India. The Sultan of Kuwait was in friendly relations with India by which means all German plans of reaching the Persian Gulf were defeated. The Arab States were also brought under British influence and protected from falling under Axis control. Similarly Iran was prevented from falling into Axis hands.

If throughout the nineteenth century, rivalry verging on open hostility determined the relations between the United Kingdom and Russian Empire, England and France remained divided because of their conflicting imperial programmes in Africa and south-east Asia. But with the emergence of the German Empire as a powerful competitor for supremacy in Europe and participation in imperial expansion in Africa and Asia, both Russia and England had to revise their attitude towards each other and enter into a condition of friendly understanding in 1907. France allied itself with Russia to contain German aggressiveness and later entered into an Entente Cordiale with England. Thus by 1907, peaceful relations had been established between these erstwhile rivals. Germany posed a problem for a few years, till the end of the German Empire in 1919. Meanwhile, the Revolution of 1917 had introduced communist rule in Russia and brought it into a state of hostility with England, which continued till 1941, when, once again under the threat of German supremacy, the two joined their resources to fight the Fascist Powers. The Government of India, however, had never relaxed its watchfulness in respect of Russia, and had viewed with apprehension its hold over Central Asia, its designs on Persia, and possible amity with Afghanistan.

British control over West Asia and Egypt had also determined Indian policy towards the states of that region. Iran, Iraq, Arabia and Egypt had become the outworks of India's security and defence plans were oriented that way. The Chatfield Committee clearly enunciated the new principle of strategy that "India's external defence lay not on her immediate borders but as far west as Egypt and that in the integrity of that state and the safety of the Suez area lay the security of India." It was this postulate which identified India's defence and external relations with the defence and foreign policies of Egypt and other Middle Eastern states. Indian military support saved these states and the Persian Gulf region from falling under Axis sway. The friendship of Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Muscat and other states on the Arabian Sea was essential for the security of Indian waters and the lanes of communication with the Western world. It was this aspect of their identification with India's security that prompted the active role of Indian troops in Iraq and Iran during the Second World War. With the end of the War, these states regained their autonomy and nationalism

reasserted itself there. They were anti-imperialist, keen to safeguard their freedom and ally themselves with states which stood for peace, national independence and end of imperialism. India's interests were similar and therefore the ground for closer relations between them in a new and altered situation had been fully prepared.

In the east, India had close and friendly relations with Nepal and Bhutan, based on mutual pacts of defence and military collaboration in case of external aggression. In Tibet certain rights and privileges were owned by the Government of India and the Dalai Lama was friendly. Burma and Malaya were British territories. Siam was friendly, and with the Dutch in the Netherlands East Indies or the French in Indo-China, the British had close ties of friendship. Singapore guarded the entrance into the Indian Ocean. Nationalist China in its struggle with Japan for freedom had roused the sympathy and support of the people of India. A little before India became free in 1947, the position was that the Government of India recognized the significance of the region from Singapore to Suez in its scheme of defence, and had developed friendly ties with the states falling within this arc, comprising Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. Russia was looked upon as hostile, China in its weakness was harmless and defeated Japan had been too much humbled to be dangerous to India's security. With the United States close bonds of friendship existed which was evident in her collaboration in the war with Japan in south-east Asia.

However, the foreign policy of the Government of India did not reflect the Indian nationalist opinion which was evidently hostile to imperialism, and resented the utilization of Indian resources in men and money for the realization of British imperialistic aims. Popular Indian opinion had opposed the forward policy in Afghanistan and the conquest of Burma. It had no fears of Russian aggression. It supported independence of Kabul and Teheran and did not favour the invasion of Tibet. Before 1919 its opposition to all forms of imperialism, western expansionism and aggressiveness had been clearly expressed. After that, during the Gandhian epoch, the Indian National Congress repudiated any evil designs or hostile intentions on any of the neighbouring states and proclaimed, in 1921, that the self-governing India had nothing to fear from its neighbours. Mahatma Gandhi's concept of foreign policy was not that of "isolation but of international co-operation", that of peace and goodwill to a groaning world. He was prepared to be the citizen of the Commonwealth on the basis of "an indissoluble partnership but not a partnership superimposed upon one nation by another". The Congress had extended its support to Abyssinia, Spain, China, Palestine Arabs and Czechoslovakia in their hour of danger. The independence of Iraq, Jordan and Arab states was greeted. To China was extended support in her war with Japan. In 1938 the Congress proclaimed "the desire of the Indian people to live in peace and

friendship with all nations, particularly with their neighbours, and their allegiance to a world order based on International co-operation, goodwill and peace". Jawaharlal Nehru declared his opposition to Fascism and imperialism in unequivocal terms, and expressed his desire to throw in the resources of India for the defence of democracy during the Second World War. In 1945, Indian opinion was enthusiastic about the United Nations, as had been its support to the League of Nations earlier. The national leaders repeatedly stressed, on the eve of Independence, respect for the world organization, world peace and equality and freedom of all peoples, adherence to the principle of solidarity of Asian and African peoples then submerged under the crushing weight of imperialism, support for the freedom of Burma, Indonesia, Indo-China and the Arab States, and non-involvement in the conflicts of the two blocs of Powers. They had sympathy for the Soviet Union which was engaged in eliminating imperialism.

This was the legacy which free India inherited in 1947. The colonial Government of India had established a chain of friendly states, with whose protection it was intimately concerned and had developed amicable relations with the United States, and for some time with the Soviet Union. Its foreign policy was geared to the principle of security, which strategically embraced the region from Singapore to Suez. Alongside, Indian national opinion favoured friendly relations with neighbours, peaceful ties with the Soviet Union and the United States, extension of the democratic principle and national self-expression to all nations of Asia and Africa, and close co-operation with the world organizations like the United Nations.

The independence of India synchronized with three developments which had deep influence on the foreign relations of its Government, as well as on public opinion which conditions the foreign policy of a nation. The first was the creation of Pakistan, carved out of the north-western and eastern portions of the country, and Pakistan's inherent hostility to India. Beginning with the raid on Kashmir in the very first few months of Independence, there have been three wars between the two states. This condition of almost permanent conflict with Pakistan has affected Indian thinking and been reflected in her attitude towards the other states of the world. The second important development was the Cold War between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which emerged as a consequence of the Second World War. India had to define her attitude towards these states as well as international affairs in the context of the policies and actions of these two giants. The third development was the creation of the United Nations Organization and its growing impact on world affairs.

From the beginning, the Indian leaders had hailed the establishment of the United Nations Organization devoted to peace and resolution of international disputes by peaceful means. It symbolized the ideals of Jawaharlal Nehru and the dream of Mahatma Gandhi of a world without

war. But the actual functioning of the U.N.O. disappointed Indian leaders, for it soon developed into an arena for settling the issues between the United States and the Soviet Union, where no international problem was discussed except in the context of the competing interests of the two blocs. Even then India has been loyal to the world organization and has striven to keep clear of the group rivalries and exerted her influence for peace. The Cold War between the Western bloc and the Eastern bloc was a dismal fact, and the Indian Government had to determine its attitude towards it. Jawaharlal Nehru, as the architect of India's foreign policy, decided on a policy of non-alignment, which kept clear of the entanglements of the Cold War, and retained independence to determine the policy on any issue which arose. Such a policy was not negative but positive and was directed, according to Werner Levi, towards "friendship with every nation, attachment to no bloc, sympathy with struggles for freedom and opposition to racial discrimination everywhere." Its main objectives, as Kundra has rightly analysed, were "non-involvement in a third world war; development of the Indian economy and, for that purpose, keeping open of all channels of international trade and aid; maintenance of India's independence in the sphere of external affairs; and winning of international support on the Kashmir question". Nehru was clear about the meaning of "non-alignment" and used it, not as an end in itself, but only as an instrument for creating an "area of peace", to keep war away from India, because peace was essential for internal development. Nehru's effort was directed towards prevention of war, which seemed to have been round the corner, and save India from being involved in the Cold War. Hence he opposed the various pacts and organizations which were formed from time to time. He wished to be on terms of amity with both the Soviet Union and the United States; at the same time he opposed extension of their political influence, military infiltration or economic dominance in the states of Asia contiguous to the zone of India's security.

But the most compelling problem for India was the open hostility of Pakistan, which had fallen under Western influence and had become a member of the NATO, SEATO and CENTO. Its main purpose was to seek military support from the United States whose partiality for Pakistan was very glaring. The building up of a massive armed force on the basis of American equipment in Pakistan necessarily involved countervailing action on the part of India, and the sidetracking of its resources from economic development and social welfare activities. This military support to Pakistan led to the bedevilling of India's relations with the United States, and though no open breach occurred both Government and public opinion were from time to time critical of American policy. Later when Pakistan looked up to China also for support, India's attitude towards the People's Republic grew into one of sullen disagreement verging on hostility.

If free India's foreign policy emphasized the development of intimate

relations with the states of Western Asia, Africa and South-East Asia, it was not merely because of their importance for India's security, as the British had perceived, but also because of the concern of the Congress and Jawaharlal Nehru for the independence of subject peoples and their devotion to the cause of freedom from imperialism and colonialism all over the world. Thus very friendly relations were developed with Egypt, Indonesia and Afghanistan, and support was given to the Arab states against Zionism. Simultaneously cordial relations were maintained with Iran and the Sultanates of the Persian Gulf. The independence of emerging African states was also fully supported and particularly friendly relations developed with Nigeria and Zambia. After Nehru's death the relations with the Arab states and Iran have been clouded because their sympathy for Pakistan has been much too apparent. Perhaps Indonesia also has changed its attitude towards India and in the recent past has been drifting towards Pakistan. But Malaya, Singapore and Burma have been consistently friendly. India has not been indifferent to the developments in Indo-China and has conspicuously tried to contain the war raging in that zone. Her sympathy has been for the victims of imperialism and as Chairman of the International Control Commission, the Indian Government has been striving to fulfil its duty, though without success, of extending the zone of peace. With Nepal and Bhutan, relations have been mainly peaceful and every endeavour has been made to save these states from falling under the influence of a hostile power or being thrown into the vortex of the Cold War.

An important event has been the extinction of the autonomy of Tibet by the expansion of Chinese imperialistic hold over this theocratic state. The Dalai Lama had to seek refuge in India along with hundreds of thousands of his people. The emergence of a powerful Chinese Republic, with aggressive intentions, on the Kashmir border or in the north-eastern zone, has created a threat to India's security, mainly arising out of the loss of Tibet. There is a continuing state of tension between India and China, although in the early stages both were friendly and India had consistently supported Chinese claims for international status and freedom from Western domination.

With the Soviet Union India's relations have been friendly and India's political and economic interests have met with consistent support from Moscow. This amity has now been cemented by a treaty of mutual co-operation and understanding. But despite these friendly intentions, India has not towed the line of the Communist giant in international affairs. The friendliness of the Soviet Union is a check upon the aggressiveness of the People's Republic of China and the domination of the United States.

It will be thus apparent that the foreign policy of the Indian Republic has not only been dictated by the interests of security, as in the times of the British, but by considerations of helping peace in the world and securing

economic development at home. To maintain a belt of friendly states along its border is as essential today as it was in the nineteenth century. Although Russia may no longer be a danger, the presence of a hostile China and the aggressive, imperialistic behaviour of United States in Asia, both in the east and west, pose a threat. Indian foreign policy has come a long way from where it stood in the days before independence, and its objectives today are to keep away a hostile big power from the vicinity of India's borders, to maintain the Indian Ocean as a zone free from big power rivalries and to defend its entrances, and to avert apprehensions of world war.

The World Since World War II

V. P. Dutt

The Second World War brought about epochal changes in weapons, communications, and in the old world order. It revolutionized warfare. It shortened distances. It brought the international community closer, but generated new tensions and problems. It liberated old nations but brought war and conflict to the new countries, gave a new sanctity to international opinion, yet allowed the powerful to violate public opinion wilfully, brought some order into the chaotic old world and at the same time introduced new uncertainties and dangers. It divided the world and then mocked at the division; it threw up ideology and then virtually threw it away. The world continues to spin and change rapidly and dizzily.

The rise of science and technology as direct and important factors in international relations was a distinct feature of the new world. Science and technology effectively altered the world structure of power. Military technology, particularly, buried many of the old notions, requiring completely new responses. The rickety ten-mile-an-hour bomber of the First World War became by the end of the Second World War the B-29 that devastated the Japanese cities with the range of 4,000 miles, and was subsequently substituted by the B-52 which has rained death and destruction in Vietnam. During the terrifying blitz of London, the Nazis dropped 12,000 tons of bombs, killing 30,000 persons and injuring more than 120,000. In 1945, the United States dropped a single five-ton atom bomb over Hiroshima that released an explosive power of two million tons of TNT, killing 78,000 persons and injuring 45,000 more. The atom bomb led to the hydrogen bomb whose explosive power could be measured in millions of tons of TNT. Atomic-powered submarines now cruise underwater for weeks without refuelling. The intercontinental ballistic missiles remain in combat readiness, requiring only minutes to destroy the world. These and other developments have not only revolutionized warfare but prompted a revolution in man's thinking also.

The Second World War brought about a general realization that if the world were to be saved from death and destruction it had to reorder its house and evolve new forms of organization through negotiations and the acceptance of the rights of all countries of the world. Thus was born the United Nations with its commitment to maintenance of peace and freedom. But the United Nations soon became a victim of the Cold War, of ideological polarization, of division of large parts of the world into hostile blocs of countries led by two states.

The world system after the Second World War soon came to be characterized by the dominance of two powers. There arose what came to be known as super-powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. The term super-power was in a way both *meaningless* and *novel*. It was devoid of any economic content. Previously one talked of capitalist countries, imperialist countries, socialist countries, monarchies, and so on and so forth. But the term super-power went beyond the economic categories and

said nothing about the character of the state except that it possessed plenitude of power—perhaps that was what was in any case intended to be conveyed.

The creeping advance of the Cold War left every country either badly shaken or pulled into its vortex. On the one hand came the NATO, the SEATO and the CENTO, and on the other hand came the Warsaw Treaty and the Sino-Soviet alliance. Whoever was not with us was against us was the motto. For John Foster Dulles, neutralism was immoral and there could be no question of any choice between good and evil. The two alliances confronted each other everywhere and the world teetered on the brink of another war.

Obviously, however, the reality of the world situation was much more complex and the Cold War had simplified the issue arbitrarily and artificially. The Korean war, which was supposed to have brought about the unification of the Western alliance and given it teeth, also contained the germs of disintegration of the alliance system and the dominance of the leadership of the United States. The immediate effect of the Korean war, no doubt, was a European consent to the tightening of the military structure of the Western countries, but a more lasting effect of it was the erosion of the will to police the world.

Another significant development which altered the shape of things in the post-war world was the dissolution of the colonial empires and the rise of a whole world of new countries. The resurgence of Asia and Africa, the revolt against European rule and the accelerated collapse of imperialism, all served to change the world beyond recognition and to mitigate the rigours of the Cold War. These newly independent countries of Asia and Africa were not exclusively concerned with the problems of Europe and were unwilling to let other people decide their fate. To Jawaharlal Nehru and to many other leaders of emergent Asian and African countries, the Cold War was a manifestation of European problems and quarrels.

The concept of non-alignment contributed to the destruction of bipolarity in the world. It assuaged rising passions and tensions and at the same time strengthened the independence of Asian-African countries and gave them a personality of their own. The change that took place in the United Nations can be seen from the fact that the world community which had started from 51 members in 1945 had swelled to 132 by 1971. The questions of colonialism, of independence of all countries, of racialism, of economic development, of trade and aid—all these now became important issues at the United Nations and elsewhere.

The world was rapidly changing. Even otherwise, it was too simplistic to believe that the foreign policies of all countries of the world could be tailored to meet the needs or requirements of one or two countries. The evolution of the foreign policy of a country depends upon a whole host of factors. First of all, there are the internal pulls and pressures, groups

and parties, interests and beliefs. There is the power of the ruling ideas of the ruling group in any country. There is also the geography, the physical location, the history, the traditions, the past experience, the present requirements and the conception of the kind of role that a particular country wishes to play in the international arena which determine the foreign policy of a country. Things do not look the same from Delhi, let us say, as they do from Washington or Paris.

Then there is the regional power structure which influences and often shapes and determines the foreign policy of a country. The foreign policy reacts first to the internal balance of forces in a country and then to the balance of forces within the region and finally to the balance of forces within the world. To believe that the balance of forces at the world level could ignore the balance of forces within the country or at the regional level was a delusion of the Cold War.

For some countries, foreign policy was fashioned by the concept of "high politics", a view held by the leaders that there was a historic role that their country had to play, moved by the visions of glory and power. Some other countries thought it fit to adopt a policy of "low politics", concerning themselves more with the welfare of the people of the country than with any other aspect. Some had historical conflicts with their neighbours and their foreign policy would be determined by this conflict. Some had recent conflicts with their neighbours and tailored their foreign policy to the needs of this quarrel. Some were large countries and some were small countries. This too influenced the pattern of relationship. Thus, the complexity of the situation could not long be kept within the strait jacket of a simplistic two-bloc world.

Some emergent countries fell a prey to the far-reaching tentacles of the Cold War, but a great many resisted the pressures and refused to become involved. Thus a whole Third World had come into existence, replacing the world of yesterday. Moreover, even within the two alliance systems there were substructures which soon asserted their presence and eroded the cohesion of the alliance system. The West European countries did not exactly relish the dominance of the United States. They had even less taste for involvement in Asian wars. For them the limits of the Cold War were reached with the defence of Europe and they had no intention of getting drawn into any exhausting conflicts in Asia, even if for the sake of their chief ally, the United States. Korea started the process of disenchantment and Vietnam completed it. In the Communist bloc, too, the East European substructure was certainly different from the Sino-Soviet substructure. China's role could not be the same as that of the East European countries and some similar difficulties plagued the Communist bloc as well.

The contradictions in the alliance systems, the difficulties, the reluctance of the junior allies, their inhibitions, all these became more and

more visible and marked. Simultaneously, some of the leaders of the alliance systems tried to secure their objectives through the creation of regional organizations. Very often they thought that what could not be achieved through the alliance systems might be obtained through the regional organizations. Regional systems and blocs were thought of as a panacea for several kinds of political difficulties, economic and development weakness, and power and prestige in a world dominated by super-powers. These regional organizations as long as they remained military in purpose and virtually aligned to a superior alliance system came to grief. They could succeed only if they were to be established on a new basis.

It is well known that the international system is continuously influenced by the under-currents of the subsystems comprising it, while at the same time it impinges upon the subsystems. Two kinds of substructures arose in the post-war world. One was the regional substructure, determined by geographical location, and the other based on ideology and shared beliefs.

Most regional organizations came to grief because of the negative basis on which they were organized, and often because of their external sponsorship. But there is no doubt that the world naturally falls into various regions and that the pattern of a country's foreign policy relationship is often determined by the regional relationship. For most countries the region is much more important than the world. In no case can a country run away from its geography.

Some of these core substructures can be easily located or noted. There is Latin America, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, West Asia, West Africa and East Africa, North Africa, and South-east Asia. On the periphery of South-east Asia is East Asia (Mongolia, China, Japan and Korea) on the one hand, and South Asia (India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal and Ceylon) on the other. On the periphery of West and East Europe are the big powers, the United States and the Soviet Union which, by virtue of being global powers, play a role in all regions of the world.

One would have thought that the regional subsystems would show considerable political and economic cohesion or social cohesion and that wherever this cohesion was the strongest, there the element and quality of stability would also be fairly strong. In fact, students of international politics have observed the strange phenomenon that stability is no longer a function of regional cohesion. To take one instance, social cohesion is indicated by such elements as ethnicity, language, culture, history and consciousness of common heritage. By this yardstick the Middle East (West Asia) has the greatest social cohesion while South-east Asia and West Africa have the least, with others falling in between. Yet West Asia is also the least politically "tranquil" while West Europe, Latin America and West Africa are the most "tranquil" internationally. There is obviously little correlation at present between social cohesion and international political stability.

Social cohesion does not necessarily establish economic complementarity. Only in Western Europe do we find export or import percentages of trade within the region of 40 or more per cent; in most of the remaining regions (with the exception of East Europe) intra-regional trade constitutes less than 15 per cent. The production of primary products such as oil in the Middle East, tin and rubber in South-east Asia and coffee and cocoa in West Africa result in trade patterns oriented towards countries outside the regional systems.

In fact, many of the distortions in regional substructures have taken place because of the intrusion of foreign powers. Many of them were born under the shadow and impulse of the Cold War, and the big powers were often instrumental in getting them established in the first place. Frequently the regional organization had a purpose and objective not relevant to the natural politics of the region or substructure. The intrusive presence of foreign powers vitiated the natural functioning of the regional substructures in the international system.

In the case of South-east Asia, noticeable changes have taken place as regards the impingement of foreign powers in this region. In the first phase, the United States was active all over the region and took it upon itself to become the champion of the conservative and often decadent forces. The Cold War and the US-USSR confrontation affected all developments in South-east Asia. But gradually the failure in Vietnam produced a wave of reaction in the United States and compelled the US administration to move away from excessive involvement in South-east Asia. The old phase is over and with it have virtually gone some of the military organizations established in that region like the South-east Asia Treaty Organization.

The United States remains an important factor in South-east Asia and the USSR also plays an important role in various parts. Now the presence of two other powers also impinges on developments in South-east Asia: China and Japan. China has become a major political factor in South-east Asia and Japan is economically significant. Both the countries have the capacity to act throughout the region; both give special priority to relations with this area, even in the face of pressures from the global bipolar order.

In absolute terms, Japan is fifteen times as powerful as Indonesia and over fifty times the average of other South-east Asian states. Japan's share of the region's total trade was 28.9 per cent in 1967, that of the United States 20 per cent, while West Germany, the third largest, claimed only 4.9 per cent. China had only 1.7 per cent of the region's trade, but China's military and political importance cannot be measured only in terms of trade. China not only possesses nuclear weapons but has also given every indication of willingness and ability to control its own allocation of resources in order to maximize its military, political and economic efforts

and has left no doubt about its general determination to ensure for itself a prominent place in the international politics of the region.

However, this is only one side of the picture. The intrusion of foreign powers is not the only and not even perhaps the decisive factor in determining the fate and future of South-east Asia. South-east Asian countries have shown a capacity for survival and for preserving their independence which have belied many a prophet of gloom. The balance of forces in South-east Asia is such, and will be increasingly so, that the South-east Asian countries should be able to function more and more independently. There is no monopoly or duopoly of foreign powers in Asia. Now there are at least four outside powers which have a direct or indirect presence in the South-east Asia region. In addition, a country like India can make its contribution towards the establishment of a healthier balance of forces. Besides, there are important countries within the region, like Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines, which are not going to accept external subordination. The people of Vietnam through their successful resistance of American intervention have demonstrated the limits of the capacity of big powers to dominate other countries through the use of their military power. South-east Asian countries themselves have shown their determination not to succumb to outside pressures, and conditions will now be more advantageous for them to strengthen their independence.

All in all, the trend is fairly evident. Regional organizations can be effective if they are re-established on a new basis, on the basis of co-operation and not on the basis of conflict. The world is gradually moving towards this kind of a new reorganization. In future nation-states will be required more and more to meet their international problems by turning to bigger units of organization. Already Europe has set the pace. From a negative kind of grouping it has gone forward towards more positive forms of co-operation and is laying the groundwork for breaking the barriers between West and East Europe. The eclipse of Europe in the 'fifties has been followed by the revival of Europe in the 'seventies. It is this new road that regional organizations would follow increasingly.

The world was not only divided into East and West in the Cold War, but many people had noticed a North-South division also, which they thought would be more crucial, more fateful, and possibly more disastrous. This is the division between the rich North and the poor South in the world, the haves and the have-nots, the developed and the developing nations. That the developing countries have common demands, common requirements, common needs and often common interests is undoubted. That they have also often linked their forces on issues of colonialism, racialism, utilization of resources in the sea-bed, the UN Conference on Trade and Development and issues of economic

development, trade and aid, is patent. Their common interests have brought them together and Asian, African and Latin American countries present a community of outlook and concerted action on a wide variety of issues at the United Nations and elsewhere.

However, this North-South division can also be exaggerated. The world is too complicated for such divisions and within the developing countries there are various stages of development, various pulls and pressures, and various special needs and special conflicts. But the common destiny of the Third World is undeniable. Each country has its own natural habitat and sphere of functioning. India naturally belongs to the Third World and it is clear that she must give her primary attention to this. India is inevitably a part of the world of struggling countries and therefore in the struggle against colonialism and racialism, for world peace, for equality of nations, and for economic development of the struggling countries, India has to play a vital role in unison with the other struggling countries of the world.

The world is in a flux. The pulls of nationalism have often proved to be stronger than the bonds of ideology. Ideology continues to assert and reassert itself but the marriage of ideology with national needs has not often been a happy one. France chafed at US authority in the Western bloc and China at Soviet leadership of the Socialist camp. Starting out from a gnawing suspicion of Khrushchev's efforts at a detente with the United States, Peking has ended up with its own dialogue with Washington. Similarly, starting out from a position of acute hostility against communist China and suspicion of all those who were friendly to Peking, Washington has ended up by itself wooing Peking.

The failure of the American war in Indo-China and the consequent repercussions on American public opinion and international relations have had a powerful impact on the policies of both Washington and Peking. The successful defiance of the people of Vietnam of the military might of the United States is the starting point in understanding some of the dramatic changes in the presentday world. The Americans became increasingly sick of the war in Asia and there was a new insistence in the United States that the Government make peace with the existing revolutionary governments and shun new involvements.

The US administration also became alive to the possibilities in the Sino-Soviet conflict. It provided an opportunity for Washington to engage in a delicate game of deriving the maximum advantage from the situation. Washington hoped to reap the windfall of the Sino-Soviet conflict and to bring its relations with Peking out of deep freeze in order to obtain a new lever of pressure against Moscow.

In the US view, the USSR had been extending its influence too rapidly in West Asia, South-east Asia, the Indian Ocean and other regions. Partly with an eye to curbing the growing power of the Soviet

Union and imposing new pressures on Moscow, and partly driven by the compulsions of domestic changes, Washington took the big step towards detente with Peking. The successful opening towards Peking facilitated new agreements with the Soviet Union on curbs on the production of strategic arms and in various other fields. The Soviet Union, impelled by fears of a Sino-US understanding and compelled by a lag in certain technological fields as well as a poor harvest, showed a new keenness for reaching agreements with the United States. The conclusion of these agreements with Moscow helped the US administration to extend its dialogue with Peking, with each of the two Communist countries anxious about the relationship of the other with Washington.

For the Chinese the transformation of the US attitude meant that the United States was a "receding threat" and that Chinese policies must be readjusted to a situation of a possible rapid winding down of the war in Vietnam. The dominant Maoist leadership had decided to mitigate China's isolation and to activate China's diplomacy all over the world. While the political capital to be gained from the support of revolutionary and loyal leftist movements and groups was useful, its inadequacy was realized and a decision to adopt subtler forms of state diplomacy was taken. The time had come, in Peking's view, for "constructive" talks with the United States rather than continued confrontation with it.

The Maoist leadership also turned the primary direction of the struggle towards the Soviet Union. It was its belief that the "principal contradiction" of China was now with the Soviet Union. All its efforts were mobilized to confront the chief enemy. At a minimum, Chinese retreat from isolation has been aimed at pre-empting any possibility of the USSR and the United States joining hands to the detriment of Chinese interest. You fight with what you regard as the bigger villain and make peace with the lesser one. Peking's ultimate hope is to bring about a shift in the international power structure that will allow it to become one of the super-powers.

The game will now be played by the foursome, with Japan as the new entrant. Outflanked by what appeared to be a sudden and startling swing in American policy towards China, Japan has made quick moves to normalize relations with China and to take advantage of the uncertain US-USSR-China triangle. Again domestic constraints and international pressures have combined to change the direction of Japanese foreign policy. Peking's anxiety about Japan's enormous economic power and the not inconsiderable military power is well known. For some years now, Peking had been vociferous in its complaints about the revival of "Japanese militarism" and had given indications that Japan was rated high in the list of potential adversaries.

There were two options before Peking: either to develop hostility towards and tension with Japan or to capitalize upon growing opinion in

Japan for improvement of relations with China and thus neutralize any possibility of Japan adopting a hostile attitude. Peking has obviously opted for the second course and shortened the range of its adversaries. Settlement of the status of Taiwan and hostility towards the Soviet Union have been the guiding factors in recent Chinese moves. The importance of Taiwan in Chinese foreign policy has been highlighted by the present developments. Both in regard to USA and Japan, Peking has succeeded in securing a favourable decision with regard to the future status of Taiwan by adopting the policy of negotiations, accommodation and sweet reasonableness.

It is difficult to foresee at this time how the Chinese political and economic interests in South-east Asia will be harmonized with the Japanese economic and political stakes in this region, but certainly Japan hopes to take advantage of the uncertainty and suspicion that characterize the mutual relationship of China, the Soviet Union and the United States. Both the Soviet Union and the United States, wary of the growing relationship between Peking and Tokyo, will be obliged to adopt a softer approach towards Japan so as to prevent Tokyo and Peking from getting too close together.

I now come to another development which has profoundly affected the course of events in South and the South-east Asia — the emergence of Bangladesh, and the strength shown by India in the crisis. The repercussions of this dramatic development are already being felt in this part of the world. The change in the situation in the Indian subcontinent is now generally recognized and needs no special elaboration. A new nation has been born, a nation which is the eighth largest in the world and the second largest in South Asia. It has been demonstrated that the pull of religion is a temporary phenomenon, that negative ideology and hatred are not enough to keep a country together, and that cultural and socio-economic factors are more enduring than religious fanaticism.

The emergence of independent, democratic, progressive and nonaligned Bangladesh has greatly strengthened the forces of democracy and progress in Asia. Gradually the struggle for democracy and socialism will spread in West Pakistan also, and when the three countries on the subcontinent come together not in any formal link but in friendship and co-operation, the implications for the world's power structure can be well imagined.

But something else has happened too. Not only has India's belief in secular and progressive democracy been vindicated but India has also emerged out of this ordeal more unified and powerful. Combined with the developments in Vietnam, the balance of forces has been radically altered in Asia, and, together with other Asian, African and Latin American countries and progressive forces, India will doubtlessly play a

significant role in the world of tomorrow.

It was perhaps inevitable that many major powers of the world should react rather unhappily to the recent developments in the subcontinent. The struggle in Bangladesh and India's steadfast position and determination posed difficult choices for the major powers. The fast changing scene in the Indian subcontinent threatened to upset the calculations and evolving policies of some of these major powers.

The Soviet Union made a correct reappraisal of the new forces in the Indian subcontinent and realigned its policy in tune with the new realities, but the United States and China were both unable and unwilling to undertake a similar reappraisal. The reasons were not far to seek. Both the United States and China were in the process of discovering new areas of agreement, a new common language of understanding and a new search for detente. For them startling changes in the Indian subcontinent came at an inappropriate time and could unnecessarily snarl up their strategy. For the United States, the problem in the last decade has been how to evolve a new balance in Asia without scuttling its old alliances. The old balance created through military alliances in Asia, as with Taiwan, South Vietnam, South Korea, Thailand and Pakistan, had collapsed. The bankruptcy of the policy was there for all to see. More recently the United States had painfully and agonisingly reappraised its policy and groped its way towards the establishment of new equations in the world, particularly in Asia.

The backbone of the new policy was the establishment of a new relationship with Peking. To evolve a new equation, a Washington-Peking-Islamabad equation, was the cornerstone of the new policy. This was the new course that Dr. Henry Kissinger had paved the way for. Peking was equally responsive and keen to develop this relationship. Islamabad seemed to be important to both in this equation and in the establishment of a new relationship. A Washington-Peking-Islamabad balance of forces could be, as all the three sides hoped, a more acceptable and a more popular balance in Asia. It would not carry any stigma associated with the military alliances of the past. Additionally, for the United States, the alliance with the military rulers of Pakistan provided a useful lever against India and this explained Washington's effort to maintain an artificial balance between West Pakistan and India. For Peking, the West Pakistani military rulers offered a very useful counterweight against India and it was ill-prepared to lose this counterweight. This explains the angry reactions of Peking and Washington to the developments in this subcontinent.

But things cannot always be as one wishes them to be. The emergence of Bangladesh, the emergence of India as a strong and stable country, the transformation of the Asian situation are all facts of life now and cannot be wished away. They will have a profound impact on international

affairs for many decades to come.

China's preoccupation with big-power politics, with the improvement of relations with Japan, and with strengthening Pakistan have dimmed the chances of early normalization of Sino-Indian relations. Publicly China blames India's close relations with the Soviet Union for the immobility in Sino-Indian relations, but this is only an excuse. Peking can hardly seriously believe that India would attack China in concert with the Soviet Union, and Peking knows too well that India is too independent-minded to become anybody's camp follower. Peking also knows India's desire and willingness for an early normalization. If the present trend of Chinese foreign policy follows its logical course and if India's internal strength is not eroded, normalization of relations in due course could become a distinct possibility.

To the extent that one can foresee, the developing international situation will be characterized by new equations, new friendships, new relationships. It will also be characterized by new types of regional organizations, the coming together of countries on a different basis than in the past. Sometimes, the road may lie through economic co-operation and sometimes through political collaboration and sometimes through both; certainly regional co-operation will take a more positive aspect and shed its past prejudices. Europe has set the pace and shown the way. The old hostilities in Europe are fast dying out and there is a search for a higher form of co-operation. Integrated economic co-operation of an advanced kind has already taken place in Europe and the European Economic Community will soon be regarded as a new powerful entity in world affairs.

Economic co-operation cannot be fully maintained without a climate of political understanding. A similar striving for economic and political co-operation is evident in Latin America. In the coming years the demands of economic development and progress will exercise their pull on Asian countries and gradually many Asian countries will be drawn together, not in hostility to others but in a common effort towards development and progress. The balance of forces will gradually shift in favour of political understanding and economic co-operation; it will also gradually shift in favour of those who stand for economic development with social justice. It will shift in favour of all those who strive for political equality and a just social order.

Many big and relatively big powers, actual or potential, can be readily identified: the Soviet Union and the United States, China and Japan, an emergent Europe including France and Germany, an emergent India, several countries of Latin America and Africa. There are countries which are developing and yet are included in the category of "powers" of the world. Many will be the pulls and pressures on the Third World, the developing world. And yet the balance of forces will continue to enable them to strengthen their independence, and, given the will and determination, to

play an independent role. The world is moving towards plurality in a situation in which the preponderance of power still rests in the hands of two countries.

A new era is unfolding. Most countries are running in opposite directions at the same time : retaining their old friendships and ensuring new options for themselves. This new era calls for a highly flexible and complex response towards world developments. For a country like India, the more complex and sophisticated our response to the developing situation, the easier it would be for us to meet adequately the challenges of the world of tomorrow.

New Perspectives in Asia

Sisir Gupta

It is widely recognized that the liberation of Bangladesh, the end of the military regime in Pakistan and the growing awareness in India of the need to create a healthier pattern of international relations in the region have together created conditions in which the nations of the subcontinent can try to erect a structure of stable peace in South Asia. Though it may not be equally obvious, the success of the countries of this region in evolving a new pattern of international relations is to a large extent the function of peace and security in other parts of the continent. For one thing, it is difficult to free South Asia from continuous attempts by interested external powers to thwart the progress of these countries towards a new relationship so long as they remain obsessed with the game of power politics in other regions of Asia. For another, the politics of both West Asia and South-east Asia impinge on the politics of the subcontinent just as events in this region are bound to have some effect in determining the course of history in those areas.

That peace, stability and security in Asia are indivisible and that the problems of resurgence of the various nations of Asia could not be viewed in isolation were obvious to the leaders of independent India even at the very early stage of the emergence of the foreign policy of this country. Much of Jawaharlal Nehru's concern in the sphere of international politics was with the problems of securing for the nations of this continent their due place in the community of nations and to encourage co-operation among the Asian countries. It is with these larger objectives in view that he had organised the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi early in 1947.

Since 1947 Asia has gone through extremely difficult phases of its history and many of the early hopes of independent India about the reorganization of international relations in this continent still remain unrealized. Yet, in many ways, the experiences of the last twenty-five years have helped Asians in various countries to have a better appreciation of the nature of world politics, of their common tasks and of the urgent need to free themselves from the debilitating external influences which have been vigorously at work in various parts of Asia.

It is useful briefly to review Asian developments in the last quarter of a century. The achievement of independence by India marked the beginning of decolonization in Asia and of the assertion of the political rights of the Asian nations. The process of achievement of independence by Asian countries, however, was not always smooth and free from violence and conflict. Even after the countries of South Asia achieved their independence, Indonesia continued to be subjected to imperialist repression, thanks to the inability of the Dutch Government to comprehend the forces of history at work in this continent. The nations of Asia met at New Delhi in 1949 to extend their active support to the freedom struggle of the people of Indonesia. It was at this conference that

they once again reiterated their determination to promote co-operation and concord among themselves.

Colonialism, however, did not end in Asia with the exit of the Dutch from Indonesia. In Indo-China, the French continued to try to reimpose their imperial authority and the peoples of the Indo-Chinese states were forced to launch armed struggles to throw out French colonial rule. Likewise, Malaya and Singapore had to go through a torturous process before they achieved their independence.

Along with the progress of decolonialization, two important developments occurred in Asia. China, the largest and the most important country of the continent, liberated itself from various kinds of external influences in 1949 and a strong centralized and revolutionary state emerged. China leaned heavily towards the socialist countries, helping to project their power and influence in the determination of the course of history in Asia. On the other hand, the United States began to undertake many of the tasks that the West European powers were earlier performing in Asia. The war in Korea marked the beginning of continuous American military involvement in Asia and the growth of its policy of organizing the entire non-Communist Asia into a solid military bloc under the leadership of the United States. As a result of this policy, the Cold War was introduced into Asia and overt and covert Western influences began to grow even in some of those countries which had formally achieved independence.

Countries like India, Burma and Indonesia adopted the policy of nonalignment and refused to be integrated with the Western world through military pacts and alliances. But the more insecure elites in some of the countries of West Asia, South Asia and South-East Asia got entangled in the Western alliance system through the SEATO and the CENTO. This new division among the ranks of the Asian countries created some major problems. However, the two largest countries of the continent — India and China — succeeded in 1954 in creating a new pattern of relations between them on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. A year later, the nations of Asia and Africa met at Bandung to create a more broad-based arrangement for peace and coexistence among themselves irrespective of their social systems and even ignoring their political alignments. Before the end of the decade, however, it became apparent that the atmosphere of peace, stability and security in Asia had been greatly vitiated by the Cold War and that notwithstanding their formal commitments at Bandung, at least some of the Asian nations were not prepared to act according to the principles agreed upon at the Asian-African Conference.

India found itself under pressure, first from the most significant ally of the West in this continent, Pakistan, and then from China, the foreign policy of which country had begun to change unexpectedly in

the second decade of its revolution. In other parts of Asia also, local conflicts, often encouraged and sustained by external powers, showed signs of intensification. The secular and progressive Arab States were the victims of the continued belligerency of Israel. In South-East Asia, the Indonesian policy of confrontation created acute anxieties in Malaysia and other neighbouring states.

Looking back at the Asian scene of the 1960s, its two predominant features would appear to have been: (a) the tremendous difficulties encountered by the countries of Asia in resolving local and regional conflicts and the growing involvement of external powers in their mutual problems; and (b) the direct involvement in Asia of the armed forces of some of the world's major powers in their effort to prevent the Asian countries from asserting their legitimate rights.

In many ways, both these features are still in evidence, though in some respects the situation now appears to be healthier than what it was a decade ago. In South Asia itself, there has been a fundamental change in the pattern following a great democratic upheaval in what was till early 1971 the eastern part of Pakistan. Not only have India and Bangladesh been able to evolve a new pattern of relationship between themselves but this fact has also improved the prospects of peace and co-operation between them and other countries of this region. In South-East Asia and North-East Asia also, there have been significant changes in the foreign policies of a number of countries and there is now a growing awareness of the importance of resolving inter-Asian problems through bilateral contacts and negotiations.

However, the situation remains as critical as before in West Asia and also in peninsular South-East Asia where one super-power is directly engaged in suppressing the legitimate demands of the people of Indo-China. In Vietnam, in particular, the United States has escalated the conflict and used new sophisticated weapons of destruction, not even sparing the dykes and crops of North Vietnam. In fact, grave and irreparable damage may have already been done to the ecological balance in Indo-China. The improvement in the relations among the various great powers has not ended the agony of Vietnam. The future of peace and security in Asia to a large extent hinges on an early end of the war in Vietnam, the withdrawal of American troops from that country and the assertion of the legitimate rights of the peoples in the two parts of Vietnam. There can be no sense of security among other Asian countries if this gross violation of the security of one of them continues.

It is obvious that the return of peace and stability to Indo-China will strengthen forces which are seeking to create amity and co-operation in Asia. Because of its long-drawn-out struggle for national liberation, Vietnam is bound to emerge as a major factor in Asian politics and because of the ethos of its people, it is certain that the weight of that

country will be thrown behind the forces of peace and progress in Asia.

The policies and attitudes of the Government of the People's Republic of China have proved to be a major source of anxiety for some nations of Asia. No doubt, there is widespread admiration for China in the countries of Asia — for the revolution that it accomplished in 1949 and for the progress it has made in subsequent years. The resurgence of China has greatly strengthened the position of other Asian countries and in the longer perspective of history, this development cannot but be viewed as a major gain for all Asian nations.

However, there have been certain distortions in Chinese foreign policy and certain deviations from their stated objectives which have greatly complicated Asian politics. In its current phase, Chinese foreign policy appears to be so primarily concerned with considerations of power politics and so overly obsessed with great power relations that it is difficult for the weaker and smaller Asian nations to derive much advantage from it. What is more unfortunate, the application of the rules of the power game has made the Chinese adopt the very same policies and attitudes in certain situations which a few external powers had displayed for long.

In the South Asian region in particular, China continues to remain averse not only to the improvement of its own relations with India but also to the improvement of relations between its friends in the neighbourhood and this country. It is possible that the Chinese view their own emergence as a super-power to be a precondition for the self-assertion of Asia. But policies solely directed to achieve this goal certainly create great strains and anxieties for other Asian nations.

The re-establishment of normal and friendly relations between India and China is of great importance for the future of Asia. While there is full acceptance in India of the idea that China's legitimate interests and rights must be safeguarded and promoted in any future scheme of peace and stability in Asia, similar respect for the legitimate rights and interests of other Asian countries has not yet been demonstrated by the Government of China.

It is in this context that the state of Sino-Soviet relations becomes a matter of such great concern for the neighbours of these two countries, both of which are geopolitically and otherwise interested in the future shape of things in this continent. It has been India's effort not only to maintain the closest possible relations with the Soviet Union but also to evolve common Indo-Soviet attitudes to problems of peace and security in Asia. The stability of Soviet-Indian relations has been of particular significance precisely because it has helped to counter some of the destabilizing effects of China's mercurial foreign policy.

Nothing would be better for Asia than if China, the Soviet Union, Japan, India, Indonesia and other Asian countries could evolve a common outlook and show an equal regard for the principles of peaceful

coexistence and international co-operation in this continent. But pending such a development, the maintenance of co-operative relations between two of Asia's largest countries, namely, India and the Soviet Union, contributes a great deal to the search for peace and security in Asia. Both these countries have repeatedly made it clear that their relationship is not directed against a third country and that they would individually and jointly try to promote similar friendly relations with other Asian countries. It is apparent that China ignores this aspect of Soviet-Indian relations and continues to view the cordiality between the two countries as an obstacle in the path of the realization of its own national objectives. Hopefully, China will soon discover that it had wrongly attributed to India and the Soviet Union certain motives that neither of them had. Meanwhile, both India and the Soviet Union will perhaps continue to try to dispel Chinese apprehensions and strive for better relations with that country.

The recent improvement of China's relations with a number of other countries has created hopes of changes in Chinese attitudes towards its major neighbours in Asia. The normalization of relations between China and Japan in particular is a matter of great satisfaction for all Asian countries. However, it is important to remember that there could be entirely different consequences of recent developments in Chinese foreign policy, depending on China's objectives in Asia. If China has decided to improve its relations with the United States, Japan and a number of West European countries in order to improve its capacity to deal with its other neighbours from a position of greater strength, naturally the outcome of such a development can only be the creation of new power alignments in Asia. The rapprochement between China and the United States in particular occurred so obviously in the context of great-power rivalries and conflicts that such an apprehension about the real intentions of China may not be totally unjustified. On the other hand, many other countries which have decided to improve their relations with China do not view their exercise as directed against India or the Soviet Union. There is no reason, for example, why Japan should have any such motive in befriending China. Therefore, there is ground for new hopes in regard to the future shape of politics among the major powers in Asia. It is significant that the Sino-Japanese joint communique has clearly stated that their relationship is not directed against a third country. What the Chinese have to recognize is that if they can expect other countries to accept the validity of such a statement, they have to accept the validity of similar statements made by others, e.g., the reiteration both by India and the Soviet Union that their treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation of 1971 is not directed against any third country.

The influence of the external powers in Asia could be easily reduced if the major countries of this continent agreed to evolve peaceful

relations among them. They have also to reassure their small neighbours in their own regional settings that the new pattern of international relations in Asia that they are aiming at will not create problems for the small powers of this continent. On the other hand, any failure on their part to improve their own relations and to create trust and confidence among all the countries of Asia can provide new openings to outside powers to dabble in the affairs of this continent and to promote their old objectives through new methods.

It is too early to draw up any neat scheme of peace, security and co-operation in Asia and to delineate the role and place of various powers under such a scheme. Yet it is important to start thinking on the future of Asia and begin to undertake the necessary spadework for the creation of an atmosphere of security in this continent. The problem has to be tackled at two levels, namely, relations among the Asian powers themselves and relations among them on the one hand and external powers on the other. There is also the urgent need to try to improve the regional climate in various parts of Asia.

It is obvious that no Asian country today thinks of Asia in exclusive terms and separates the problems of international relations in this continent from those in other parts of the world. Outside powers, therefore, have no reason to feel perturbed by improvement of inter-Asian relations unless of course they still hope to use inter-Asian disputes to further their own expansionist objectives.

It is worth while in this context to refer to some of Jawaharlal Nehru's views on the subject. It was not in any spirit of narrow nationalism that the emphasis on Asian resurgence had become an integral part of his world view. In fact, in his address to the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi on 23 March 1947, he had clearly stated: "We seek no narrow nationalism. Nationalism has a place in each country and should be fostered, but it must not be allowed to become aggressive and come in the way of international development." But, as he had earlier explained: "We have arrived at a stage in human affairs when the ideal of One World and some kind of a world federation seem to be essential though there are many dangers and obstacles in the way. We should work for that ideal and not for any grouping which comes in the way of this larger world group. We, therefore, support the United Nations structure which is painfully emerging from its infancy. But in order to have One World, we must also in Asia think of the countries of Asia co-operating together for that larger ideal."

Challenge Facing India

R. K. Nehru

Many events have converged to make 1972 a year of some significance for India. The twenty-fifth anniversary of India's Independence will soon take place. Indira Gandhi has also recently emerged as the undisputed leader of India. The ruling party has been given a face-lift and has won great electoral victories both at the Centre and in the States. The creeping paralysis of the past has been replaced by a sense of unity and purpose in India. Also, under Indira Gandhi's leadership, India has achieved remarkable success in the international field. The Bangladesh crisis has been resolved, the perennial threat from Pakistan has been reduced, and the threat from China and its new collaborator, the U.S.A., has been contained.

Does this mean that India's troubles are over and that future developments will follow a smooth course? While satisfaction over recent events is justified, it is dangerous to become too complacent. For twenty-five years, India has been frustrated by slow economic development and other weaknesses and by external attempts to curb its potential power. Indira Gandhi's immediate concern is to put an end to this state of affairs. Two tasks are being undertaken by her simultaneously: first, the building of co-operative relations with Pakistan and other neighbours so that the region as a whole may be freed from external pressure; secondly, far-reaching economic and social reforms to revitalize Indian society. If the reforms lead not merely to a redistribution of India's limited wealth, but to a substantial increase in production, India's power will progressively increase. In the long run, as India has learnt from experience, it is only effective power which can help to resolve the frustrations which have dogged it since Independence. Experience, however, also shows that the rise of a new power in the world always meets with strong resistance from other nations.

What kind of external resistance to India may be anticipated? Left to itself, Pakistan — or at least the Pakistani people — might perhaps welcome an honourable settlement with India. The old antagonisms have proved to be self-defeating and peace and co-operation between the two nations would bring greater benefits to both. However, it would also mean, in other nations' eyes, a more preponderant role for India in the world. To preserve the existing distribution of power, they might well regard it as in their interest to encourage fear and suspicion and even intransigence among India's neighbours. The rise of a new power with an outlook different from theirs is not a welcome development from their point of view. It conflicts with some basic trends in post-war international relations which have given some nations a higher status than others.

World War II is generally believed to have brought the colonial era to a close. Nehru declared in the Belgrade conference that colonialism was dead. In actual fact, the old colonialism was replaced by a new

brand of imperialism. While many nations achieved their independence, they were also confronted by the hegemonistic ambitions of two so-called great powers. The initial attempt of these powers was to set up a joint hegemony by giving themselves a controlling voice in the organs of the United Nations. Although three other powers were admitted to their club, as an act of courtesy, it was they alone who really counted. Joint hegemony, however, failed, due to their conflicting ambitions, and was replaced in the 'fifties by attempts to impose a single, but one-sided hegemony over the world. Each bloc and alliance, led by a great power, armed to the teeth, sought an extension of its influence, or control, over other nations through policies of containment based on military alliances, propaganda for a so-called world revolution, or supply of arms and economic aid. India and the non-aligned nations generally resisted these hegemonistic trends, but they lacked effective power and were to some extent neutralized by offers of aid, the playing off of one nation against another and the disarming effect of acceptance of their basic policy by one great power with a view to isolating the other.

In the 'sixties, the struggle for hegemony took a new turn. With the growth of disintegration in each bloc, the leading member's hegemony was challenged and attempts were made by the dissident member to build his own hegemony, or position, independently. In some cases, this eased the situation for the non-aligned nations as greater competition among the hegemonistic powers meant less intensive pressure. In the case of India, however, the results were mixed as competition between China and the Soviet Union led simultaneously to greater Soviet support to India and to Chinese attempts to weaken and to disrupt India both directly and through its alliance with Pakistan. Thus, Pakistan was now used as an instrument against India both by the U.S.A. and by China, in spite of their mutual enmity, and even the Soviet Union, which was hostile to both, tended to improve its relations with Pakistan by giving it various forms of aid, which was not always in India's interest.

With the beginning of the 'seventies, the world situation is showing some new trends. Neither arms and economic aid, nor military alliances, nor subversive propaganda and attempts to posture as a leader of the world revolution, has brought any marked success to any of the powers. The U.S.A., in particular, has been defeated by Asian nationalism which has proved to be a more potent force, in spite of the U.S.A.'s capacity for destruction. The nuclear balance has also made the avoidance of war between the great powers a matter of vital necessity; and the cost of the arms race has imposed a burden on their economies and created other problems which are a threat to the authority of their ruling elements. They are tending, therefore, in their own interest, to arrive at agreements for the regulation of their rivalries. While this new development has been welcomed even in India, its significance seems to have been

misunderstood. The real conflict which affects the future of the international system is not so much great power rivalries as the conflict between hegemonistic trends, on the one hand, and the urge for co-operation among the nations on the basis of equality and independence on the other. Non-alignment which was regarded as an outdated idea, because of the disintegration of the blocs, has acquired a new significance, in these conditions, as a movement against various forms of hegemony.

The new forms which hegemony might take are not yet clear. The trend, however, seems to be in the direction of each great power recognizing what President Nixon has euphemistically described as the "legitimate rights" of the other in specific areas. Another new development is the admission of China into these great power conclaves with a view obviously to strengthening the U.S.A.'s bargaining power in its relations with the Soviet Union. The broad approach is to ensure stability and peace, not on the basis of equality and co-operation among all nations, but by perpetuating inequality and hegemony. The American idea seems to be that each great power should have its own sphere of responsibility, or influence, where it should function in conformity with rules which are acceptable to the other great powers. Thus, if the Soviet Union gives arms aid to India, this should be limited to a minimum acceptable to the U.S.A. and presumably also to China so that India may not become too strong in comparison with their client states. Although the Soviet Union and China have not shown any reaction to these American ideas on a new balance of power and spheres of influence, their very silence and continued co-operation and contacts with the U.S.A. are a warning to India and other nations to remain vigilant.

In the last analysis, of course, it is India's own strength and stability, apart from its diplomacy, which will make its vigilance really effective. In the diplomatic field, fortunately, India has shown some skill in recent months: the combined threat from China and the U.S.A. has been neutralized by a treaty with the Soviet Union without closing the door towards the other powers. The treaty has been criticized as a deviation from non-alignment. Non-alignment, however, is not a policy which prefers national suicide, or disruption, to a treaty with defence implications. The treaty, in any case, is not a military alliance, nor was it entered into in the context of the cold war. Similar treaties were also offered to other nations. Thus, India has safeguarded its interests, but it has no desire to emulate China by forcing its way into the great power club and claiming a share in world hegemony. India's aim is to abolish hegemony altogether and help in building a more rational order on the basis of equality and co-operation. The strength and stability which India needs to promote this aim are expected to come from the economic and social reforms which are now being launched. The

ordinary citizen appreciates the need for these reforms, but his misgivings about some matters have not been removed by the disquisitions of rival economists.

There is increasing emphasis on the removal of poverty, or satisfaction of the immediate needs of certain classes. While this is a necessary and laudable end, how is it to be reconciled with economic expansion without which immediate gains may be nullified by growth of population? Precise policies do not seem to have been thought out before the elections which seem to have been fought on the basis of general principles or objectives. India, however, seems to have opted for a European type of socialism. Gandhian and other Indian ideas seem to have been rejected. In Western Europe, however, socialistic measures were adopted, not before, but after, high levels of production had been attained on the basis of free enterprise. In the Soviet Union and China, on the other hand, conditions were more analogous to Indian conditions. While the economy was socialized in these countries, the emphasis was not so much on satisfaction of immediate needs as on a massive increase in production. Such relief as was given to the poor at the expense of the rich was accompanied by intensive and even coercive measures to discipline the worker, to make him work harder, to put an end to strikes and other manifestations of discontent and above all to raise the level of production to the highest pitch.

India will no doubt evolve its own type of socialism, but will it be based on the long-term interests of the nation, or some short-term interest in launching popular measures? This is the crux of the question in the ordinary citizen's mind. What seems to be contemplated is a redistribution of agricultural holdings and the expropriation of urban property in excess of the ceiling. Communist experience, however, shows that any drastic tampering with the traditional agricultural system, even under totalitarian control, may well lead to disaster. If production declines, or peace in the countryside is affected, or administrative and other malpractices grow, how will the nation stand to gain? Land reform is of course essential, but apart from the interests of the landless class, the interests of production and other factors must also be kept in mind. In the long run, it is not reduction in the size of holdings, but new avenues of employment created by economic growth which alone can solve the problem. Similarly, in regard to urban property ceilings, some distinction should be made between speculators, or black-marketeers, and ordinary middle class people from which India's professional class is mostly drawn. Any measure which disrupts this class, or involves it in serious difficulties, may well affect the nation's progress. Even in Communist countries, a new professional class is being developed by giving it higher salaries, amenities, and other privileges. India also cannot do without this class whose efficiency is being steadily undermined by

increasing anxieties about its own future. If the ordinary citizen is showing concern about these matters, it is not because he is interested in the preservation of the economic or social *status quo*. He is aware of the need for reform, but he would like it to be so regulated as to bring about a rapid rise in India's strength and stability without which the nation cannot attain its due place in the world and will always remain subject to outside pressure.

Indo-Pakistan Relations

Mohammed Ayooob

It was unfortunate that for the first twenty years after the withdrawal of British power from the subcontinent, the two heirs to British Indian Empire, India and Pakistan, were not able to attain a level of normal relationship. In addition to certain legacies of British colonial rule—like the Kashmir issue and the Canal Waters dispute, which bedevilled Indo-Pakistani relations, the very nature of the Pakistani state as well as of its ruling elite was such that it made a confrontationist policy towards India almost the *raison d'être* for Pakistan. In retrospect, especially after the war of 1971 and the separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan, such a policy on the part of Pakistan's rulers seems not only short-sighted but weird and suicidal. But during the years when this policy was being framed and implemented it seemed to have a logic of its own and it did pay some short-term dividends to Pakistan's ruling elite.

In 1947 Pakistan started life as a structurally absurd state. An almost superhuman amount of political wisdom was required to keep the two disparate wings of Pakistan together. Not only was this wisdom not forthcoming but, because of the narrow social base and exclusive regional origin of Pakistan's ruling clique, it became almost imperative that Pakistan's rulers use the negative factor of Indophobia in order to keep the two wings of Pakistan together. Thus from the very beginning India became a live issue in the domestic politics of Pakistan. Any public figure who dared to advocate a more accommodating line towards India than was acceptable to the powers that be was immediately dubbed anti-national.

But this preoccupation with the India bogey had more to it than merely the effort of a small coterie of persons to perpetuate themselves in power, although this consideration did play an important role in the approach of the ruling elite towards India. Pakistan was a nation in search of a national identity. The only cementing bond between East and West Pakistan was that of Indian Islam. Had the communities in the two corners of north-western and north-eastern India not formed parts of the larger Indo-Muslim community (and more important, had they not perceived themselves to belong to this larger community) the creation of Pakistan with two wings separated from each other by 1,000 miles would not have been possible. India as much as Islam was an integral part of the Pakistani psyche. Unfortunately, this Indianness of Pakistan was never utilized in a positive way. Had this been done, not only would Indo-Pakistani relations have taken on the character of co-operation instead of confrontation, but it would have also made a positive contribution towards the evolution of a common national identity between the two wings of Pakistan.

Various factors, including the hangover of the acrimonious debate over the two-nation theory, the dispute over the accession of Kashmir to India, and the perception of their own class interests by Pakistan's rulers, forced Pakistan to steer a course which had disastrous consequences for itself.

The element of Indianness (which really amounted to being “of the subcontinent”) was purposely denigrated. As a consequence West Pakistan tended to look for an artificial identity (for the whole of Pakistan) based on its tenuous links with the Middle East. This was historical and cultural imbecility. Not only did it make the West Pakistani personality schizophrenic, it led to the near total alienation of East Pakistan from the concept of Pakistan itself.

This peculiar love-hate attitude towards India (love sub-consciously and hate consciously) on the part of West Pakistan created immense psychological, economic and political problems for Pakistan. The need to emphasize its non-Indianness led Pakistan into the blind alley of perpetual anti-Indianism. While this anti-Indianism helped temporarily to cement the tenuous bonds between East and West Pakistan for a few years after Partition, it proved in the long run to be not only counterproductive but catastrophic. East Bengal’s loyalty to the concept of Pakistan was put to a severe test when it was asked to participate in this policy of confrontation which brought no political or economic dividends to that wing, as it did to the politically and economically powerful strata in West Pakistan. In fact, as the East Bengalis realized in 1965, such a policy endangered the very existence of East Pakistan because it left the eastern wing at the mercy of the “enemy” during times of crisis. It was no coincidence, therefore, that the six-point autonomy programme was put forward by the Awami League soon after the Indo-Pakistani conflict of 1965.

Not only this, the India-fixation vitiated the entire thinking process of Pakistan’s decision-makers whether in terms of foreign policy or internal politics. The preoccupation with India, the assumed enemy, made the search for power parity with India the fundamental objective of Pakistan’s foreign policy. Since Pakistan could not compete with India in terms of the natural attributes of power, such as demography, area, economic resources, technology, the only field in which it could hope to compete with its larger neighbour was the field of military power. But since military power is also the function of demography, area, technology and resources, it could do so only by borrowing power from outside. And this is what the Governments of Pakistan proceeded to do. While Pakistan’s rulers may have had the satisfaction temporarily (between the mid-’fifties and the mid-’sixties) of attaining some sort of power parity with India, in the strictly military sense of the term, such a policy really meant that Pakistan’s foreign relations became the adjunct of the policy of one great power or another and it lost most of its power of manoeuvre in foreign policy. Even more important, military alliances led to an inordinate accretion of strength to the military machine which vitiated the entire political process in Pakistan. The American military assistance programme, more than anything else, was responsible for heavily tilting the fragile balance between

the political leadership and the military-bureaucratic establishment in favour of the latter. Thus began the process which found its culmination in the massacre of the innocents in Dacca on March 25, 1971.

Even looking at it from Pakistan's narrow, chauvinistic viewpoint all this might have made sense if the strategy had paid certain long-term dividends, for example, in forcing India to settle the Kashmir issue on Pakistan's terms or of gaining such a military superiority over India that it would have made New Delhi more amenable to Islamabad's wishes. But as 1965 and, even more conclusively, 1971 proved, this search for power parity turned out to be a mirage. All that it did really was to hasten the process of Pakistan's disintegration.

The changed situation in the subcontinent after the 1971 war presents both India and Pakistan with an opportunity as well as a challenge. There are indications that there is increasing recognition of the 'new realities' among the saner—and hopefully the more influential—sections in Pakistan's public life. This is borne out by various comments appearing in the Pakistani press, especially the *Dawn* of Karachi. Even the government-controlled *Pakistan Times*, in its Rawalpindi edition of July 30, 1972, carried an article by a commentator which read in part: "We on our part have also to rid ourselves of the fiction of equality of stature with India. It was mainly the Quaid-e-Azam's magnificent personality . . . that served to create the illusion of full equality with the Hindus (read India), an illusion that showed cracks even in his lifetime, even before Partition, as his health declined. If India plays fair by us, does not seek to weaken or isolate us, we should advance, rather than checkmate, her legitimate interests."

One must not forget, however, that there are strong vested interests in Pakistan, both military and civilian, which have very firm psychological and material commitment to the continuation of a confrontationist policy towards India. One reason why Mr. Bhutto (who has performed a somersault as far as policy towards India is concerned) has had to go slow in his approach towards normalization of Indo-Pakistani relations has been this opposition to the general trend of his policy (at least as understood at Simla) from elements in both the military and the civilian establishment. In fact, the attempt by certain members of his own party to queer the pitch as far as Centre-Province and P.P.P.-N.A.P. relations are concerned may have as much to do with opposition to a rapprochement with India as to their understanding (or misunderstanding) of Pakistan's domestic political scene. The success of a truly *democratic* and *federal* experiment in Pakistan can contribute more to the long-term normalization of Indo-Pakistani relations than scores of conferences and summits will be able to do.

That there is hope that a fundamental change can come about in Pakistan's approach towards India is borne out by two striking changes

that have taken place within Pakistan since the last war. First, the rump Pakistan is, relatively speaking, more geographically compact, economically integrated and culturally homogeneous than the Pakistan of 1947-71. The problems of national integration and of the evolution of a national identity are, therefore, much simpler and much more manageable. While such a contingency cannot be completely ruled out, one can at least feel much more optimistic about the fact that Pakistan will not require a virulent type of anti-Indianism to keep its structure intact (as it tried to do until 1971). To that extent, the problem of achieving accommodation with India has become easier.

Secondly, the assumption of power by Mr. Bhutto and the P.P.P. at the Centre and by the majority parties and coalitions in the various provinces also signifies a change in the character of Pakistan's ruling elite. For the first time in its history Pakistan has an elected leadership at the helm of affairs both at the Centre and in the provinces. While this may not be a very earth-shaking event and while the power of the bureaucratic establishment may not have been reduced all that much, one cannot deny that there has been a certain shift in the locus of power, especially since Mr. Bhutto and his party had fought the elections on an anti-establishment populist platform (even though later General Yahya Khan might have tried to utilize him for his own ends or *vice versa*). It cannot be denied that the P.P.P. represents some new social forces which, while they had gathered strength under the Ayub dispensation, had more often than not been deprived of participation in the all-important process of decision-making. Even if all this is only partially true, still it is bound to make some difference to policy-formulation even at the highest level. The populist promises of the P.P.P. will compel it to divert greater funds to welfare programmes which will naturally tend to inhibit the expansion of the defence budget. In addition, the presence of parties other than the P.P.P., for example, the N.A.P., in positions of power at least in some of the provinces will hopefully act as a check on certain adventurist elements within the ruling party at the Centre. The N.A.P.'s attitude towards rapprochement with India is much more clear and positive than that of any other party in Pakistan and it is hoped that it will have some influence. The give-and-take of the federal process should also have certain beneficial effects in the realm of foreign policy.

While the military top brass have been discredited, at least for the present, it will be too presumptuous to assume that the GHQ will be averse to interfering in the normal political process in Pakistan for all time to come. This would be too much to expect especially in a country where the military has been nurtured on the myth that they are not merely the defenders of the country but also the makers of its destiny. The civilian government in Pakistan will have to be constantly vigilant on this score.

This precarious civil-military balance (with the only silver lining to the

black clouds being that the balance is for the first time tilted in favour of the elected leaders) is bound to have important repercussions as far as Indo-Pakistani relations are concerned. The military has always had a vested interest in a policy of tension with and confrontation towards India. This policy had been used to promote the interests of the artificially inflated military establishment. Although the risks for Pakistan of another Indo-Pakistani conflagration are much greater today than they were even in 1971, one cannot completely rule out the possibility of there being elements in the armed forces that would like to, or at least assume the posture that they would like to, try out conclusions with India once again. There are certain indications that some elements in the military are trying to hamper the normalization of Indo-Pakistani relations. India, therefore, has a stake in a stable, democratic, civilian regime in Pakistan. However erratic the progress towards normalization may be under such a regime in Pakistan, the alternatives to such a government seem to be much less likely to aid India in attaining its objective of durable peace in the subcontinent.

New International Environment and India's Foreign Policy

K. P. Misra

The year 1971 witnessed transformations of a far-reaching significance in India's domestic politics, South Asian regional politics and international politics. These changes are interrelated, the relationship between the first two being particularly intimate. India's foreign policy has influenced them and they in turn have given new sources of strength to it.

India's domestic political scene became uncertain and diffident after India-China conflict in 1962, and especially after the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru in 1964. On both the economic and political fronts a downward spiral was distinctly discernible. The plans of development were in disarray and the food problem was acute. The 1967 elections brought about an unprecedented political fragmentation in the States. The Indian National Congress failed to secure a majority in many State Assemblies and this situation gave rise to all kinds of unprincipled permutations and combinations between smaller political parties in order to come to power, and, once they were in power, in order to perpetuate their hold. All this adversely affected administration, stultified social growth and created an atmosphere of instability. A question mark was raised about the country's political unity and territorial integrity. To the prophets of gloom, India's dangerous decades had arrived.

Aside from the fact that differences with States hampered the work of the Union Government in many ways, instability in the States also had implications for the health of the ruling Congress party. Even though the Congress party was in absolute majority in Parliament, the effectiveness of its control over the administration of the country had been undermined in a substantial measure over the years. Even this majority was lost after the party's split in 1969. For some months after this event, until parliamentary elections were held in March 1971, many behind-the-scene efforts were made to replace the Government in Delhi. The Government did not fall because it was able to secure the support of the D.M.K., the C.P.I. and some others who wanted and secured their own pound of flesh.

In an atmosphere of economic decay and political uncertainty, Indira Gandhi gathered courage and decided to seek the people's mandate before Parliament had completed its full term of five years. The outcome of election ushered in a new era in India's domestic politics, with crucial implications for foreign policy also. This political exercise in a way re-created the vital elements in our political system. Many assumptions, suspicions and misgivings collapsed in the face of the dominant position which the Congress secured in Parliament. In one stroke a major task, namely, national integration, was substantially accomplished. Once again India had a national leader and a national party in the true sense.

During this very time India's economic health got a new lease of life. Self-sufficiency in food production appeared a realizable object in the foreseeable future. The industrial outlook also brightened.

This transformation in the political and economic landscape injected

a new strength and dynamism into our foreign policy, and enabled the country to act more independently without being coerced by those outside powers who are continually seeking opportunities to move into weak and undefended areas of Asia and Africa. It also re-established India's credibility among neighbours and among other countries of the "Third World."

Even as India was setting about to accelerate the work of nation-building, a major development occurred across its eastern border. The conflict in East Bengal, resulting in unprecedented suppression and exodus of about 10 million refugees, posed a serious challenge to India, which had to spend enormous resources to give food, shelter and other amenities of life to the unfortunate people of Bangladesh. For a moment it appeared that India may not be able to bear the burden. In December 1971 yet another Indo-Pakistan conflict took place which culminated in the establishment of a sovereign Bangladesh, reducing Pakistan to less than half of what it previously was.

The conflict did immense good to India in many ways. It highlighted the facts that the country's economic strength was capable of bearing the enormous burden of refugees, and that its military capability was such as to secure a decisive victory over Pakistan in a short time of 14 days, and that the skill and finesse of its political leadership was of a high order, good enough to manage things in an extremely difficult situation. During the conflict the civil authority in India remained supreme and the military authority worked under its guidance, without a single instance of faltering.

The emergence of Bangladesh and the role which India played in the process have brought about fundamental changes in the international relations of South Asia. Perhaps no exercise of Indian foreign policy since Independence has been so successful and so far-reaching in its implications as its policy towards East Bengal. India's constant handicap during the last quarter of the century has been the effort of major powers to create an artificial balance of power in this region by boosting Pakistan on account of a variety of reasons. This attempt at achieving some sort of parity between India and Pakistan has collapsed under the weight of the misdeeds of the short-sighted rulers of Pakistan. Pakistan's population now is one-tenth of India's. Its diplomatic and military leverage is almost equivalent to this ratio. The 1971 *Strategic Survey* of the International Institute of Strategic Studies, London, has stated that the conflict has "resulted in a complete transformation of the military equation in the subcontinent." No less important is the political and psychological equation which has emerged.

The new regional environment has served the cause of national integration in India and has given the ruling elite the necessary strength to deal effectively with internal as well as external problems of the country. Internally, the roadblocks to radical economic measures have been cleared. Externally, India can afford to behave generously with its smaller neigh-

hours and assert its freedom of action vis-a-vis the power politics of the major global powers.

During the last few months a new pattern of international relationships has emerged. A new concert of powers seems to have arisen, consisting of the United States, the Soviet Union, China and Japan. It is for the first time that two non-White Asian countries have come to be regarded as major powers—China because of its potentialities and nuclear capabilities and Japan because it has grown into the world's third largest industrial state, a fact which has serious politico-military implications for the international community. In the new quadrilateral relationship ideology is at a discount.

For South Asia, particularly for India, the new international landscape presents both advantages and disadvantages. With the multiplicity of centres of power there is greater scope for manoeuvre than hitherto. The induction of Asians in the global concert of powers may work for India's advantage if the situation is handled skillfully. Pakistan's reduced power and prestige may serve as a disincentive to those powers who till recently tried to boost Pakistan and thus create an artificial balance of power in South Asia. These outside powers may reckon with India's newly established position in the region and thus allow it to concentrate on its internal development and not spend its scarce resources on strengthening its security under the shadow of possible threats and dangers from Pakistan. Finally, in achieving the success which it did in the recent subcontinental conflict, India depended upon the political and material support of the Soviet Union in good measure. India has now the opportunity to reduce this dependence and thus work as a really equal partner in the pursuit of common foreign policy objectives. This is not to suggest that India has been in any way subservient to the Soviet Union. What is said is that if at any time there is no convergence in the interests of the two countries, India should be prepared and able to pursue its own interests.

On the other side of the scale we may venture to explore the disadvantages and difficulties for India in the new system.

For understandable reasons, India's role in the process which culminated in the establishment of Bangladesh aroused the hostility of the rulers of the United States and China. Our task of improving relations with the former and of normalizing relations with the latter has been rendered more difficult. There appears to be a distinct parallelism between the policies of these two powers towards the subcontinent which is clearly unfavourable to India. Another equally disturbing element for India is that the two Communist Powers, China and Russia, have conflicting policies over the present and future of this region. In order to lessen what it considers to be Russian influence in India, China may make direct and indirect efforts to cause a setback to India's position by initiating local

conflicts on the border, by inciting subversive elements within the country, and by setting neighbours against us.

The tasks of India's foreign policy in the new environment are not difficult to discern. The effort to build a new order in South Asia may encounter difficulties on account of the fact that there is a wide gap between India and other countries of the region, India's very bigness working as a disadvantage. India may also unconsciously adopt a big brother attitude. Even without its fault, a fear psychosis or inferiority complex may develop among its neighbours.

According to the present reckoning, however, India has begun well. It has been cognizant of the sensitivities of its neighbours. It has shown imagination and largeness of vision in dealing with Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. It has been trying to forge new relations on the basis of reciprocity of interests and a common stake in economic development. The inter-State relations in South Asia appear to be growing on the foundations of better understanding and greater goodwill. India has to make a determined effort to ensure that this trend is not reversed.

In politics, as in most other fields of human activity, positions are not offered; they are earned by effort. How China has earned entry into the new concert of powers provides the best illustration of this fact in recent history. India should not have difficulty in understanding this. In order to retain and enhance the position which the new environment has given India, it is imperative that the crucial problem of poverty in the country is effectively dealt with. It is easier to win a war or an election than to establish an order of social justice. To set goals, to enunciate principles and to talk a radical language is not enough. It is no small task to translate principles into reality, particularly when the ruling party contains elements who have a stake in the *status quo*. The leadership now has the requisite prestige and power to stop faltering. If this is not done, the country would have lost the opportunity that history gave it to build a vibrant and resilient political order based upon strong, stable and egalitarian socio-economic foundations. Nothing makes or mars a country's foreign policy more than its domestic situation. The present leadership has been instrumental in creating a new environment in and around India. Let us hope that it has the necessary will and ability to consolidate the gains of the recent past in the field of foreign policy.

Section VIII

Bangladesh

Higher Direction of the 1971 War

Jagjivan Ram

Tasks of economic development are overpowering. They are particularly so when we are endeavouring to compress into a decade or two the progress which many other nations took a century or more to achieve.

Our resource base is narrow; our economy is backward; our society is traditional with people steeped in superstition. Added to these is the social tension, partly built into the national ethos and partly generated by the socio-economic revolution unfolding before our eyes.

In order to tackle these problems, India has desired and worked for a peaceful world since the dawn of her Independence. Despite the aggression on Kashmir soon after Independence, India had refrained from building up a deterrent in the shape of armed might; she chose the civilized path of cultivating friendship with neighbours. This enabled the country to spend more on economic development so as to achieve rapid progress.

In 1962, when the sanctity of the Himalayas was violated, our dream of peace crashed around our ears. The country had perforce to divert the much-needed funds from development to defence. Our entire planning process suffered a setback. The situation was accentuated by failures on the agricultural front, rising prices and the Pakistani aggression of 1965.

This was the backdrop when Indira Gandhi assumed office as Prime Minister. The earnestness with which she has addressed herself to various tasks and the ability with which she has tackled them has been amply proved by results. But her masterly handling of the greatest of challenges which faced the country in 1971 marks her out as an outstanding leader. Throughout the nine-month period starting with the Pakistan military junta's crack-down on Bangladesh on March 25 and the influx of refugees into India and ending with the surprise assault on India on December 3, Indira Gandhi displayed sureness of touch. The sophisticated management of the crisis and the conflict control exercised by her are a tribute to her maturity of thought and judgement.

The crisis had all the ingredients of provocation from the word go. Indira Gandhi refused to be hustled. "We must act in a constructive way and not do anything which adds to the difficulties of the people there (Bangladesh)," she told the All-India Congress Committee in April 1971.

When the influx of refugees snowballed into colossal proportions, the demand for recognition of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Bangladesh became incessant. Her mind was clear. She had visualized that premature recognition would precipitate an armed conflict which she was determined to avoid. She had hoped that conditions would be created for the early return of the refugees to their homes and hearths under credible guarantees of safety and well-being. "We are convinced," Indira Gandhi told Parliament, "that there can be no military solution to the problem of East Bengal. A political solution must be brought about by those who have the power to do so."

Even when social tensions were building up in the eastern region on

account of the influx of refugees and the financial burden was becoming almost unbearable, Indira Gandhi left no stone unturned to persuade the international community to intercede with General Yahya Khan to accept a political settlement which could ensure the return of the refugees. "We do not want war, we do not rattle sabres," she declared from the ramparts of the Red Fort. On her return from Moscow on October 19, Indira Gandhi said: "We do not want to provoke or do anything because of which a war situation may develop."

All this shows that the Prime Minister was throughout trying to avoid war and to de-escalate an escalating situation. In quest of peace, she undertook a three-week tour of seven Western capitals, although she knew that the international community was by and large impervious to the plight of the refugees. Her deft management of the crisis won Indira Gandhi international praise. The noted British commentator, Mr John Grigg, wrote: "Without Mrs Gandhi's leadership, India by now would have reacted violently to Pakistan's vicarious and unarmed but nonetheless overwhelming invasion of its soil."

Meanwhile, Pakistan was hotting up the borders; Pakistani troops were continuously shelling across the border. Retaliatory action was dubbed as aggression by India's detractors. To them, the Prime Minister administered a sharp rebuke. "If any country thinks that by calling us aggressors it can pressurize us to forget our national interests then that country is living in its own paradise and it is welcome to. . . . India has changed and she is no more a country of slaves. Today we will do what is best in our national interest and not what those so-called big nations would like us to do."

In the two weeks following the full-scale attack launched by Pakistan, Indira Gandhi proved by her unshakable determination and courage that here was the leader the nation needed in war and peace. She exhorted: "Aggression must be met and the people of India will meet it with fortitude, determination, discipline and utmost unity." In the midst of the war, she told a public rally in the capital: "We shall never shirk our responsibility and the enemy shall be crushed."

The credit for the decisive victory won by India in the 14-day war goes as much to the Prime Minister's adroit leadership as to the valour and skill of our defence forces. When the military junta unleashed the war, she spelt out the political aims in the clearest language. These were:

- to provide all possible help to the struggle for the liberation of Bangladesh, and
- to fight a holding action in the West.

She maintained close contact with her senior colleagues in the Cabinet, the Chiefs of Staff and the concerned civilian officials. This helped to bring about complete co-ordination amongst the three Services and with numerous civil authorities at the Centre and in the States.

While she was patiently working for a political settlement leading to a peaceful solution of the problem of refugees, Indira Gandhi took no chances with the nation's security and territorial integrity. A whole range of contingent possibilities were discussed and the country's responses carefully worked out. Under her direction, international, political and strategic factors were evaluated. The interaction between civil and military leadership was continuous. The scale, pattern and timing of our defence preparedness were co-ordinated with external developments, and every effort was made to orchestrate our external and internal policies with activities intended to provide relief for the refugees and to gear the administrative machine to the needs of the developing situation. When emotions were building up in the country, she exercised her influence in favour of dignified self-restraint.

General Yahya Khan's bellicose statements followed by the movement of troops to the borders and land and air intrusions had emphasized the threat of war. Profiting by past experience, precautionary steps were taken to meet any attack. Plans were adopted to mobilize national effort to meet the worst possible contingency. Emphasis was placed on the mobilization of indigenous capacities and on stepping up production. Ordnance factories and public sector undertakings were urged to make good deficiency of materials. Suitable short-term measures were adopted to overcome bottle-necks, quicken procedures, mobilize resources and augment production. Priorities were laid down where competing requirements had to be met from the same production capacity. Along with augmented production effort, an appropriate provisioning policy was developed. Deficiencies were assessed and identified and arrangements made to make good shortfalls by indigenous procurement, or by imports where necessary. Effective procurement action was taken and procedural innovations introduced to meet the needs of the situation. Steps were taken for the building up of stockpiles of the right kind of materials at right places and at the right time. Simultaneously, uninterrupted supplies to concentration areas were ensured. Various Ministries of the Government of India functioned as a team.

Special attention was paid to the improvement of arrangements for the acquisition, assessment and utilization of intelligence. This enabled the Services to adopt their plans to the changing situation and to take vital tactical decisions to speed up their advance during operations.

Unlike in the past, the Information Services and the mass media were mobilized to project a better image of the country. Every effort was made to provide accurate and timely information in as great detail as possible. Foreign correspondents were permitted to visit the refugee camps, border areas and combat zones and file their dispatches, or send TV coverage without any restriction. The watching world thus received a credible account of the happenings before the war and of the operations during

the war.

No aspect of the crisis, not even peripheral issues, escaped Indira Gandhi's attention. There was critical analysis before contingency plans were finalized. When the chips were down, the plans were executed with precision and consummate skill.

Bangladesh: Cultural Dimensions of Politics

Sibnarayan Ray

Many factors combine to bring about the birth of a nation. According to circumstances one or the other may acquire crucial significance. In the case of Bangladesh, while political and economic colonialism practised by West Pakistan in what until recently was East Pakistan did contribute without any doubt to intensify sentiments of East Pakistani separatism and autonomy, the element which in the main appears to have inspired, sustained and shaped the struggle for independence was patently cultural in character. To be precise, the decisive factor was language. It is no exaggeration to suggest that East Pakistan, after twenty-four years of its turbulent history, has emerged as the sovereign state of Bangladesh primarily because its people found in the Bengali language their principal source and embodiment of national identity, a finding that was altogether unacceptable to their West Pakistani masters.

In the process, certain far-reaching changes began to take place. The notion of a collective identity of the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent which had been the *raison d'être* of Pakistan, was based exclusively on religion. The only feature common to its two wings separated by more than one thousand miles of alien territory was that the overwhelming majority of the population in both were followers of Islam. But the growing stress on linguistic homogeneity worked powerfully to undermine the importance of religious unity. Bengali, spoken by only 0.12 per cent of the population of West Pakistan, was a language common to the Muslims, Hindus, Christians and Buddhists of East Pakistan; it also owed its phenomenal achievements in literature, especially during the last hundred and fifty years or so, largely to the creative efforts of the modern Hindu intelligentsia of pre-Partition Bengal. West Pakistanis tried to exploit this by calling Bengali a Hindu language to be eschewed by all good Muslims. But this merely underlined their incapacity to appreciate the nature and dynamics of cultural nationalism.

As the members of the new Muslim intelligentsia in East Pakistan began to take a growing pride in the richness of Bengali language and literature, the feelings of hostility and distrust which they had cultivated formerly towards their Hindu counterparts began correspondingly to diminish. Besides, modern Bengali literature, which has evolved in response to the impact of the West, is predominantly secular in its orientation. Virtually every significant writer in the language during the last hundred and fifty years has been a trenchant critic of his own religion and society. The influence of this literature as it began to infiltrate the new intelligentsia of East Pakistan helped to liberalize their views and to weaken the stranglehold of religious exclusiveness and orthodoxy. In fact, one of the most striking features of the cultural transformation that has been taking place in East Pakistan since Partition is the increasingly articulate secularism of its educated Muslim elite. By gradually reducing the function of religion as the traditional source of collective identity,

language and literature would thus appear to have played a major role in the modernization process.

The issue of language also helped to promote democratic ideas and ideals in East Pakistan. Urdu which West Pakistan sought to impose on its two wings as the national language of Pakistan, is a beautiful language possessing a worthy literature, but it is the mother-tongue of a very small minority. According to the *Pakistan Year Book* of 1969, it was spoken by only 3.65 per cent of the total population of Pakistan: 7.57 per cent of the total population in the West (where the majority, 66.39 per cent, spoke Punjabi); 0.61 per cent, in the East. On the other hand, according to the same source, Bengali is the mother-tongue of 98.42 per cent of the East Pakistani population. The demand for the recognition of Bengali as a state language represented a rejection not only of West Pakistani colonial dominance but also of the principle of elitocracy. By committing themselves unambiguously to the use and cultivation of Bengali the educated classes of East Pakistan drew closer to the common people of their region which gave to their movement a democratic orientation and popular base that the power elite in West Pakistan failed to acquire even in their own wing.

One reason why language assumed such decisive importance in the conflict between the two wings is that the new leadership of East Pakistan came almost entirely from its intelligentsia, especially the university students and teachers. This is a feature common to many developing societies, but the absence of indigenous groups engaged in business, industrial enterprise, or in running the military establishment was even more conspicuous in East Pakistan than in most comparable societies. The imposition of Urdu (with a completely different script, vocabulary and grammar from Bengali) threatened to close all avenues of growth to the Bengali-speaking East Pakistani intelligentsia. Besides, almost from the creation of Pakistan, educated East Pakistanis had been treated with unconcealed contempt by the West Pakistanis, especially the Punjabis, who not only monopolized much of the sources of power and wealth in both the wings, but also made arrogant claims to ethnic superiority on account of their stronger physical build and fairer complexion, their military tradition, bureaucratic ruthlessness and business enterprise. Against these claims what the members of the East Pakistani intelligentsia would put forward was the incomparably greater richness of Bengali language and literature which is commonly admitted to be the most developed among the living languages and literatures of the Indian subcontinent. Their self-respect and dignity depended on the affirmation of their unique linguistic-cultural heritage. At the same time, they sought to gain public support to their cause by instilling in the common people a legitimate pride in their mother-tongue and by giving primary position in their programmes of reconstruction to proposals conducive to

social, political and economic equality and justice.

The demand for the recognition of Bengali as a state language was made by the East Pakistani intelligentsia within a month of the founding of the new state. The first significant organization to do so was Tamaddun Majlis, a completely non-political association formed on September 1, 1947, by some leading students and teachers of the Dacca University. On September 15 the Majlis came out with a booklet *Pakistaner Rashtrabhasha — Bangla Na Urdu* (Pakistan's State Language — Bengali or Urdu?) in which persuasive arguments were offered why the future of East Pakistan was dependent on the status given to Bengali. Contributors to the booklet pointed out that the backwardness of the Bengali Muslims compared to the Bengali Hindus was largely due to the former's prolonged neglect of their mother-tongue; that imposition of Urdu would not only make East Pakistan a colony of West Pakistan but would tend to strengthen the feudal-obscurantist forces in East Pakistani society; and that the use of Bengali in every sphere and at every level would promote social and intellectual awakening of the East Pakistani people, and help East Pakistan to develop on democratic lines. The linking of the language question with modernization, democratization and the articulation of East Pakistan's identity was a particularly striking feature of the arguments in the pamphlet.

The Majlis rapidly gained in strength and support, and in October, at its initiative, was formed a broadbased Council to campaign for the recognition of Bengali as a state language. When the demand was summarily rejected by the Muslim League leadership and the government, students throughout East Pakistan held a general strike on March 11, 1948. The Government tried to suppress the movement by force which only helped to provoke larger sections of the general public to support the demand. Jinnah then visited Dacca, but even his enormous popularity and prestige which he brought to the cause of Urdu did not make much impression on the East Pakistani intelligentsia. The new spirit was expressed among others by the doyen of East Pakistani scholars, Dr M. Shahidullah who, in his Presidential address to the First East Pakistan Literary Conference (December 1948-January 1949), declared:

“It is true that we are Hindus or Muslims, but it is even more true that we are Bengalis. It is not a question of ideals, it is simply a statement of fact. Mother Nature has stamped on our physical appearance and language our inalienable Bengalihood. . . . As free citizens of a free East Bengal we need a literature that is rich in all its branches. This literature has necessarily to be a literature in our mother-tongue. . . .”

(Translated from the Bengali original by S. N. Ray)

The movement gathered momentum, and in the process not only did the two wings of Pakistan begin to drift apart, but the Muslim League which had brought Pakistan into existence started to disintegrate.

In June 1949, a large number of young workers of the Muslim League led by Maulana Bhasani, Shamsul Huq, Mujibur Rahman, Moshtaque Ahmed and others, broke away from the parent organization to form the Awami Muslim League; its manifesto put sharp emphasis on East Pakistan's autonomy, popular sovereignty and fundamental rights and liberties, redistribution of land to protect the interests of the cultivators, and economic planning. The language issue was central to the demand of autonomy, but now it began to be reinforced by other issues which affected the lives of the overwhelming majority of the population. In the 1954 elections the Muslim League was virtually wiped out in East Pakistan; and when in 1956 the Awami Muslim League decided to drop the qualifying epithet Muslim from its name, it became clear that the process of secularization and democratization which had been initiated by the language movement had by then grown powerful enough to be acknowledged without any shadow of ambiguity by the most popular political party in East Pakistan. West Pakistan sought to stop the process by imposing a military dictatorship on both wings, but this was only a very desperate measure. Resistance in East Pakistan became more intense and universal, unifying the urban intelligentsia and the rural population. The rest is very recent history. What to perceptive observers did seem inevitable already in the fifties, took a costly decade to materialise in 1971: the emergence of East Pakistan as the sovereign People's Republic of Bangladesh.

II

The language which gave Bangladesh its national identity is about a thousand years old and is today spoken by over 115 million people in the eastern region of the Indian subcontinent. It is a member of the Indo-Iranian or Aryan branch of the Indo-European family of languages, but it has strong features that are distinctly non-Aryan in nature and origin. Historical records indicate that Aryanization met with strong resistance from the people of this region, and that when Brahminism or classical Hinduism finally established itself in most parts of India it was in Bengal that the heretical religion of Buddhism (which had been Hinduism's main rival for over a thousand years) found its last refuge and popular support. In fact, the earliest specimens of Bengali literature, the *Charya* songs, belong in the main to a school of Buddhist mysticis, and their spirit is remarkably anti-caste and anti-Brahminical. It would thus appear that from the very beginning the literature of the Bengali people reflected a view of existence that was different from, and in many respects clearly hostile to, the great Brahminical tradition of Hindu India.

In the twelfth century, Bengal was ruled by the Sena Kings who had come from South India, and who tried to impose on Bengal their

elaborate Hindu religion and culture. They succeeded in driving Buddhism underground, and in gaining support from a section of the privileged classes, but the majority of the common people resented their oppressive ideology. Consequently, when Islam came from the North-West to Bengal in the thirteenth century it found an indigenous population which hated its rulers and which welcomed the new force. This would explain why although Delhi was the capital of the Muslim rulers of India for over six centuries, the largest number of converts to Islam came from Bengal in the remote east. These were mostly people from the lower castes and poorer classes who presumably sensed in the ideology of Islamic egalitarianism a promise of freeing themselves from the tyranny of the high-caste Hindus. Many among those who did not embrace Islam became followers of Vaiṣṇavism, a sixteenth century reform movement within Hinduism which rejected caste and preached human equality.

If the beginnings of Bengali language and literature owed much to the Buddhist mystics, the rapid development of both during the centuries before the British occupation of Bengal owed even more to the patronage of Bengal's Muslim rulers. Bengali grew by drawing its vocabulary and idioms not only from Sanskrit but also from local dialects and Persian; it acquired those qualities of musicality, raciness and expressional elegance which characterise it as one of the most melodious and resourceful among the vernacular languages of the subcontinent. By the beginning of the fifteenth century a standard literary Bengali was established and came to be used all over Bengal. The literature was almost entirely in the verse form; it comprised songs and lyrics (the most beautiful ones were on the theme of love and devotion composed by the Vaiṣṇava and various schools of mystics, including Sufis), religious narratives and legends (many of them extolling the Mother Goddess in her diverse forms and names), and secular tales of love and romance. This copious literature, sung or recited in every part of Bengal, gave to the people a feeling of cultural oneness which helped considerably to reduce the religious division between the Hindus and Muslims of the land.

Unfortunately, however, the social revolution promised by Islam did not materialize. Even under the Muslim rulers, upper caste Hindus continued to enjoy positions of power and prestige. In return for support to the rulers they were allowed to consolidate their hold over revenue collection and land ownership; they provided the clerks and bureaucrats, monopolized trade and commerce, filled most of the learned professions, and were generally left to control and regulate the social life of their own community. The overwhelming majority of Bengali Muslims were converts from the poorer sections — peasants, weavers, and others — and their conditions did not change even though the rulers and some of the higher officials belonged to the same faith. The impact of the egalitarian ideals of Islam was reflected in the religious reform movements

and in the new literature, but the creative contribution of the Bengali Muslims to the development of Bengali culture was necessarily limited by the circumstances of their social origins and position. Except for a few outstanding poets like Daulat Kazi or Alaol, the overwhelming majority of the medieval Bengali writers were Hindus. It is primarily in the folk tradition and oral literature of medieval Bengal that one may find the workings of the mind of the Muslim underprivileged.

During the nearly two centuries of British rule, Bengali society and culture underwent another major upheaval, but although it enormously profited Bengali language and literature it did more harm than good to the Bengali Muslims. Higher-caste Bengali Hindus were prompt to respond to English education and to the new ideas and insights that the modern West had to offer to India. In consequence, they not only improved their economic position and social power, but in the process their new perceptions and aspirations brought great richness to the Bengali language. Bengali prose literature was born; it became the vehicle of modern knowledge and sentiments; before the end of the century Bengali was way ahead of every Indian language in the field of both fiction and critical literature. There was also a virtual revolution in Bengali poetry which became pronouncedly secular and developed new forms, techniques and styles. The process reached a climax in the many-splendoured genius of Rabindranath Tagore who, over a period of sixty creative years, brought Bengali language and literature to a level unsurpassed anywhere outside the West.

In this story of remarkable developments Bengali Muslims hardly played any role. To their upper classes the British were usurpers; for a long time they refused to take advantage of modern education; in consequence, they not only deprived themselves of jobs, professions, and opportunities of economic aggrandisement, but also prevented forces of modernization from reaching their community. Muslim religious leaders saw in the spread of secular ideas nothing but a threat to their faith. They did not produce anything like the Brahmo reform movement which tried to liberalize Hindu religion and society by accepting from the modern West what, on critical analysis, they found worth accepting. As for the Muslim masses, they lived in the villages and were too poor to take any advantage of modern education. During the nineteenth century, while Bengali Hindus produced a middle class with a modern intelligentsia which, among other achievements, worked a profound revolution in Bengali literature, and provided India with a nationalist ideology and a forward-looking political leadership, nothing remotely comparable happened to the Muslims of Bengal.

A Bengali Muslim middle class began belatedly to emerge in the early twentieth century, but it was small and weak, and almost from the beginning was hedged with limitations and torn by ambivalence. In

competition with the much more developed and resourceful Hindu middle class it was naturally drawn to the ideology of Muslim separatism which was being aided and encouraged by the British rulers who hoped to weaken the rising tide of Indian nationalism by setting the Muslims against the Hindus. This ideology, however, drew its strength from its appeal to the Indian Muslims on the basis of their common religious faith; it relied heavily on the support of orthodox Muslim ulema; consequently, it would not permit any suggestion of criticism or reform of Islam. Yet without such criticism or reform the new middle class could hardly expect to grow, or to become leaders of modernization within their own community. Again, not unexpectedly, the direction and resources of the separatist movement came very largely from the Muslim nobility or wealthy landowning classes. This imposed severe restrictions on any contemplated programmes of land reform which would benefit the Muslim cultivators at the cost of the landlords, and which normally might be expected to have the support of the urban middle classes.

Moreover, the principal ideological centres of separatism were situated in North India which had a larger concentration of Muslim nobility, and also institutions of Islamic resurgence. With the shift of the capital of British India in 1911 from Calcutta to Delhi, Bengal began to lose its dominant position in Indian public life. This affected the Bengali middle class as a whole, but the Hindus, being better established, were able on the whole to resist the cultural and political pressures from North and West India. The Bengali Muslim middle class was much more vulnerable; its politics and culture came increasingly to be dominated by forces from outside Bengal.

During the twenties and thirties the Bengali Muslim middle class leadership appears to have been caught between two pulls — one drawing them towards collective identity with the rest of the Indian Muslims on the basis of Islam which implied dominance of the Muslim elite from outside Bengal, stress on Urdu as the *lingua franca* of the Indian Muslims, and resistance to religious, social and economic reform; the other inviting them to seek and affirm their identity as Bengalis, to love and cultivate Bengali language and literature, and to press for liberalization of their religion and democratization of their political economy. The Muslim League in Bengal and various organizations and individuals associated with it represented the former. The most outstanding spokesman of the latter was Nazrul Islam who, in his songs and poems, essays and works of fiction, gave powerful expression to a new spirit of radicalism, reminiscent of Michael Madhusudan Datta, who had pioneered the revolution in Bengali poetry in the eighteen sixties. Nazrul attacked with equal passion Hindu taboos and Muslim orthodoxy; he spoke out against every form of oppression, inequality and linguism; he sang in praise of freedom and human dignity. His Bengali prose was

vigorously colloquial and slangy; and his songs and poems cut across the Hindu-Muslim division, drawing images, metaphors, and symbols with equal ease from Hindu mythology and Islamic history, giving them meaning which were modern and personal, yet rooted in Bengali culture and experience.

Although Nazrul was Bengal's most popular composer-poet during the inter-war decades (for a while he was sung and recited more widely than even Tagore) his influence presumably did not prove at that time strong enough to resolve the dilemma of the Bengali Muslim middle class. Most of its members continued to suffer from a sense of divided loyalty. Their fear and mistrust of the Hindus helped to maintain the appeal of Muslim separatism; their need for viable cultural identity and, on the other hand, modernization, continued to pull them towards some kind of a Bengali radical nationalism. In the forties, the spectacular rise of Jinnah to the unquestioned leadership of the separatist Muslims and his success in forcing the Indian National Congress to agree to the partitioning of the subcontinent and to the creation of Pakistan, temporarily immobilized the emerging radical forces and made the majority of the Bengali Muslim middle class fall for his ideas.

But the spell could not and did not last long. After Partition, Hindu dominance rapidly declined in East Bengal; in its place West Pakistani dominance began to threaten the existence of the Bengali Muslim middle class, especially its intelligentsia. The forces of Bengali radical nationalism, kept in check in the earlier decades and eclipsed in the years immediately before Partition, began to reassert themselves. Nazrul Islam was rediscovered, and students of Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong found in his writings the credo they needed. Language became a central issue since it gave collective identity to the Bengali Muslims in contradistinction to their West Pakistani oppressors, unified the Muslim middle class intelligentsia with the Muslim peasants, and provided a common inheritance and medium to the Muslims and other communities. East Pakistani students and teachers fought for the right to read and sing Tagore without restriction or censorship; in him they saw the most fertile expression and embodiment of all that was marvellous in the Bengali heritage.

It is, consequently, not surprising that when East Pakistan finally became Bangladesh, one of the first acts of its popular government was to declare a Tagore song as the national anthem of the new state. However, when one remembers that this song, *Sonar Bangla*, was composed sixty-eight years ago in protest against the first partition of Bengal (1905), one begins to sense the depth of the ideological transformation that has been taking place in the minds of the Muslim intelligentsia of East Bengal since the second partition of 1947.

Now that Bangladesh has been established, what are its prospects? The economic problems are enormous. Millions who escaped and took shelter in India during the final months of West Pakistani terror have gone back; their rehabilitation will be a complex and expensive undertaking. Much that has been damaged or destroyed will have to be repaired, or reconstructed — ports, bridges, roads, factories, hospitals, universities, etc. New industries will have to be built which will require not only capital, equipment and raw material but also training in technical and managerial skills. A planned check on birth rate is urgent; so is modernization of agriculture which remains primitive although the land is exceptionally fertile. Creation of new jobs, especially in rural areas, has to receive top priority to be able to absorb millions of poor peasants and landless agricultural workers who would be made redundant by any significant improvement in farming methods and land redistribution. These and other related problems are going to be very hard to solve, certainly in the short run. Meanwhile, the expectations raised by the establishment of a democratic government are sure to cause tensions and conflicts on a large scale.

In facing these problems Bangladesh's main asset, I reckon, will be its leadership. This factor is crucial as has been amply demonstrated in recent history whenever a colony gained independence. But for the Congress party and Jawaharlal Nehru, the course of development of the Indian Republic, for example, would have been altogether different. The Awami League which led Bangladesh to independence is in many respects similar to the Indian National Congress. In fact, its popular support is greater than the Congress possibly ever enjoyed in India. It is loosely structured, representing a wide variety of ideas and interests, but its dominant leadership is committed to secularism, modernization, and democratic socialism. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman obviously does not possess Nehru's intellectual sophistication or finesse; but his integrity has survived more severe tests; and like Nehru his charisma and passionate commitment to the welfare of the people are chastened from within by moderation and objectivity.

The political leadership of the Awami League is complemented and energized by the cultural leadership of the intelligentsia which played a seminal role in the secularization process. Many of its members were killed by the West Pakistani regime, and their loss would be felt now all the more as the country would desperately need for its tasks of reconstruction men and women possessing ideas, imagination and professional skill. Those who have survived, however, are mostly committed people; and from what personal knowledge I happen to possess, I believe I have good reason to think that their sense of dedication and

responsibility would prove stronger in the present challenging context than the common temptation of intellectuals to spend themselves in ideological controversies and feuds.

Possessing a political-intellectual leadership of this nature, Bangladesh would seem to be on the whole better equipped to deal with its vast and complex problems than many a newly independent state. For economic rehabilitation and development it will, of course, have to rely heavily for quite some time on aid and assistance from outside, but the notion of a "client state" which has been widely canvassed in the West, especially the United States, gives an altogether distorted view of the situation. For obvious reasons the new state's relation with India is, and would remain for some time, particularly close; but it is no less obvious that Bangladesh is not going to allow India to manipulate its Government or policies. A sovereign state which possesses a government that is not only immensely popular but also fully responsible to its people and is run by persons of integrity is most unlikely to become a dependency. However, Bangladesh's independence would be greatly strengthened if other nations and international agencies were to come forward to provide her with assistance without strings attached, instead of leaving the entire, or even the main responsibility to India. There is every indication that Bangladesh will welcome such assistance.

I may close this note with a brief speculation on the role that that language may still play, and the direction it may take in post-independence Bangladesh. Bengali is common to both Bangladesh and West Bengal, and it seems reasonable to expect that the passionate preoccupation with language and literature would bring the intelligentsia of Bangladesh into closer contact with its counterpart in West Bengal. However, the likelihood of a movement gaining momentum to reunite the two states seems altogether remote. Neither of the two alternative ways of achieving such a union has any popular support. West Bengal has many grievances against the Centre, but there are no signs that any responsible group or party in West Bengal wants that State to break away from India and join Bangladesh to constitute an independent "United Bengal". Nor does it seem possible that any suggestion to make Bangladesh part of India would meet with anything but hostility from the people of that newly independent state.

But ideas travel, and since Communist ideology of one complexion or another has been for some time very influential with the intelligentsia of West Bengal, I would anticipate that closer intellectual traffic will tend to spread this influence among the educated of Bangladesh, where currently that influence is not very pronounced. The economic problems, already mentioned, would provide a favourable climate. Does this mean that at some stage the present political leadership with a markedly democratic socialist orientation will be confronted with a strong Communist

challenge? This seems to me not only possible but quite likely. On present indications, however, I think that the democratic socialist leadership has the strength and flexibility to deal with this challenge without resorting to dictatorial measures or pushing the country to civil war.

As to the direction of development of Bengali language and literature, I would hazard a guess. Over a period of time changes would possibly occur comparable to what happened to a certain extent to King's English in the United States of America. The language of literature would come closer to the spoken language of the people, would draw nourishment and power from the various dialects of Bangladesh. It would still be very much Bengali, but it would develop features and acquire vocabulary somewhat different from the standard literary Bengali of West Bengal. Calcutta has dominated and continues to dominate the cultural life of West Bengal; under its overpowering influence modern Bengali language and literature have been almost completely urbanized. In Bangladesh, there already exist, and will most likely develop other vital centres of intellectual and creative activity besides its capital Dacca; moreover, the chances of its rich and variegated rural culture making its own contribution to the language and literature are much brighter. As one who has spent a lifetime using and cultivating Bengali, I look forward to this possible development with excitement and hope.

Secularism and Bangladesh

Kabir Choudhury

Secularism is an essentially modern concept. The word secular may have more than one dimension but the meaning of secularism in the context of a state's policy is quite unambiguous. In Bangladesh the government has declared secularism as one of its four basic state policies, the other three being nationalism, democracy and socialism. There are many other things which are necessary and desirable to have and promote in a modern state, but one cannot articulate them all in a policy declaration. Of necessity one has to choose and select on the basis of importance and priority. Obviously secularism fulfils the required need and hence its inclusion in our formally articulated policy pronouncement.

What is religion?

In the past many bloody battles were fought in this world over religion, especially in the Middle Ages. Unspeakable cruelties and tortures were inflicted in those days in the name of religion. The horrors of the Spanish Inquisition tell only a part of the story. In the modern times, too, apart from senseless killings and other barbarous deeds, religion has been used in many places as a comprehensive tool of exploitation of the poor by the rich and the ruling junta. Should we then consider religion itself as something unholy and undesirable, something to be scrupulously eschewed and ruthlessly banished from the lives of the people? To answer this question adequately one has to embark on a philosophical discussion of what religion really is, but I do not think it is called for in this brief paper. One could mention here only this: Religion and religious practices, its rites, rituals and ceremonies are not one and the same. You could religiously follow all the outward and external rites and practices prescribed by a particular religion and yet continue to be a thoroughly irreligious man and a villain like the smiling Iago; irreligious in the broader sense, in which you most unfeelingly ignored the basic human aspirations and demands.

Whenever there has been any oppression and torture in the name of religion, the power-hungry oppressors and the ruling clique have extravagantly emphasized the importance of the observance of religious rites and practices; they have misled the simple people by motivated interpretations of the dictates of religion; they have blurred their innate good sense and piety and raised in their hearts the monster of religious fanaticism. In fact, once in the grip of religious fanaticism, men can easily degenerate into inhuman beings. They can then commit the most heinous crimes with impunity and still feel that such deeds were only opening up the gates of heaven for them.

The feudal, conservative, backward-looking, colonial rulers could play this game effectively in the medieval age when the distinction between religion (church) and the state was bleary and undemarcated. But when men stepped into the modern age, a significant change took place

in the philosophy of statecraft. Religion and state were no longer considered one and indivisible, and the former became only an element of a citizen's personal and private life, at least theoretically and in principle. This, however, did not mean that the rulers and persons at the helm of a state's affairs gave up using religion as a weapon for realizing their own selfish ends, but now they could do so only indirectly, with cleverness and hypocrisy, from behind a mask, so to say.

Inglorious

But the clever rulers of Pakistan hit upon a new device for using religion as a tool of exploitation in this modern age. In the mid-twentieth century they brazenly associated religion with the philosophy of the state. But in their efforts to mislead the people of the whole world and also of their own country, they said that when they spoke of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, they meant a Republic where equality, fraternity and justice for all would prevail. In other words, Islam meant a progressive, liberal, humanitarian welfare-oriented philosophy of life, and no narrow dogma or conventional religion. This was what they said and preached. We all know what they actually practised.

The history of the last twenty-four years is replete with innumerable examples when the reactionary West Pakistani ruling junta used religion (Islam) as a handy tool for exploiting the poor toiling simple folk of East Bengal (and also the poor toiling masses of West Pakistan); mouthing big words about fairness, justice and liberality of Islam, they often inflamed the hearts of the common men with religious fanaticism, blurred their common sense by religious obscurantism and threw them headlong into fratricidal, internecine quarrels.

The colonial rulers of Pakistan wrecked many a popular mass movement by cleverly injecting this virus of religious fanaticism into the hearts of its people. They tried this trick during the recent liberation war of Bangladesh too, but their efforts met only with partial success. Of course, during all the twenty-four inglorious years of Pakistan's misrule, its corrupt dictators raised the bogey of "Islam in danger" whenever they faced any problem of law and order on any major scale and blamed "Hindu India" for all her ills. Before the Pakistan army's barbarous crack-down on Bangladesh in March 1971, the military junta had systematically brainwashed the members of the armed forces of West Pakistan and created in their hearts an unparalleled feeling of anger, hatred and resentment against the people of Bangladesh, whom they painted as enemies of Islam and as degenerate Hindus who deserved to be mercilessly wiped out, if only to save Pakistan, the citadel of Islam in the whole world today.

The atrocities committed by the Pakistan army on both the Muslims and non-Muslims, on men, women and children alike, on helpless

infants and the old, make the blackest deeds of Hitler's Nazi hordes look pale and insignificant in comparison.

This, however, does not tell the whole story. On the one side, we saw this frenzy worked up mainly through religious fanaticism, on the other side, we saw the heart-warming spectacle of Hindu and Muslim freedom fighters fighting shoulder to shoulder, their unity forged by their devotion to an ideal higher than that of conventional religion. I think this triumph in Bangladesh of an "idea" based on truth, patriotism and nationalism, over the demands of traditional religion is bound to have a far-reaching impact on the whole of Asia and even beyond.

Golden Gate

Today we have firmly declared that secularism is one of our State policies. We have done so because we have seen the horrible outcome of religious fanaticism. At the cost of untold miseries, after wading through streams of blood and tears, we have arrived at this golden gate of secularism. We shall have to keep it as an articulated State policy of ours for some time to come, but once it takes root in the hearts of all our people as an axiomatic and natural law and becomes a matter of spontaneous reaction in our behaviour pattern and an innate philosophy of our life, there will be no need to make any such formal pronouncements. And I am sure that in Bangladesh it will not take very long for secularism to take strong and deep roots; first, because in our villages we do have an age-old tradition of religious catholicity and of communal peace and harmony; our folk songs, folk tales and many of our folk rites and practices show a harmonious mingling based not on narrow religious dogmas but on broad humanistic urges and aspirations; secondly, we have just emerged from the ordeal of fire and seen for ourselves the cruel ravages of religious fanaticism.

One or two examples of the harmonious mingling of the two major communities of Bangladesh as revealed in the sphere of folk-songs and social rites and practices may be given here. For instance, practices like welcoming the bride with paddy-seeds and grass-blades during marriage festivities, providing floral bed to the couple, bringing the bride and the groom together to the home of the bride's father after a few days of their first married life in the bridegroom's house, etc. are common to both Hindus and Muslims. The *bhātiāli* and the *pañch-peereī gān* are the music of the boatmen of Bangladesh irrespective of their being Hindus, Muslims or Christians. In the *Bāul* order of nomadic men there are Hindus and Muslims alike and the entire *Bāul* literature is their common product.

It was during the British colonial regime that our foreign rulers fanned religious (communal) feelings to further their own policy of divide and rule. Later during the Pakistani regime the rulers of West

Pakistan used religion to exploit Bangladesh, not only politically and economically but also culturally; they tried to denigrate Tagore; they launched organized campaigns to reform the Bengali alphabet and the Bengali script; they tried to Islamize the literature of East Bengal. In all these efforts they behaved like true and unabashed colonial masters — and all in the name of religion. They used threats and coercion; they promulgated orders and handed down autocratic decisions; they offered bribes and rewards. They tried their best to destroy the broad, liberal, humanistic tradition of the literature of Bangladesh. But they failed before the glorious stand taken by our wide-awake and emancipated youth, students and writers. The seed of secularism is inherent in the soil of Bangladesh. For a time in the past, at moments of great stress, some of us might have slipped and erred, duped by mischievous propaganda and egged on by false machinations. But in our heart of hearts we are irrevocably committed to secularism.

Religion of Man

To say this is not to suggest that we do not have to take any positive and well-planned steps to make secularism a healthy and ennobling way of life leading to the happiness and prosperity of all our people, irrespective of classes and creeds. For one thing, we must clearly define the meaning and scope of secularism. We must make clear that secularism does not mean the absence or lack of religion. It does not even suggest an attitude of neglect or indifference to religion. It simply means that no individual or institution or community will receive any special privilege from the State because of the simple fact of their belonging to a particular religion. A secular state has no religion of its own. Of course, the citizens will have their own religions and everybody would be completely free to follow his religion in his own way without any interference from the State. But no particular religion would receive any special treatment or preference or protection from the State. In other words, religion would be purely a private matter of the citizen, a matter of his personal conscience and of his equation between himself and his God. And personally I think that to pave the way for an enlightened, progressive, meaningful and ennobling life, today secularism should mean something more. It should mean a rational approach to life and life's problems, freed from the trappings of superstition and all kinds of mumbo-jumbo. It should be a positive force and not confine itself to playing a merely passive and negative role of impartiality and non-interference in matters of religion.

As soon as secularism is accepted as a desirable way of life, a number of other truths stand revealed before us. We realize then that every man can discover for himself the ultimate moral and spiritual truth in his own way by following the dictates of his religion, that it is not

imperative for a person to follow a particular religion in order to find spiritual salvation. We further realize that the heart of religion is not in the religious practices, in the mechanical observance of its external rites and rituals, but in its underlying ideas and thoughts and in its noble ideals of human welfare and happiness. In other words, in the final analysis, there is only one religion, the Religion of Man; the religion of love, of charity, of compassion.

And yet we have seen this true religion trampled upon time and again in the name of conventional religion which emphasizes only its lifeless and dull rituals. Today we have accepted secularism as one of our State policies not as an empty slogan, but as a necessary precondition for the establishment of an exploitation-free, socialist economic order. In this task of turning Bangladesh into a truly socialist state, secularism will play a dynamic role. Among other spheres, it will make its impact best felt on the country's educational and administrative fields. It has been already doing so. I am sure we shall soon feel its impact in a much more effective and positive manner in the social, cultural, economic and political spheres of Bangladesh.

Indira Gandhi

I am loath to end this article without a reference to the glorious role played by India in our freedom struggle under the dynamic leadership of her great Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Her name will go down in history as one of the greatest, most steadfast and fearless defenders of democracy and secularism; the two cherished goals of humanity. During the entire period of our liberation war secular India acted as our true friend, philosopher and guide. I take my hat off especially to the people of the states bordering Bangladesh for their exemplary patience, courage, and generosity, for the way they maintained communal harmony and peace in their territory in the face of tremendous odds, particularly during those difficult months of the influx of an incredibly large number of refugees from Bangladesh into those areas, bearing the scalding marks of brutal torture by the near insane religious fanatics of the Pakistan army.

However, those dark days are now over. Bangladesh is now a free, sovereign and independent state. We have experienced undying glory and priceless freedom. Secular India and secular Bangladesh are now all set to march together on the road of democracy and socialism, determined to ensure in the near future limited prosperity, if you will, for all, rather than abject poverty for many and enviable affluence for a few.

Reflections on February 21, 1952

K. S. Murshid

I

The story of language goes back to myth. It has a power, too, which belongs to the arational order of myth. As language affects man at every level of his being, it is natural for him to make it into a symbol of his total integrity. Some Bengali youths gave their lives in their attempt to preserve this integrity when it was threatened. They left behind a memory which through the years has come to have the organic life and potency of a myth. In the paragraphs that follow I wish to reflect on the historical and psychological setting of their death, its significance, and the nature of the hold it has on our imagination today.

II

The middle class was conscious of not having fought enough, although in the very painful and unsettling process of Partition they had suffered unquestioned "victimage". Titumir's bamboo castle, a symbol of simple minded, ignorant but heroic faith, or the memories of the uprising of 1857 might be invoked, but they hardly lent any glow to the unheroic posture of Muslim politics preceding the departure of the British leaving us "independent".

When Muslims lost their empire to the British, they found themselves, in their hurt pride, in sullen isolation from the suspicious and hostile foreigners, while Hindus co-operated with the new rulers and thrived. Benefits received from the British, which included Europe's notion of democracy, liberalism, and nationalism, inseminated and initiated the movement which became the Indian National Congress. As is well known, it went through the whole gamut from loyal reformist piety to great mass movements like the non-co-operation movement of 1921 and the violent movement of August 1942. When the struggle for freedom intensified, Muslim politics was trapped in the unhappy situation of being more occupied with the fears of a *Hindūrāj* than with the effort to be rid of the British. After the naval mutiny of 1946, the British knew they had to quit India, and the lawyer-politicians of the Muslim League were also quick to see it. Yet the fact remains that when the battle for freedom raged, we seemed to look on. Our peculiar compulsions threw us into a prudential role. We certainly benefited from our prudence, but perhaps it left a void in our self-respect.

History, I am aware, does not compute its gifts in terms of the sacrifices a people makes. Nevertheless, a great sacrifice is a great event in a nation's psyche. It can make a difference to what it feels about itself and its history and can thus condition history. The reckless Irish uprising of Easter 1916, led by a handful of dedicated souls against overwhelming odds, culminated in their death and success. The Irish people, famous for their

hate and torn by many conflicts, were stirred by the disclosure of their rare faith, courage and courtesy, into action which brought Irish freedom significantly nearer. To get something for nothing is neither unwelcome nor useless but to pay a price for what one gets is spiritually nourishing and enriching. We need not put any premium on suffering in itself, nor argue the existence of an active sense of guilt or failure in its default. Yet it is true that the history of a people acquires depth and resonance through suffering nobly chosen.

Coupled with the knowledge of default in the arena, was the general feeling of bleakness in the cultural field—as if to match the negation of our politics of fear. The immediate past was as barren as the actual present, and the glories of other times, fancied or real, gave little comfort. The great Bengali renaissance which began in the nineteenth century largely passed the Muslims by,¹ except for the single phenomenon of Nazrul Islam who might be termed a belated manifestation of it in another milieu. The creative counterpart of the movement for Pakistan did not exist, nor was the morning after a bitter political triumph the moment for the flowering of a “renaissance”. We were not as lucky as Ireland where the renaissance, which had occurred in other European nations earlier, completed itself, as it were, in the twentieth century in the astounding splendour of the works of Yeats, Shaw, Joyce, Synge, Lady Gregory and others at a time when the Irish were engaged in a harsh, pitiless, political struggle. Pakistan was not creatively prepared for. Our roots were dry: they needed rain.

III

The concept of the absolute homogeneity of a hundred million people composed of diverse ethnic, linguistic, and cultural groups, was simple and beautiful as death. But the abstraction, in the course of being lived, proved complex and vital and, following the law of the living, capable of surprise and pain. The founding fathers talked and behaved as if the classes and the regions did not exist, and continued to insist on a degree of unity which was neither possible nor necessary. Inspired originally by a mixture of innocence, idealism and political necessity, this notion of unity contradicted the facts that constituted the life of the new nation.

Pakistan, a novel experiment in nationhood, made up of geographically disparate sections of the population of the subcontinent, inherited a problem of identity from the very day of its emergence as a nation. Those who sought to suppress individuality in the name of religious unity failed to grasp: (a) that a living, growing, changing reality must have precedence over doctrine, (b) that there were other possible ways of achieving unity than that envisaged by the standard formula of religion, and (c) that the concept of Pakistan could be fulfilled only in freedom whose terms were

indispensably economic and cultural.

A remarkable thing that happened in the new country was that Bengalis, that is, Bengali Muslims, had their sense of individuality sharpened. They insisted on being Pakistanis and different from other Pakistani cultural groups, and this was a direct function of their belief that Pakistan meant the freedom to develop and realise their identity. The consolidation of the new state and the removal of the fear of Hindu domination also had a share in this. Bengali Muslims had asserted their individuality against the Hindus, and in Pakistan they were unwilling to lose themselves in the generalized image of the faceless Muslim. They could not afford to have their Bengali personality ignored for they knew no way of being Pakistanis without being Bengalis.

Their language was to them the inalienable means of achieving and expressing their identity as a free people. The exponents of non-geographical nationalism failed to understand this. The concept of homogeneity threatened to become an excuse for a politically and culturally monolithic State. To the people of this region it looked like the replacement of one pattern of cultural domination and political, consequently economic, oppression by another. By disregarding the claims of Bengali to be a national language, the will of the majority, the culture of a proud people, were affronted. Bengalis saw in it an attempt to disenfranchise them and sought to frustrate it with all the resources of their rational and extra-rational being. Thus arose a new secular nationalism, based on language and having the fervour of religion.

IV

As the shots rang on February 21, East Bengal had her first "martyrs" in a purely regional cause. The event proved decisive and rich in symbolic overtones. It was to the Bengalis a crucial experience: through it they discovered the force of their nationalism, the depth of their commitment to their culture and their soil. If historians were to look for a significant watershed in the political and cultural history of this region, they would find it in this event. After this the Bengalis were not the same people: their way of thinking and feeling about themselves and their past and present underwent a profound change.²

And in its symbolic overtone the death of the Bengali young men throws back to one of the great archetypal myths of all mankind. We have it from anthropologists that in a dim past king-priests had to give their blood and sacrifice themselves in order to ensure the fertility of the earth and of man and animal. The existence of these myths testifies to the community's desire for more abundant life through death and for life in perpetual possession of itself.³ To be fecund, to be fruitful, is an impulse in nature as well as in human society: it has had spectacular and fervent

affirmations in pagan, Christian, and Muslim history. The deaths of February 21 re-enacted an archetypal experience manifesting the same impulse and the same meaning.

It has inspired poems and songs some of which will last. It is invoked at moments of crisis when faith and courage are needed and at moments of communal jubilation. It is commemorated every year in public rituals in which vast sections of the population take part. The spot where the young men fell, marked with a plain brick structure, has become an important part of the life of the community. Parents take young children to it and make them salute their memory. Older citizens visit it on solemn and important occasions to renew, as it were, their solidarity with them.

V

A myth of great power and beauty has indeed arisen from the blood that was spilt on that day and, as our desire for freedom deepens and ramifies, it grows in resonance. Our response to it is intuitive and imaginative rather than rational. A myth fashioned from history by imagination requires no reasoned intellectual assent for validity. It derives its validity from the communal psyche and its needs and at times manifests its reality with explosive force in human affairs.⁴ The important function of the mythic image is to mediate between the past and the present and unite mind with mind. "Civilization is hooped together by manifold illusion," says a poet anxious to achieve unity of culture through unity of image. The matron who wanted to believe that the young heroes walked straight into the police guns with spirited steps had more access to essential truth than had the sceptical bureaucrat with his sterile rationalism who saw no meaning in their death other than the end of a few common rioters.

Looking back we know that we needed the creative energy of a sacrificial myth, a renewable pattern of consecrated action arising from our deepest longings. Young sons of Bengal fulfilled this need one afternoon twenty years ago in a way that still lights our affairs, moves our hearts and minds and serves as a model of action. They died in the cause of their language, casting themselves unknowingly into the role of heroes doing, as it were, the bidding of a dark, ethnic, mysterious force.

The obscure young men, transfigured in death, shed their commonness and invested our common clay with dignity. They gave us self-respect on a profound level, gave depth to our history, and a clearer sense of our destiny now fulfilled in our freedom.

¹ The renaissance had the most spectacular expression through Bengali which, ironically, a powerful section of Bengali Muslims did not regard as their own language

- 2 An analogy to this change, in another scale, can be found in the early Christian world : to the early Christians the world before the death of Christ and the world after it were different places.
- 3 The story of the crucifixion of Christ is a variation of the same myth and has the same meaning.
- 4 How keenly we felt the truth of this during the nine months of our liberation struggle in which the Bengali language was a prime motive as well as a means of expressing the complex of mundane and transcendent aspirations which was Bangladesh.

Nazrul Islam and the Liberation Struggle

Abul Fazal

Bengali literature can boast of three immortal poets — Madhusudan, Rabindranath and Nazrul Islam. Not only did each one of them usher in a new era in literature but each was matchless in his particular sphere. They were indeed incomparable in their life, in their outlook and in their literary creations. Who else has lived such a reckless life as Madhusudan? Where else does one come across such a robust physique, broad forehead and manly appearance? There have been many imitations of *Meghnād Badh Kābya*, but that great epic still remains unmatched. Rabindranath was an artist in life such as never before was born in Bengal, and by Bengal I mean the undivided Bengal of those days. It is difficult to come across in history a life like Rabindranath's which combines in itself the boundless majesty of the ocean and the beauty born of quiet tranquillity, a life that is another name for poetry. And as regards his literary creations they are marked at once by incomparable profundity, wonderful range of vision and mellow beauty, as if they are the articulate majesty of a waveless ocean, even as his life was a combination of the grandeur and immensity of the Himalayas and the Atlantic. Who is not attracted by Nazrul's wide eyes, vigorous look and manly beauty? In this respect he invites comparison only with Madhusudan, even as there is considerable similarity in the tone and temper of their poetry. On the one hand stand *Meghnād Badh Kābya* and *Brajāṅgana Kābya* of Madhusudan, on the other we have Nazrul's *Agni Bīna*, *Bīser Banshī*, *Bulbul* and *Chokher Chātak*. In life both were rebels, at once sweet and fearful in their reckless exuberance. Both were doomed to life-long suffering. But surprisingly poverty could leave no mark upon their appearance, heroic in beauty and grandeur.

Looking at these remarkable figures we can realize the tremendous strength and possibility of Bengali poetry. Their writings illustrate the beautiful expressiveness of the Bengali language, its flexibilities for various rhythms and metres, its wealth of vocabulary and its capacity to assimilate words from different languages. Those who wanted to disown these poets have imitated them the most.

The literary endeavours of Madhusudan, Bankim Chandra and Rabindranath removed from the Hindu society the English educated Bengali elite's dislike for the Bengali language. So also Nazrul's literary creation removed similar prejudices from the minds of the English educated Muslims; rather, Nazrul's social influence has been more far-reaching and pervasive. Even uneducated people are charmed by Nazrul's Islamic as well as modern songs. Even the *Mullāhs* and *Maulavis* who were naturally allergic to music are now overwhelmed by Nazrul's poetry and *Ghazal* songs.

Madhusudan, Rabindranath and Nazrul together represent Bengal, the Bengali literature and Bengal's reawakening which is inseparably connected with Bengal's freedom struggle. They are the three vital links

in the chain of Bengal's literary evolution which would have been incomplete even for the absence of any one of them. A brief recital of the literary background may not be irrelevant here.

The advent of the British rule made it possible for us to be acquainted with the English language and literature. It gave us the passport to the world literature which, however, meant for us in those days the literature of Europe. This way we imbibed the spirit of the European literature and culture creating in the educated mind a revolt against ancient traditions and faiths. The English-educated Bengalis were hankering after far bigger and vaster things than their own literature of Sanskrit could provide. A new social consciousness had crystallised, a new ferment was agitating people. Madhusudan was a typical product of that historic unrest.

But social ferment cannot last long. It has to come to an end and then begins life's quest for peace and serenity. The same thing happened to the Hindu society of those days. Since then it has learnt to realise itself, has reached an equilibrium and has been able to assimilate the spirit of foreign culture and civilization. With reawakened rationalism, the Hindu society has learnt what to accept and what to reject in foreign culture. As a result many have set out on a search for the country's treasures in the light borrowed from the West. That was a unique renaissance for the Bengali Hindus, so tranquil and so bright with optimism. The most radiant symbol of that renaissance is Rabindranath. In him have converged the variety and immensity of the European culture and the desire for self-realization inherent in the Hindu spiritual life. With these have got mixed up his universalism and inner quest, all finding an eloquent expression in him.

Then in the second decade of the current century came a great disaster in the shape of the First World War leading to much havoc as also much reconstruction. The war brought in its wake a new wave of humanism. Those groaning under foreign yoke and those poor and downtrodden raised their heads. From the Bosphorus to the Bay of Bengal raged a storm of revolt agitating the hearts of the downtrodden and the depressed in the vast Afro-Asia. The struggle between the exploiters and the exploited began in Russia.

In the long somnolent Muslim countries the struggle for freedom began — a revolt against the existing order of things swept them. Kamal Pasha, Jaghlul Pasha, Reza Shah Pehlavi, King Amanullah, Sardar Abdul Karim — were all soldiers of freedom, rebels against the prevailing conditions. The Indian subcontinent was then in ferment owing to the non-co-operation and *Khilafat* movements. Here also the struggle for independence was at a high pitch. Rabindranath was then above sixty — this was no age for a poet to rise in open revolt. Moreover, his education, temperament and philosophy of life were not such as to make him a rebel or a fighter. Besides, he had no opportunity to align himself

closely with the hopes and aspirations of the Muslim community. The result was that he could not fully become the poetic representative of that age of unrest.

That age was anxiously awaiting its own bard, and that was Nazrul Islam. The spirit of the age immediately became eloquent in his poetry. The country's liberation struggle, the reawakening in the Muslim countries, the march of the downtrodden, the consciousness of new humanism and the struggle for existence — all these trends of the age found in him a powerful expression. Wherever he found wrongs, injustice, tyranny and domination he was quick to deal a blow. He never forgave any reactionary force in any form. Perhaps no other poet of this country has risen so powerfully against foreign domination as he — none also suffered so much. Nobody has preached rebellion on so wide a scale. None else has spoken so forcefully about the new awakening in the Muslim world.

Who else has given an appealing poetic expression to the fundamental tenets of Islam but Nazrul? This has inspired the Bengali Muslims with new hope and aspiration, with a new self-confidence and with freedom's dream. This heroic role of the soldier-poet formed an important chapter of the history of the liberation struggle. Of course, his dream was of freedom undivided and unpartitioned. But what came was a truncated freedom. By that time the dreamer of total Indian freedom had lost capacity to realise the pangs of a partitioned India. He had lost his mental faculty and become dumb and speechless.

But the poet's songs and poetry have never ceased to inspire us throughout the entire period of our struggles for independence. They have cheered us at every step. The powerful appeal of his poetry was once again in evidence during the Bangladesh liberation struggle. Writers and artists deserve all respect, but they also belong to a particular country or state and have a definite role to play during people's struggles and conflicts. Nobody can afford to lapse into escapism these days. Since writers and artists are more conscious of their responsibilities, they have to be the first to respond to the call of struggle when it comes. The responsibility of the intellectual elite is the greatest. That is why they cannot by any means remain indifferent to national crisis. On the measure of their response depends the intensity of the nation's consciousness and their own claim to the people's memory. From this point of view Nazrul's position is unique. Dumb and invalid for over thirty years now, Nazrul continues to have a new birth at every crisis by virtue of the irresistible appeal of his poetry.

During the Sino-Indian conflict, Nazrul's songs and poems provided a good deal of inspiration. Even during the Indo-Pakistan conflict of 1965 his poetry was very much in demand. Strangely enough, both the warring countries used his poetry. The eloquent humanism of his poetry

helps to put down communal confrontations. In the Bangladesh liberation struggle it is his writings which provided the greatest inspiration. I understand that the Pakistan Radio broadcast distorted versions of his writings with a view to countering the Bangladesh liberation struggle. Nazrul's poetry is as unique as he is personally.

The Mukti Fauj waged the war of Bangladesh liberation on the battlefield, but the inspiring agency behind was Nazrul's powerful poetry. Of course, the new generation of poets bearing Nazrul's mantle also contributed no less, but Nazrul's poetic self provided the main emotional impetus. During the period of the struggle it was Nazrul's poetry and music which was broadcast most by the Free Bangladesh Radio. The young heroes of Bangladesh were inspired by his poetry to launch a fierce attack on the Pakistani raiders. That is why his famous song "*Chal, Chal, Chal, Urdhe Gagane Bāje Madal*" (let us march forward; the sound of drum echoes in the sky) has become free Bangladesh's martial song.

It has been said that Nazrul who has written a lot has done so to order. This may not be entirely wrong. But Nazrul has written mostly in response to the demands of the country and the nation. A poet's most intimate connection is with the masses of the people constituting a country or a nation. To deny this or to refuse to respond to its needs and demands is to go back to the art for art's sake doctrine to which Nazrul never wanted to subscribe. Being essentially a poet of the people, he never shut his eyes to human problems. That way perhaps his writings have lost in artistic value but have gained in human value. That is why the lapse of about half a century has not been able to reduce the appeal of many of his songs and poems. Rabindranath has also written poems and songs which may be said to have been done in response to his country or to his age. These may not be very loud in tone. Even then they are continuing to satisfy the needs of the country and the society and will continue to do so for a long time to come.

Literature is primarily concerned with human beings and human life is hardly free from problems. Why should the writings which deal with such problems be without value and significance? On the contrary, literature which inspires man to grapple with the problems of the liberation of a large section of humanity should be considered more valuable.

Rabindranath says, "In the tribute we pay to a poet there is an implicit acknowledgement that the poet is the spokesman of us all." (*Yatri*). Nazrul's poetry and music have become the voice of all of us. That is why their appeal is never exhausted. That is why in every conflict we look forward to them for inspiration. This was demonstrated anew during the Bangladesh liberation struggle

(Translated from original Bengali by S. K. Bose)

Indira Gandhi and Bangladesh

Neelima Ibrahim

Indira Gandhi — these two words signify a meaning that is infinitely more than words can convey. She symbolizes a unique human ideal by virtue of which she has now become an integral part of the subcontinental history. An apostle of peace, she is probably the finest and most human politician of our age.

The great leader of the world's largest democracy has played an invaluable role in the creation of the sovereign state of Bangladesh. The role she played has greatly enhanced the nobility of our struggle for freedom. By her act she has fulfilled the wishes of the great Indian people. Under her leadership India has now won for herself a place of great honour in the community of nations. The blend of extraordinary intellectual grasp, great political wisdom and an unquestionably genuine concern for suffering humanity that was revealed in her during the Bangladesh war of national liberation is indeed rare in human history.

The nightmare of March 25, 1971, is still vivid in our memory. The people were brutally roused from their sleep by tanks, cannon and machine-guns. Whole areas went up in flames with innocent, uncomprehending men, women and children. Human beings, irrespective of sex, age or religion, their dwellings and dormitories, mosques and temples, trees and shrubs — none of these, absolutely nothing, was spared. This inferno delighted Yahya Khan's hordes. Those who survived did so by a combination of luck and accident. In tens of thousands they fled towards villages as soon as the curfew was lifted on the morning of March 27. Frightened throngs of humanity, regardless of their class or social status, ran for their lives. They had hoped that there would be safety away from the city. It was a frantic, feverish exodus. Nobody had the time to look at the burnt or destroyed houses or at the hundreds of corpses lying on the streets or floating in the canals. Little did they know what lay ahead. The Pakistani campaign of genocide was so thorough and so well planned that for the first time in history even villages failed to offer them a sanctuary from death and destruction. Killer jets and helicopters sought them out and showered them with bombs and bullets exterminating thousands. Markets were set on fire. Incendiary bombs destroyed vital food crops. The innocent millions were left with no alternative but to seek sanctuary in neighbouring India.

Despite the enmity that the Pakistani regimes had deliberately created with India since Partition, the refugees knew in their heart of hearts that Indira's India would never refuse them shelter in their hour of need. They did not forget that the Indian people had never resorted to hostilities against the people of East Bengal even at the time of war with Pakistan. They also knew that they shared a common heritage, history and culture. There was, thus, little hesitation in seeking India's help.

The Indian Government, in its turn, responded decisively in favour

of the Bengalee people's struggle for liberation. Meanwhile, over the free Bangladesh Radio, Major Ziaur Rahman of the then East Bengal Regiment had declared independence from Pakistani colonialism, on behalf of the leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The declaration had an electrifying impact on the freedom-hungry people of Bangladesh. Alongside of trails of refugees proceeded bands of young men and women to fight and liberate their motherland.

On May 24, 1971 Indira Gandhi said: "So massive a migration, in so short a time, is unprecedented in recorded history. About three and a half million people have come to India from Bangladesh during the last eight weeks. They belong to many religious persuasions, Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist and Christian. They come from every social class and age group. They are not refugees in the sense we have understood this word since Partition. They are victims of war who have sought refuge from the military terror across our frontier."

Two days later, on May 26, she again said: "We have sought to awaken the conscience of the world through our representatives abroad and through the representatives of foreign governments in India. We have appealed to the United Nations and, at long last, the true dimensions of the problem seem to be making themselves felt in some of the sensitive chancelleries of the world."

During the Second World War we had heard of the virtues of democracy from so many great powers that claimed to practise it. Yet almost all appeared reluctant to accept the democratic verdict of the people of Bangladesh. The British and the American people seemed to respond. Of course, the Soviet Union was the first great power to express shock and disgust at the crimes against humanity being perpetrated in Bangladesh. But the USA, the self-styled bastion of democracy, went on secretly aiding Pakistani genocide. The People's Republic of China, the alleged champion of the world's have-nots, also failed to respond. She lost her vision in a maze of anti-Indian hatred.

Truly speaking, Indira Gandhi found herself alone in that crisis. Almost single-handed she stood like a rock against the malevolent intentions of some of the world's biggest military machines. To stand by the needy is an inseparable part of the Indian tradition. Indira Gandhi appealed to her problem-ridden compatriots. They responded with great magnanimity. Willingly they shared with the refugees whatever little they had to set up a unique example of self-sacrifice and internationalism.

Indira Gandhi herself set out on a tour of the world's important capitals with a view to making them responsive to the plight of the suffering millions of Bangladesh. She succeeded in winning over the peoples but not their governments. Particular apathy came from the direction of the White House. But, living up to the great traditions of

socialism, the Soviet Union and her people extended their unstinted support to her. Meanwhile, the Mukti Bahini had come of age and had developed into a well-coordinated fighting force with Indian assistance. Military help also came from various other sources.

Despite all kinds of aspersions flung at her from various quarters, Indira Gandhi remained as determined as ever to help the Bengalees liberate themselves. She continued to display great restraint. In reply to the demands from within and without for the recognition of the People's Republic of Bangladesh she said:

"Now this Government may have many faults but it does not lack courage, nor is it afraid of taking a risk if it is a necessary risk. As I have said earlier, we are not merely concerned with the legal aspect of this situation, or indeed of any situation. We are concerned with one thing and one alone, our own national interest and security, and naturally that of the heroic people of Bangladesh. That is why it is important to act calmly. The situation is far too grave for anything else."

After recognizing Bangladesh she said:

"We are not waiting to see what other countries will do in the matter. Whatever decision we take on this or other issues is guided by our own independent assessment of the situation and how our interest in the broadest sense is served."

At home, she took personal interest in the condition of the refugees in the numerous refugee camps. Providing food, shelter and essential medicines for nearly ten million refugees posed a stupendous task for a none too affluent country like India. Deaths in the refugee camps, mainly due to malnutrition, grieved her deeply. To make things worse, international aid, despite loud promises, proved far from adequate.

Indira Gandhi had another no less demanding worry. That was about the safety of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. She said:

"We feel great concern for the personal safety and well-being of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. He is a leader of a very high stature and of rare human qualities who commands the affection of the entire people of East Bengal. We hope that the international community will spare no effort to persuade the rulers of Pakistan to release Sheikh Mujib and to join with him in a search for a political solution acceptable to the people of East Bengal. He symbolizes the urges, aspirations and hopes of 75 million people which were expressed as late as December last."

The rest of the story is known to all. Despite intolerable provocations India continued to display supreme tolerance until the very last. It was only when Pakistan bombed Indian territory that Indira Gandhi decided to hit back at an enemy spoiling for war. Like a great statesman Indira Gandhi called upon her people to stand resolutely behind her at that most critical juncture of Indian history. The people responded unanimously.

The joint command of the Indian armed forces and the Mukti Bahini

taught the Pakistani junta an unforgettable lesson in a mere fortnight. Bangladesh became free, sovereign and independent.

Then began the psychological war to free Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Indira Gandhi appealed to the world again and again for his personal safety and eventually succeeded in creating a strong world opinion to which the Pakistanis were forced to submit. The Sheikh was released and returned to his people.

Many people played an important part in liberating Bangladesh. Many countries extended support. But none could surpass the great contribution of Indira Gandhi, her people and her government. Bangladesh will never be able to repay this debt. Not only in liberating the country but also in its vital reconstruction India is playing the leading role. Like a loving mother Indira Gandhi stands behind Bangladesh through thick and thin.

Section IX

Family of Man

Indian Culture and Its External Relations

Jean Filliozat

From its very beginnings, Indian culture sinks deep into prehistory and, ever living, unfolds its evolution throughout history. It has never been either immobile or uniform. It has, all the same, specifications, a unity which is typical, and which encompasses the greatest diversities. These diversities spring first of all from the variety of people gathered within the fold of this vast country. They also spring from the countless contacts that these people have had with outside. Many of these contacts have taken place on the Indian soil itself, because outsiders have never ceased to have commerce with her and have often invaded India, established their kingdoms there and ended up with ruling her in her totality, before she became what she is today: one, independent, sovereign. But numerous other contacts which Indian culture has had with the outside world have come to exist through the peaceful conquests that this culture has accomplished down the entire length of history.

It is these contacts — multiple, repeated and prolonged — that best enhance the extraordinary power of absorption and assimilation of Indian culture, nourished by currents from everywhere, remaining true to itself, just as the ocean remains unchanged in spite of the inrush of all the rivers.

A purely regional culture, belonging to a single people or to a closed ruling class, could not have defied so numerous and persistent contacts with the outside world. It would have lost its distinctiveness and fallen into bits of multiple hybrid cultures.

This has not been the case, and it is precisely one of the specific characters of Indian culture to have — as it has always been pointed out by Jawaharlal Nehru — its own distinct unity in diversity.

This unity is not bound by any religion or any philosophical thought in particular. All varieties of religions and doctrines have met face to face on the soil of India. Abroad, India has spread Buddhism all through central Asia, China, Japan, as well as throughout south-eastern Asia, at the same time also installing the cults of Shiva and Vishnu in south-eastern Asia. The unity of Indian culture has not been a product of a theoretical social organization either, like the *Varnashramadharma*. The ideal of social Dharma has evidently contributed much to it, but Buddhism and the religions of Bhakti have always disputed it. It is rather the sciences and the techniques of India and the Sanskrit language that, common to all the religions and schools of thought, have been the major elements of the cultural unity of India within the country and beyond the mountains and the oceans, confronting foreign cultures.

The rôle of Sanskrit has often been underestimated because, in recent times, this language has been too much associated with the traditional Brahmins. But we should not forget that right from the beginning of our era, when the regional languages of the north started getting more and more diverse and when the languages in the south, still living and

powerful, were unfortunately not understood in the north, Sanskrit came to gain currency everywhere as the official language of the inscriptions. Truly speaking, there was no other language which draws from all sides such an even attention in its teaching and which can be used as a general link language. Sanskrit has certainly not been the language of the masses at any time but, just like English today, it was the only language which could be utilized in all the regions. That is why, not only most of the ancient inscriptions of Indonesia and of the Indo-Chinese peninsula are in Sanskrit, but also the Buddhist texts are in Sanskrit, hybrid first, and then classical. That is especially why all the languages in India, including the Dravidian ones, as well as the vocabulary in Thai, Cambodian, Javanese, etc., right up to Malayan and modern Indonesian, are replete with a host of Sanskrit words.

Sanskrit was the vehicle not merely of sacred writings, tales, legends and epic poetry, but of all the knowledge that ancient India offered: astronomy, astrology, Ayurvedic medicine, and technical instructions for irrigation as much as for the construction of temples and monuments. All these teachings have existed down the centuries only in Sanskrit or in Tamil or, partly in Pali, but Sanskrit alone was everywhere known to the educated persons and in vogue among the Tamil-speaking people themselves in their external dealings both within and outside India. There was no other link language. At a later date (but before the advent of English) only Persian and Urdu have played a comparable rôle as languages for the purpose of exchanges and administration.

Abroad, Sanskrit culture has certainly not always been directly spread. It has been translated or expressed in local languages. All the same, whenever the Sanskrit texts were studied in the original, they were transliterated into the local scripts, which were very often formed in imitation of the Indian scripts.

The first exchanges that we know of with Western Asia and even Europe dealt primarily with scientific or commercial matters. During the reign of the Achaemenide Persians and in the Hippocratic collection we find explicit mentions of Indian remedies, and in Plato we find an echo of the classical Ayurvedic theory of the three *doshas*. Reciprocally, we find in Ayurveda possible borrowings from the medical divinations of Babylonian origin, known all through the Persian Empire. The theory of the *yugas* has a Greek parallel in that of the Great Year, at least in Heraclitus. Later, during the Greek occupation in north-western India, Indian astronomy enriched itself considerably by borrowing from the Greek astronomy and adopted from the Hellenic world astrological forecasts bearing echoes from Babylonian doctrines. By the time of Alexander's expedition, the existence of Indian philosophical doctrines had duly been acknowledged by the Greeks and a few of their echoes can be detected in the Greek writings since before the said period. But the details

of it have not been explored. Asoka's preachings have left little direct trace among the Greeks. We may notice, however, towards 230 A.D. a brief yet excellent Greek summary of the doctrine of the Upanishads, written in Rome, in the *Elenchos* attributed to Saint Hippolytus.

India has further received obvious artistic influences from the Iranian and the Mediterranean worlds, also deep-rooted influences that gave rise to the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara in the north-west. But this art has served to depict Buddhist legends and symbols and has left intact the originality of the strictly Indian art. The Indo-Greek coins did at times follow the Indian patterns. The earliest figurations of Samkarshana and Vasudeva we know of is found on a coin belonging to the India type of Agathokles belonging to c. 170 B.C., and, towards 100 B.C., a Greek Ambassador converted to the religion of the Bhagavata has left in central India an inscription celebrating the construction of a pillar with the emblem of Garuda. In the first few centuries of our era, the Indo-Scythian rulers of north-western India minted coins with Indian figures pertaining to the cults of Buddha, Shiva, Vishnu; one of these rulers has called himself Vasudeva. These Indo-Scythians, beginning with the famous Kanishka, played a great rôle in the spreading of Buddhism in central Asia, from where it went up to China. In central Asia, Buddhist art underwent profound influences — Iranian, Chinese and local — but always had genuine Buddhist themes and, down the centuries, the major part of Buddhist literature was translated into languages of central Asia, especially into Chinese and Tibetan, and later into Mongolian and Japanese. Exchanges on the practice of Yoga and of alchemy have been considerable between India and Chinese Taoism.

On the other hand, commercial relationships with the Far East, continually active both on land and sea, have at times established veritable colonies of Indian merchants bringing their burden of culture right up to China. Marco Polo in the thirteenth century has mentioned one such colony at Zayton, in the region of Canton. Archaeological findings there have unearthed important vestiges of Hindu temples and inscriptions in Tamil.

It is in south-eastern Asia that Indian culture flourished in all its fullness. The kingdoms of Cham and Khmer in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and the Sumatran and Javanese in Indonesia since the first centuries of our era up to the fourteenth and even later, knew Indian culture in its totality. The inscriptions in Sanskrit and the prodigious monuments prove this, and attest the influence of Sanskrit literature on the literature of these countries, before Theravada Buddhism and its literature in Pali could settle in the Indo-Chinese peninsula and Islam in Malaysia and Indonesia.

India's knowledge and techniques were never thrust upon these lands by military and colonial domination. Only once an important Chola expedition disturbed for a time the continuity of peaceful relations. But it would be wrong to believe, as it has so often been done, that all culture in these countries was derived from India. The Cham, Khmer

and Javanese arts, while expressing themes of Indian origin, by no means copy Indian models. All of them have, even in their techniques, an originality which manifests the particular genius of each people. There too, there is a unity of inspiration, though in a diversity of expression that produced marvellous and gigantic masterpieces through a harmonious synthesis between the inherent virtues of India and these great peoples of south-eastern Asia. The life of these peoples has not, moreover, been an adaptation of that in India. They have availed themselves of the art and culture and have enriched them without having forsaken their own habits. It is enough to remember that they consume no milk at all.

As for India herself, in spite of successive implantations of Persians, Greeks, Scythians, Huns, Islamic peoples and Europeans within her frontiers, she has at all times remained India. On some occasions she has even seduced and absorbed her conquerors. The latter, confronted with her mass, have often made concessions to the laws they had wanted to impose on her. But, in so doing, they believed that her culture was much too self-centred and took her resistance or her reserve to be lethargy or xenophobia. On the contrary, it is really speaking a culture wide open, ready to tolerate all foreign ideals, to the point of making them her own by incorporating them, without, however, letting herself be transformed by them. At the same time, as history shows it through her immense expansion, it is a communicative culture as well. But in the circumstances in which there had been attempts to impose upon it foreign ideas from outside, it did decline to make acquaintance with them in order not to accept them. That is what has happened each time when, plainly and simply, Islam wanted to substitute itself into her. Nevertheless, in the eleventh century a savant like Al Beruni, on becoming sincerely attracted by Indian science and on learning Sanskrit, did not come across any difficulty in working with Indian savants. The devotional poets of India, the Bhaktas, with their tradition already hoary before coming into contact with Islam, did exchange messages at length with the saints of Islam. It was no fault of the Indian side but that of Aurangzeb that disrupted the movement which, with Dara Shikoh, had sought to unite the 'two oceans' of Sufism and Vedanta.

India today, in her decision to move forward with the rest of the world, is not breaking away from a millenary isolation; it never existed, in fact. She is resuming the external contacts which she had lost along with her liberty. It is her tradition of knowledge and quest that pushes her on. The diversity of her internal structure is such that always one of her various tendencies finds itself in tune with some other from abroad and, if she adopts fresh ideas or attitudes, these get merged into the already extreme diversity that, far from severing its all-embracing unity, becomes one of its very specific characteristics.

Indian Influence on China through Buddhism

Tan Yun-Shan

The Essence of Buddhism: Prior to dealing with Indian influence on Chinese culture, religion, and philosophy through Buddhism, it is naturally necessary first to have a general understanding or knowledge of Buddhism. Again, prior to comprehending Buddhism properly and clearly, it is necessary first to understand the real meaning of "Buddha." The word is an appellative, not a proper name. But in common usage and practice it has become the proper name of the founder of Buddhism, Sakyamuni Gautama Buddha. Literally, it means a wise and learned man, or an awakened and enlightened soul. However, to the Buddhists, it conveys much more.

The Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary* edited by T.W. Rhys Davis defines "Buddha" as: "One who has attained enlightenment; a man superior to all other beings, human and divine, by his knowledge of the truth, a Buddha."

Sir Monier Monier-Williams described Buddha in his *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* thus: "A fully enlightened man who has achieved perfect knowledge of the truth and thereby is liberated from all existence, and before his own attainment of Nirvana reveals the method of obtaining it."

These, however, still do not convey accurately and adequately the real or complete meaning of Buddha. According to the Mahayana Buddhist, the Buddha is not only the most virtuous, perfect, respected, honourable and divine personality; he is also the symbol and embodiment of the highest, the most comprehensive and universal wisdom, in Sanskrit called Anuttara-Samyak-Sambodhi. The Chinese version of this term is Wu-Shang-Chen-Pien-Chih or Wu-Shang-Chen-Teng-Cheng-Chio. Wu-Shang means unsurpassed, unexcelled, supreme; Cheng-Pien or Chen-Teng-Cheng both mean right, correct, complete, universal; Chih means wisdom, and Chio means awakening and enlightenment.

This has been expounded in a good number of Chinese Buddhist texts, such as *Ta-Chih-Tu-Lun* or *Mahaprajna-Pāramitā-Sūtra-Sāstra*; *Fu-Ti-Ching-Lun* or *Buddhabhūmi-Sūtra-Sāstra*; *Ta-Jih-Chung-Hsu* or *Commentary on the Mahavairocana-Sutra*; *Ta-Cheng-Yi-Chang* or *Glossary to Mahayana Buddhist Terminology*, etc. The last of these texts says:

"He who, having been able to enlighten Himself, would also enlighten others; and His enlightenment and the enlightenment of others are both complete and perfect, is called a Buddha. For having enlightened Himself, that distinguished Him from the ordinary ignorant people. For having also enlightened others, that distinguished Him from Hinayana saints, the Sravaka and Pratyeka. For His own enlightenment and enlightenment of others, both complete and perfect, that distinguished Him from the Mahayana Bodhisattavas."

This connotes the meaning of the three aspects of Buddhahood. First, the Buddha Himself must have realized the ultimate truth of all details and particulars of all beings, such as their existence, suffering or happiness, in

this world as well as in other worlds. Secondly, with such a realization or awakening or enlightenment or wisdom for His own emancipation, He would emancipate all the peoples and living beings by helping and enabling them to achieve the same realization or awakening or enlightenment or wisdom. Thirdly, the work of emancipation for both Himself and others must have been done wholly and perfectly.

This Buddhahood was further developed into the Trikāya, in Chinese called San-Shen, meaning three bodies or threefold body, or three attributes of the Personality of Buddha. They are:

- (1) Fa-Shen or Dharmakāya.
- (2) Pao-Chen or Sambhogakāya.
- (3) Yin-Shen or Nirmānakāya.

This is the Mahāyāna idealization of the Buddha. It is not only the sacred Trinity of the Buddhahood but also the wonderful and marvellous manifestation of "One in All," "All in One" and "All in All" of the Divine Universe.

From the foregoing description of the real meaning of Buddha, we can easily infer that it also indicates the special feature and significance of Buddhism. For Buddhism means the tenet, principle, creed, and doctrine of Buddha or Buddha-teaching. The right and exact term or name for all this is Buddha-Dharma.

Is this Buddha-Dharma a religion? Or philosophy? Or culture? Or something else?

This question had been raised by many Buddhist devotees and scholars. For example, a great modern Chinese Buddhist scholar, the late Upasaka Ou-Yang Ching-Wu, founder of the famous China Buddhist Institute at Nanking, said: "Buddha-Dharma is Buddha-Dharma. It is neither religion nor philosophy." A Belgian scholar, L de Vallee Poussin, regarded Buddhism as "discipline of salvation" (vide *The Way to Nirvana*, Cambridge University, 1917). The great modern Buddhist leader of China, His Holiness the most Venerable Tai-Hsu, answered the query thus: "Buddha-Dharma is religion as well as philosophy."

In my own humble opinion, Buddha-Dharma or Buddhism is not merely a great ancient religion but also a profound and abstruse philosophy and culture. It may be also called a universal science in its broad sense. For the scholars and philosophers and even for the modern scientists, it provides one of the greatest and most interesting subjects to study and examine, to investigate and expound. It is truly a vast and fertile field for us all to cultivate, an extensive and inexhaustible mine to dig, as well as a very rich and rare treasury to open up.

What then is the essence of Buddha-Dharma?

After having attained His enlightenment of Buddhahood, Sakyamuni preached His gospel to the world for forty-five years. During this long period, nobody can say how many words He spoke. He spoke of everything

in the universe, talked on every topic of world affairs, discussed in detail every aspect of human life, livelihood, and activity. The words recorded in the *Tripitaka* alone would amount to millions. Moreover, all that Sakyamuni said was later thoroughly studied, investigated and expounded by the Buddhist devotees and scholars of different countries and in different times, especially by the Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhists. It is, therefore, almost impossible to give any reasonable gist of the essence of Buddha-Dharma or Buddhism in general and of Chinese Buddhism in particular. Nevertheless, I should like to summarize it here very briefly under three headings, namely: (i) Fa-Lun or Dharma-Chakra;

(ii) Fa-Yin or Dharma-Mudra; and (iii) Fa-Chiai or Dharma-Dhatu.

(i) **Fa-Lun or Dharma-Chakra:** The Fa-Lun or Dharma-Chakra is a symbolic term in the Buddhist context. It symbolizes the twofold significance of Buddha's teaching: (a) it would, like the Chakra-Varti's wheel, roll everywhere over the world without hindrance; and (b) it would overcome all evils in the world without any handicap. All the preachings of the Buddha are called turns of the Dharma-Chakra, the Wheel or Law. The Mahāyāna Buddhist divided Buddha's preachings into three groups, called the three Dharma-Chakras, namely: (a) Ken-Pan-Fa-Lun, the radical or fundamental wheel as found in the *Avatamsaka-Sūtra*; (b) Chin-Mo-Fa-Lun, the branch and twig wheel, i.e., all other subsidiary preachings; and (c) She-Pen-Kuei-Mo-Fa-Lun, the united branch with root wheel as found in the *Lotus-Sūtra*. The Theravāda Buddhists usually do not accept this idealization of the Mahāyāna Buddhists. They only regard the first preaching of Buddha in the Deer Park (Modern Sarnath) as the real and true Dharma-Chakra.

Then, what are the contents of all these Dharma-Chakras or doctrines of Buddha?

When Buddha preached the first sermon in the Deer Park, He simply preached the outline of "Four Noble Truths", namely: (1) Ku-Ti or Suffering, (2) Chi-Ti or Cause of Suffering, (3) Mich-Ti or Annihilation of Suffering, (4) Tao-Ti or Ways to the Annihilation of Suffering.

This was later supplemented by a long series of items generally called the "Thirty-Seven Bodhipaksika Dharma" in seven groups leading to Bodhi or Buddhahood. They are:

(1) Su-Nien-Chu or the four subjects of reflection: (a) the body as impurity, (b) sensation as suffering, (c) the mind as impermanence, (d) things as being dependent and without a nature of their own.

(2) Su-Sheng-Ch'in or the four right efforts: (a) to put an end to existing evil, (b) to prevent evil from arising, (c) to bring good into existence, (d) to develop the existing good.

(3) Su-Shen-Tsu or the four steps or supernatural powers making the body independent of natural law: (a) intensive longing, (b) intensive efforts, (c) intensive mindfulness and (d) intensive meditation.

(4) Wu-Keng or the five spiritual faculties: (a) faith, (b) zeal, (c) memory, (d) concentration of mind and (e) wisdom.

(5) Wu-Li or the five powers of the above five spiritual faculties to destroy the "Wu-Chang" or five obstacles: (a) the power of faith, destroying doubt, (b) the power of zeal, destroying remissness, (c) the power of memory, destroying falsity, (d) the power of concentration of mind, destroying wandering thoughts, (e) the power of wisdom, destroying all illusions and delusions.

(6) Ch'i-Chio-Chih or the seven bifurcations of Bodhi: (a) discrimination of the true and the false, (b) undeflected progress, (c) joy and delight, (d) lightness and ease, (e) remembrance, (f) samadhi, (g) indifference or tranquillity regarding all disturbances.

(7) Pa-Cheng-Tao or the Eight Right Ways: (a) right view, (b) right thought, (c) right speech, (d) right conduct, (e) right livelihood, (f) right effort, (g) right remembrance, (h) right meditation.

These are the totality of the Theravadic Dharma-Chakra shared also by the Mahāyāna Buddhists.

But the Mahāyāna Buddhists were not content with these. They further developed, formulated and added several even larger series of creeds as ways and means for realizing the absolute truth. There are the "Wu-Shih-Er-Wei" or "Fifty-two Stages" in the progress of becoming a Buddha. They are: (1) Shih-Hsin or the Ten Faiths, (2) Shih-Chu or the Ten Dwellings, (3) Shih-Hsing or the Ten Deeds, (4) Shih-Hui-Shiang or the Ten Turning of Merits towards others, (5) Shih-Ti or the Ten Grounds, (6) Teng-Chio or the Absolute Universal Enlightenment, (7) Miao-Chio or the Absolute Wonderful Buddhahood.

Besides these, there are still a good number of other categories of Dharma-Chakras, but here it is not possible to deal with all of them. Nevertheless, the following important ones cannot be omitted:

(1) San-Hsueh or the Three Studies: (a) the study of discipline, being in reference to the Vinaya, (b) the study of meditation, being in reference to the Sūtras, (c) the study of wisdom, being in reference to the Sāstras.

(2) Liu-Tu or the Six Pāramitās: (a) Dāna or charity, (b) Śīla or precepts or prohibitions, (c) Kṣanti or patience, (d) Vīrya or zeal and progress, (e) Dhyāna or contemplation, (f) Prajñā or wisdom.

(3) Zsu-She or the Four All-embracing Virtues: (a) giving what others like in order to lead them to receive the truth, (b) loving speech for the same purpose, (c) conduct profitable to others with the same goal, (d) co-operation with, and adaptation of oneself to others with the same aim.

(4) Szu-Wu-Liang-Hsin or the Four Infinite Buddha-States of Mind: (a) Maitri or boundless kindness, (b) Karuna or boundless pity, (c) Mudita or boundless joy, (d) Upeksha or limitless indifference.

(5) Szu-Hung-Shih-Yuan or the Four Great Universal Vows:

(a) to save all beings without limit, (b) to put an end to passions and delusions, however numerous, (c) to study and learn all Buddha's methods and ways without end, (d) to become perfect in the supreme in the Buddha-Law.

All these are nowadays respected and observed by almost all Buddhists in the world including the Mahāsthaviras, Mahāsaṅghikās, Thēravādas, Mahāyānist, Bhikshus, Bhikshunīs, Upāsakas, Upāsikās, etc.

(ii) **Fa-Yin or Dharma-Mudrā:** As public officials put their office stamps on all documents to prove that such documents are authentic and immutable, the Buddhists use Dharma-Mudrā to verify the universality and authentic transmission of the Buddha-Dharma from one Buddha or Patriarch to another. There are two categories of Dharma-Mudrā, one belonging to the Hīnayāna Buddhists and the other to the Mahāyāna Buddhists.

The Thēravāda Buddhists have three Dharma-Mudrās, namely: (1) non-permanence, (2) non-individuality and (3) nirvāṇa. The first signifies that all beings in the world are transitory. There is nothing permanent or immortal. There are only transformations and transmigrations, birth and death, rebirth and redeath. This is Samsara. The second implies that all things in the world are egoless, dependent, and accessory. All of them are produced by the law of causation and have no reality. The third, Nirvāṇa, means salvation, emancipation and liberation, where there is no suffering, no birth and death, but eternal peace and happiness. *The Nirvāṇa-Sūtra* described four virtues or attributes of Nirvāṇa, i.e., permanence, bliss, personality, and purity in the transcendental realm. According to the Thēravāda Buddhists, there are two kinds of Nirvāṇa: (1) Nirvāṇa with remains, i.e., the cause but not all the effects of reincarnation destroyed and (2) Nirvāṇa without remains, i.e., both cause and effects extinguished.

Sharing with Thēravāda Buddhists the above fundamental principles, the Mahāyāna Buddhists do not stop there. They advocate another transcendental Dharma-Mudrā called Yi-Shih-Hsiang-Yin or "The One Reality Seal". It is the seal of the absolute truth. It implies the immateriality and unity of all things. The Mahāyāna Buddhists also advocate two other kinds of Nirvāṇa besides the two of the Thēravāda Buddhists, making altogether four kinds of Nirvāṇa. They are:

(1) Pen-Lai-Tsu-Hsin-Ch'ing-Ching-Nieh-Pan or "Originally the nature of all beings itself is pure and calm Nirvāṇa"; (2) and (3) are already described above; and (4) Wu-Chu-Nieh-Pan "Non-abiding Nirvāṇa", meaning that all the Mahāyāna Bodhisattvas who attained Nirvāṇa themselves would not stop there but would return to this world again and again in order to save and bring all others to Nirvāṇa too.

(iii) **Fa-Chiai or Dharma-Dhātu:** The doctrine of "Fa-Chiai" or Dharma-Dhātu is the highest development of Buddhist philosophy by the

Chinese Mahayana Buddhists, especially by the Hua-Yen school.

Fa-Chiai in full should be Yi-Chen-Fa-Chiai or "The Dharma-Dhātu of the One Reality". It is the "Real Absolute", the "Ultimate Truth", the "Totality of the Universe", the "Undifferentiated Whole of all Things and Beings of the World" including the world itself. As such, it transcends all names, words, thoughts, and imaginations. Therefore, it is only for the sake of convenience and enlightenment that we refer to it as "such and such" or "thus and thus". For example: In the Fa-Hua-Ching or *Saddharma-Pundarīka-Sūtra* or *Lotus-Sūtra*, we find the "Tenfold Suchness" or "Tenfold Thusness" namely: (1) "such-form", (2) "such-nature", (3) "such-embodiment", (4) "such-powers", (5) "such-function", (6) "such-primary-cause", (7) "such-environmental-cause", (8) "such-effect", (9) "such-reward", and (10) "such-inseparability-inevitability-of-them-all".

According to the Hua-Yen or Avatamsaka school, the Dharma-Dhātu has two aspects: (1) "Fa-Hsin", signifying the Dharmatā or Dharma-Nature, the nature underlying all things or beings. There are various other names in Chinese, such as: Fa-Hsin or Buddhata; Ju-Lai-Tsang, *Tathāgata-garbha*; Ping-Teng-Hsin or "universal nature", Pu-Hsu-Wang-Hsin or "nature of no illusion"; Pu-Pien-Yi-Hsin or "immutable nature"; Pu-Szu-Yi-Hsin or "realm beyond thoughts", etc. It is similar to the Brahma or Brahman and Purusha in Indian philosophy, the Tao and Li in Chinese thought, the noumenon in Western terminology. (2) "Fa-Hsiang", or Dharma-Lakṣaṇa, the manifestation of the Dharma-Dhātu, the external appearance, the appearance of all beings and things of the world.

The Fa-Hsin or Dharmata is like the seed, the Fa-Hsing or "Dharma-Laksana" the tree. When the tree grows up the seed disappears. Then people usually see only the tree. When the tree blossoms into flowers, flowers produce fruits, and fruits again beget trees, and people do not know where the origination is.

The Fa-Hsin is one, the Fa-Hsiang numberless. The Buddhist scriptures usually speak in general terms of Wan-Fa literally meaning "ten thousand Dharmas" but actually implying all phenomena. Even dealing with only the discipline of the Buddhist Sangha, the *Sutra-Pitaka* and the *Vinaya-Pitaka* mention of "3,000 manners of demeanours and 80,000 minute actions or activities" besides the 250 specific rules for Bhikshus and "80,000 manners or demeanours and 120,000 minute actions or activities" as well as 348 specific rules for Bhikshunis. However, philosophically and scientifically the Buddhist scholars and sages sum up all Fa-Hsiang into several categories as modern scientists classify all things in the phenomenal world into various classes. There are categories of 660 Dharmas in the *Yogācāryabhūmi-Sāstra*; of 84 Dharma in the *Satyasiddhi-Sāstra*; of 75 Dharma in the *Abhidharma-Kosa-Sāstra*; and 100

Dharmas in the *Vijnaptimatrasiddhi-Sūtra*. All Dharmas under these categories are Fa-Hsiang and are manifestations of Fa-Hsin. This is termed by the Hua-Yen School as Fa-Chiai-Yuan-Chi, "the Universal causation of Dharma-Dhātu," or the "Universal Law of Causation."

Based upon this universal principle, the Hua-Yen school established the theory of the Fourfold Fa-Chiai or the "Four Dharma-realms": (1) Shih-Fa-Chiai or the phenomenal realm; (2) Li-Fa-Chiai, or the noumenal realm; (3) Li-Shih-Wu-Ai-Fa-Chiai, or the phenomenal and noumenal realm; interdependent and without hindrance realm; (4) Shih-Shih-Wu-Ai-Fa-Chiai or the phenomenal and phenomenal inter-dependent and coexistence without obstruction realm. These together make the one real world harmonious and melodious like music with no conflict or collision

To demonstrate the reasons for all these, the Hua-Yen school advanced two more subsidiary theories: (1) The Shih-Hsuan-Men or the "Ten Mysterious Ways," and (2) The Liu-Hsiang-Yuan-Yung or the "Six all-round characteristics": both in all and every thing within the Dharma-Dhātu to further illustrate the universal harmony of all existences. But here it is not possible to go into any detail.

I hope the foregoing descriptions have given an idea of Buddhism as religion, philosophy, and culture. Now let me come to the next item: Chinese culture, religion and philosophy.

The Chinese Tradition: As in ancient India, so also in China there were galaxies of *rishis*, *maharshis*, *mahaviras*, *mahatmas*, *jinas*, *buddhas*, *avatars*, and others who appeared from time to time to protect, guide, and enlighten the people in order to lead them to eternal peace and harmony or Nirvāṇa, or moksa.

Of these, three are well known to the world. They are:

- (1) Lee-Er, or Lao-Tzu, or Master Lao, whose time is still uncertain.
- (2) K'ung-Ch'iu, or Confucius, or Master K'ung who lived from 551-479 B.C.
- (3) Mo-Ti, or Mo-Tzu, or Master Mo, who lived from 468-376 B.C.

The thought and teachings of these three great Masters are usually known as Taoism, Confucianism and Mohism respectively.

Are Taoism, Confucianism, and Mohism forms of religion? Or should they be deemed systems of philosophy or matters of culture? The same questions raised about Buddhism have been applied to these three by scholars, foreign as well as Chinese. Most prominent of them is the great scholar-statesman, the late Professor Liang Ch'i-Ch'ao, who welcomed Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore when he led the first cultural mission of modern India to modern China in 1924. My own view is that, like Buddhism, so also Taoism, Confucianism and Mohism are religion, philosophy, as well as culture.

Both Chinese and Indian traditions regard religion and philosophy

as going together. It is like the two sides of a coin. Religion without philosophy will have no reality, no spirit, and no soul. It will become but blind and superstitious worship or ceremony. Philosophy without the spiritual essence of religious gospel will be of no utility and no benefit to human life. And religion and philosophy together would make culture complete.

Let us deal with Taoism, Confucianism and Mohism as religion, philosophy as well as culture, and trace their development very briefly.

Lao-Tzu and Taoism: Taoism is in many ways similar to the ancient Indian Brahmanism. As Brahmanism is named after the supreme Sanskrit concept of Brahma or Brahman, Taoism is named after the most significant, comprehensive and mysterious Chinese word Tao. It means the Absolute Reality or the eternal truth; it also stands for the manifestation or the process or the way of the evolution of the Universe; it further connotes the virtue or morality of human life and culture. It is equivalent to three Sanskrit words, Brahma, Dharma and Marga. It has repeatedly appeared in all the Chinese philosophical works and has been dealt with or applied by almost all great masters of Chinese thought and learning to different things and in different ways. But the teachings and doctrines of Lao-Tzu were specially entitled to be called Tao, because he expounded the Tao more fully and profoundly than any other Master.

Lao-Tzu regards Tao as the supreme soul of the universe, self-existent, absolute, and eternal, from which all things emanate and to which all return. In the book of Lao-Tzu, named after him, or Tao-Te-Ching the "Canon of Tao and Te," he said: "Tao begets One, One begets Two, Two begets Three, Three begets all things" (Chapter 42).

In another passage of the same book, Lao-Tzu said: All things in the world came into being from Yu or "Having," and Yu or "Having" comes into being from Wu or "Non-Having" (Chapter 40).

Here Yu means the "One," and Wu means Tao. Then, why is Tao called Wu or "Non-Having?" Because Tao is something that is really ineffable, inexpressible by name or word. Therefore, Lao-Tzu says at the very beginning of the book:

"The Tao that can be expressed by words is not the eternal Tao; the name that can be named is not the eternal name. The Unnamable is the beginning of Heaven and Earth; the Namable is the Mother of all things" (Chapter I).

Again:

"There is something formlessly fashioned that existed before Heaven and Earth; without sound, without substance, dependent on nothing, unchanging, all-pervading, and unfailing. One may think of it as the Mother of all things in the world. I do not know what is its true name, but call it Tao and forcibly name it Ta or the 'Great'. And Ta means passing on; passing on means going far away; far away means

returning” (Chapter 25).

This agrees not only with the Hindu conception of Brahman but also with the Mahāyāna Buddhist theory of Yi-Chen-Fa-Chiai or “The Dharma-Dhātu of the one Reality” and Chen-Ju or Bhutatathata.

According to Lao-Tzu, Tao is also “the maker of everything for everything, yet as if it makes nothing; the doer of everything for everything, yet as if it does nothing.” In the same book, he says: “Tao never does anything, yet through it all things are done” (Chapter 37). Again:

“The great Tao drifts about. It may go this way or that. All things owe their existence to it, and it does not disown them. Its achievements are completed while it is nameless. Like a garment it covers all things and brings them up but makes no claim to be the master over them” (Chapter 34).

Again:

“Tao gave them birth; the Te or ‘virtue’ reared them, made them grow, fostered them, harboured them, brewed for them, made them grow, but did not lay claim to them; brewed for them, but never leaned upon them; was chief among them, but did not manage them. This is called the Prime Virtue” (Chapter 51).

Therefore, we should only follow the way of Tao, and not do things in any way against it. As Lao-Tzu says: “Men should exemplify the way of the Earth, the Earth, the Heaven, the Heaven, the Tao, the Tao; Nature” (Chapter 25).

However, the word “Nature” here is not something above Tao, but the divine self of Tao. Yet in another passage, Lao-Tzu says: “He who pursues learning will increase every day. He who pursues Tao will decrease every day. He will decrease and continue to decrease, till he comes to doing nothing, and by doing nothing, everything will be done” (Chapter 48).

And “Therefore the Sage relies on actionless activity; and He carries wordless teaching” (Chapter 2).

All these agree to a certain extent with the Buddhist concept of the Wu-Wei-Fa, in Sanskrit called Asamskrta-Dharma or the “non-doing-Dharma” of the Abhidharma School of Chinese Buddhism, as well as with the essential teachings of the Dhyana-Samadhi School of Chinese Buddhism.

Confucius and Confucianism: Confucianism and Buddhism are very similar to each other. This is specially true of the original Buddhism and the original Confucianism. The primary aim and object of Buddhism is “to enlighten oneself and enlighten others; and to benefit oneself and benefit others.” And that of Confucianism is to establish oneself and establish others; and to aggrandize oneself and aggrandize others.” As a religion, Buddhism has the most numerous rules or precepts of

prohibition; of these, the basic rules are the Five and Ten interdicts. The Five are for all Buddhists, including the ordained monks and nuns, and the lay Buddhist disciples. They are:

- (1) Non-killing, (2) Non-stealing, (3) Non-adultery, (4) Non-lying and (5) Non-drinking.

The Ten are the above mentioned five with the following added:

- (6) Not to use adornments of flowers, nor perfumes. (7) Not to perform as an actor, juggler, acrobat, or go to watch and hear them. (8) Not to sit on elevated, broad, and large beds. (9) Not to eat except at regulated hours. (10) Not to possess money, gold or silver, or precious things.

These are only for the ordained monks and nuns.

In Confucianism, there are also numerous sets of such precepts. The most popular and well-known interdicts are mentioned here. Confucius says:

“There are three things which the superior man guards against:

- (i) In youth, when the physical powers are not yet settled, he guards against lust. (ii) When he is strong and the physical powers are full of vigour, he guards against quarrelsomeness. (iii) When he is old and the physical powers are decayed, he guards against covetousness” (*Confucian Analects*: Book XVI; Chapter 7).

Once, Yen Yuan asked about perfect virtue. The Master said:

“To subdue one’s self and return to propriety, is perfect virtue. If a man can for one day subdue himself and return to propriety, all under heaven will ascribe perfect virtue to him.”

When Yen Yuan asked about the steps of that process, the Master said: Look not at what is contrary to propriety. Listen not to what is contrary to propriety. Speak not what is contrary to propriety. Make no movement which is contrary to propriety” (*Analects*: Book XII, Chapter I).

It is recorded in the Confucian *Analects*: “There were four things from which the Master was entirely free: (i) He had no foregone conclusions. (ii) He had no arbitrary pre-determinations. (iii) He had no obstinacy. (iv) He had no egoism” (Book IX; Chapter 4).

As described before, in Buddhism, there are several categories of Buddha-Dharma, such as: (1) The “Three Studies,” (2) The “Six Paramitas,” (3) The “Four All-Embracing Virtues” and (4) The “Eight Right Ways”. So also in Confucianism, there are similar categories of Confucian teachings or doctrines. They are as follows:

(a) The San-Ta-Te or San-Ta-Tao, both meaning “Three Universally Binding Virtues”: (i) Chih or Wisdom. (ii) Jen or Benevolence. (iii) Yung or Courage.

(b) The Szu-Wei or the “Four Holders of Cardinal Morals”:

- (i) Li or Propriety. (ii) Yi or Righteousness. (iii) Lien or Honesty. (iv) Chih or Modesty.

(c) The Wu-Chang or the “Five Constant Virtues”: (i) Jen or Love.

(ii) Li or Justice. (iii) Li or Propriety. (iv) Chih or Wisdom. (v) Hsin or Sincerity.

(d) The Chiu-Szu or the "Nine Thoughtful Considerations." As Confucius says: "The superior man has nine things which are subjects with him of thoughtful consideration:

(i) In regard to the use of his eyes, he is anxious to see clearly.

(ii) In regard to the use of his ears, he is anxious to hear distinctly.

(iii) In regard to his countenance, he is anxious that it should be benign.

(iv) In regard to his demeanour, he is anxious that it should be respectful.

(v) In regard to his speech, he is anxious that it should be sincere.

(vi) In regard to his doing business, he is anxious that it should be reverently careful.

(vii) In regard to what he doubts about, he is anxious to question others.

(viii) When he is angry, he thinks of the difficulties his anger may involve him in.

(ix) When he sees gain to be got, he thinks of righteousness." (*Analects*: Book XVI, Chapter 10.)

But the supreme doctrine of Confucianism is the cultivation of goodness of man, the perfection of human relationship, and the greatest happiness of the world based on perfect wisdom and perfect virtue.

This has been summarized into three Chinese characters of terms:

(i) Chung, similar to the Buddhist term Maitri; (ii) Shu, similar to the Buddhist term Karuna; and (iii) Jen, a combination of both.

Once Confucius said to his disciple Tseng Tsan: "Tsan, do you know, my doctrine is that of an all-pervading unity?" Tseng Tsan replied: "Yes, Master." When Confucius went out, the other disciples asked Tseng Tsan: "What does it mean?" Tseng Tsan said: "The doctrine of our Master is nothing else but Chung and Shu, meaning to be true to the principles of our nature and the benevolent exercise of them towards others." (Book IV, Chapter 15.)

On another occasion Confucius was asked by a disciple named Tzu-Kung: "Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?" The Master said: "Is it not the word Shu? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others." (Book XV, Chapter 23.)

Again, Confucius said: "The man of Jen, perfect virtue, wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to aggrandize himself, he seeks also to aggrandize others." (Book VI, Chapter 28.)

On another occasion when a disciple, Tzu-Lu, asked what constituted the superior man, the Master said: "The cultivation of himself in reverential carefulness." "And is that all?" enquired Tzu-Lu. "He cultivates himself so as to give rest to others," was the reply by the Master. "And is this all?" again asked Tzu-Lu. The Master said: "He

cultivates himself so as to give rest to all the people.” (*Analects*: Book XIV, Chapter 45.)

From what has been said above we see that the Confucian ideas and thoughts are peculiarly ethical, social, and humanitarian. This has been further and more fully illustrated in one of the most popular Confucian canonical works entitled *Ta-Hsueh* or “The Great Learning.” It says at its very beginning:

“The way of the Great Learning is to illustrate the illuminant virtue; to renovate the people; and to rest at the highest point of perfection”.

“The ancients who wished to brighten the illustrious virtue in the world, first ordered well their states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their personalities. Wishing to cultivate their personalities, they first rectified their minds. Wishing to rectify their minds, they first purified their volitions. Wishing to purify their volitions, they first extended their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge depended upon the study of things. Things being studied, knowledge became perfect. Knowledge being perfect, their volitions were then purified. Their volitions being purified, their minds were then rectified. Their minds being rectified, their personalities were then cultivated. Their personalities being cultivated, their families were then regulated, their families being regulated, their states were then well ordered. Their states being well ordered, the whole world could then be maintained in perfect peace and tranquillity.”

It would seem that Confucius had purposely avoided certain abstruse problems. It is said in the *Confucian Analects* that the subjects on which the Master did not talk were: (i) strange things, (ii) supernatural power, (iii) things not in proper order, and (iv) spirits and deities, (Book VII, Chapter 20)

Once his disciple Chi-Lu asked about serving the spirits of the dead. The Master said: “While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve their spirits?” Chi-Lu added: “I venture to ask about death.” The Master answered, “While you do not know life, how can you know about death?” (Book XI: Chapter II).

Another disciple, Tzu-Kung, once remarked: “The Master’s personal display of his principles and ordinary descriptions of them may be heard. But his discourse about men’s nature, and the way of Heaven cannot be heard.” (Book IV, Chapter 12).

Confucius himself once said to Tzu-Kung: “I would prefer not speaking.” Tzu-Kung said: “If you, Master, do not speak, what shall we, your disciples, have to record?” The Master said: “Does Heaven speak? The four seasons pursue their courses, and all things are continually being produced, but does Heaven say anything?” (Book XII, Chapter 19).

However, this does not mean that the Master had no interest in, or no

contemplation, no comprehension, and no interpretation, of things cosmological or metaphysical or ontological. In fact, Confucius said many things on all these. But they are scattered over almost all the Chinese canonical works. Here I would give only one example.

In the *Hsi-Tz'u-Chuan* or the "Great Appendix" to the *Yi-Ching* or the "Book of Changes", the *Rig-Veda* of China, Confucius says:

"In the *Yi* there is the Tai-Chi or the Great Ultimate, the One and Absolute Truth, which produced the Liang-Yi or the Two Principles, namely: (i) the Yang or the Positive and Masculine Force, and (ii) the Yin or the Negative and Feminine Force. The Two Principles produced the Szu-Hsiang or the Four Emblems, namely: (i) the Old Yang, (ii) the Young Yang, (iii) the Old Yin, and (iv) the Young Yin. The Four Emblems produced the Pa-Kua or the Eight Trigrams. The Eight Trigrams served to determine the lucky or unlucky, fortunate or unfortunate, good or evil issues of events, and from this determination was produced the successful prosecution of the great business of life."

This showed the way or process of evolution of the universe and human life. I may venture to say that the theory of both the Tai-Chi and the Liang-Yi, are the two earliest discoveries of importance not only to ancient religion and philosophy but also to modern cosmology, ontology, epistemology, metaphysics, and the science of the cultural and civilized world. The Eight Trigrams date back to the first ancient Emperor Fu-Hsi, 2852-2738 B.C.

Mo-Tzu and Mohism: In many respects Mo-Tzu may be compared to India's Mahavira Jina of ancient times or Mahatma Gandhi of modern days. Their life and doctrine are very similar. The most important tenets of Mo-Tzu are universal love, absolute altruism, non-violence and extreme asceticism. Meng-Tzu or Mencius, the greatest Confucianist, next only to Confucius, once remarked:

"Mo-Tzu loves all men without discrimination. If by grinding his whole body from the crown to the heel he could have benefited the world, he would have done it." (*The Work of Mencius*: Book VII: Chapter 26.)

Mo-Tzu opposed not only the theories of Confucius and Confucians but also the Chinese traditional practices and institutions. The Confucians tried to be "correct in righteousness, without considering whether profit would result, pure in their principles, without considering whether this would bring meritorious reward." (*Tung-Chung-Shu: Ch'un-Ch'iu-Fan-Lu.*) But Mo-Tzu and the Mohists, on the other hand, laid exclusive emphasis on merit and profit. Mo-Tzu said:

"The purpose of those who are virtuous lies in procuring benefits for the world and eliminating its calamities.

"Mutual love produces mutual profit.

"Common good arises from loving and profiting others.

"Love without partiality is that which will yield profit.

"One who loves others will be loved in return; one who profits others will be benefited by others."

(*The Book of Mo-Tzu*: Chapter 16: Chien-Ai-P'ien.) What are the calamities in the world? Mo-Tzu said:

"Among all the current calamities, which are the most important? I say that the attack on the small states by the large ones; disturbance of the small houses by the large ones; oppression of the weak by the strong; misuse of the many by the few; deception of the simple by the cunning; disdain towards the humble by the honoured; these are the misfortunes in the world" (*Ibid*).

What is the root cause of all these calamities in the world? According to Mo-Tzu, it is the lack of love for one another. He said:

"A robber loves his own house but not that of the other; so he robs it to enrich his own house. A thief loves himself but not the other man; so he steals from the other man in order to benefit himself. A minister of state loves his own family but not that of another man; so he disturbs another family for the advantage of his own family. All the princes love their own but not other countries so they launch attacks upon them for the benefit of their own countries" (*Ibid*).

Another important doctrine of Mo-Tzu is his teaching against war. According to Mo-Tzu, the greatest crime is to attack a country. There should be no excuse for such an action. In the chapter entitled "Condemnation of War" of his book Mo-Tzu said:

"If a man kills an innocent man, steals his clothing and his spear and sword, his offence is graver than breaking into a stable and stealing an ox or a horse. The injury is greater, the offence is graver, and the crime is of a higher degree. Any man of sense knows that it is wrong, knows that it is unrighteous. But when murder is committed in attacking a country, it is not considered wrong; it is applauded and called righteous. Can this be considered as knowing what is righteous and what is unrighteous? When one man kills another man, it is considered unrighteous and he is punished by death. Then by the same token when a man kills ten others, his crime will be ten times greater, and he should be punished by death ten times. Similarly one who kills a hundred men should be punished a hundred times more heavily." (Mo-Tzu: *Fei-Kung-P'ien*.)

Mo-Tzu's teachings and ideas are of course very lofty, and his own activities were true examples of them. But sometimes he went too far, so that it was very difficult for the common people to follow him. Therefore, Chung-Tzu, the Taoist who was next only to Lao-Tzu in greatness, said:

"Mo-Tzu taught universal love and mutual benefit, and condemned war. His teaching excluded anger. He was fond of study and had wide learning. Some points in his teachings were not different from those of

others, whereas at other points he did not agree with the ancient kings.” And:

“These objections do not suffice to overthrow Mo-Tzu’s system. Yet though men sing, he condemns singing. Though men mourn, he condemns mourning. Though men enjoy music, he condemns music. Is this truly in accord with man’s nature? He would have men toil through life, with a bare funeral at death. Such a teaching is too barren. It would lead men into sorrow and lamentation. Its practice would be too difficult. I feel it cannot be regarded as the Way of the Sage. It is contrary to human nature and would not be tolerated. Mo-Tzu himself might be able to do it, but what about the rest of the world? If one separates the rest of the world, one’s position is far indeed from the Royal Way.” (Chuang-Tzu: *T’ien-Hsia-P’ien*.)

Of the three great ancient Chinese Masters and their teachings, Taoism, Confucianism and Mohism, the last one, as religion, did not and could not survive long. It actually disappeared after the Ch’in Dynasty (255-209 B.C.). The reason for this had been rightly prophesied by the great Taoist Master Chuang-Tzu as quoted above. The other two, Taoism and Confucianism, were further developed and enhanced and enriched after they had come in contact with Buddhism which was introduced into China about two thousand years ago or even earlier.

Indian Influence through Buddhism: The introduction of Buddhism from India into China has long been embellished by legends. Many strange and apocryphal stories about it are scattered over numerous ancient Chinese texts and classics. I shall relate only one such story to illustrate their nature.

According to a book called *Han-Fa-Pen-Nai-Chuan* or “A sketch of Buddhist Development in the Han Dynasty”, in the third year of Yung-P’ien (A D 60), Emperor Ming-Ti of the later Han period dreamt one night of a golden Titan, sixteen feet tall and with radiant light on his head, flying about the court of the palace. The emperor, not knowing what this miraculous symbol meant, told his ministers about the dream and asked for their explanation. One of the ministers named Fu-Yi told him that it was the incarnation of the Buddha of T’ien-Tu (Heavenly India). Then the emperor ordered a pilgrim delegation under the leadership of a military general, Ts’ai-Yin and a civil official, Wang Tsun, to proceed to T’ien-Tu to welcome Buddhism. Ts’ai-Yin and his party arrived in the eighth year of Yung-P’ing (A D 65) at Khotan, where they fortuitously met the Venerable Kasyapa Mātanga and the Venerable Gobharāṇa who were just advancing with Buddha images and *sūtras* towards the Eastern Land (China). Hence they travelled back together and reached Lo-Yang, capital of the Han Dynasty, in the Yung-P’ing tenth year (A D. 67). Since the Buddha images and *sūtras*, it was said, were loaded on the back of white horses, the emperor, having accorded all of them a hearty reception, specially built a temple-monastery, named Pei-Ma-Szu or “The

White Horse Temple”, for their accommodation. This is the first Buddhist temple and monastery in Chinā. It can easily be imagined what a grand spectacle and memorable event the imperial acceptance of Buddhism must have been.

This has been generally recognized as the first formal introduction of Buddhism into China, although some scholars are still finding fault with the story itself. In fact, this is not, strictly speaking, the first occasion that Buddhism entered China, but it was for the first time that Buddhism was welcomed to China by an imperial mission and received by the emperor himself.

After that hundreds of Indian missionaries went to China to disseminate the Buddha-Dharma among the Chinese people and numberless Chinese pilgrims in their turn came to India to seek or learn the Buddha-Dharma. The most well known Indian missionaries, besides the above mentioned Kasyapa Mātanga and Gobharaṇa, were Buddhābhadrā, Dharmarakṣa, Bodhidharma, Kumārajīva, Vajra-Hsien, and Amogha. The most well known Chinese pilgrims were Fa-Hian, Hsuan-Tsang and Yi-Tsing. They were not ordinary pilgrims but *arhans*, Bodhisattvas and Mahāsattvas.

Most of them came and went through Central Asia. There were difficult deserts to cross, dense forests to pass, snowy mountains to climb, wild animals to encounter, terrible hunger and cold to suffer. It took years of hardship for them to reach their destination amidst such difficulties. Many of them perished on the way. In the *T’ang-Kao-Seng-Chuan* or “Biographies of Eminent Buddhists of the T’ang Dynasty”, there is a poem of which two lines are significant:

“High Priests left Ch’ang-An to seek the Buddha Dharma.

Out of a hundred, not even ten had returned to China.”

From this it is evident that there were many who came to India from China to seek the Buddha-Dharma, but very few were fortunate enough to return to their own country. This must be equally true of the Indian missionaries who travelled to the “Eastern Land” to preach the Buddha-Dharma. As a result of the travels of the Chinese pilgrims and Indian missionaries not only was Indian Buddhism conveyed to China wholesale, but also Indian culture to a considerable extent. It was not merely a religious intercourse between two great and ancient countries, India and China. It was, in fact, the greatest international cultural movement of the world as well. The two most spectacular and magnificent achievements of this movement were the rendering of the Buddhist *Tripiṭaka* from Sanskrit into Chinese and the founding of the ten very important schools of Buddhism in China.

The translations of Buddhist texts from Sanskrit into Chinese are numerous and excellent in quantity and quality. In twelve hundred years from the later Han Dynasty to Yuan Dynasty, there were 190 translators whose names appeared in works; 1,440 kinds and 5,586

volumes of translated texts which still exist; but the anonymous translators and the lost works must be many more. Besides, the work of translation was carried on with great care and caution, usually under the auspices of the emperors themselves. The translators were all learned and wise Buddhist pandits who sat down to work in groups for the purpose of mutual consultation and reference; and every sound and every meaning must have undergone deliberate discussions before being written down in black and white.

In the Dynasty of Sui, T'ang and Sung, special institutes were established for translation, in which there were several departments for division of labour. Some were entrusted with the study of the original text; some ascertained pronunciations; some translated the sentences; some studied the meaning; some beautified the style; some corrected the errors; some supervised the whole work. As for the methods of translation, strict rules were laid down for all translators to follow. Mention may be made of the "Five Limits" in the Tang Dynasty and the "Six Rules" in the Sung Dynasty. From all this we can see how carefully and respectfully, conscientiously and devotedly these translations were done and accomplished.

The Chinese Buddhist monks and scholars in different ages also did a great deal of creative work besides translation. They wrote numerous commentaries and treatises on the Buddhist religion and philosophy and arranged all Buddhist writings in proper order, so as to make the Buddhist literature attain a high degree of perfection.

In the first few hundred years following the formal introduction of Buddhism into China in A.D. 67 as many as ten important schools were founded, some of which were subdivided into various sects. These schools were:

- (1) Lü-Tsung, or the Vinaya School.
- (2) Ch'eng-Shih-Tsung, or the Satyasiddhi School.
- (3) Chu-Sh'e-Tsung, or the Abhidharma-Kosa School.
- (4) San-Lun-Tsung, or the Three-Sastra School.
- (5) Fa-Hsiang-Tsung, or the Dharmalaksana School.
- (6) Tien-Tai-Tsung, or the Saddharmapundarika School.
- (7) Hua-Yen-Tsung, or the Avatamsaka School.
- (8) Ch'an-Tsung or the Dhyana-Samadhi School
- (9) Ching-T'u-Tsung, or the Sukhavati School.
- (10) Chen-Yen-Tsung, or the Mantra and Dharani School.

Almost all of these schools reached their peak during the Sui and T'ang Dynasties (A.D. 589-618-906). They were actually the result of deep studies of the *Tripitaka* and devout cultivation of the Buddha-Dharma, conducted by the Chinese priests and scholars. The nature of these schools was, therefore, religious as well as philosophical, some of them being more philosophical than religious. Their foundations were based on

particular Buddhist *sutras* or *vinayas*, or *abhidharmas*, or their combination. Only the Ch'an-Tsung and the Ching-T'u-Tsung were exceptions, for they preferred to base their foundations on certain special practices rather than on theoretical or theological expositions.

From what I have said above, it can be seen how Buddhism was introduced, developed, and established and how it flourished in China. It was just as the great Ch'an Buddhist Master Bodhidharma, the founder and first Patriarch of Ch'an Buddhism in China, prophesied:

"For a great cause I came to this land,
To disseminate the Dharma and enlighten the ignorant;
One flower blossoms with five petals,
The fruition will be spontaneous and splendid!"

The impact of Buddhism as culture, religion, and philosophy on Chinese culture, religion, and philosophy, as they existed in the form of Taoism and Confucianism, was so intensive, extensive, and spectacular that it can hardly be expressed in words. No less significant was the influence of Taoism and Confucianism on Buddhism.

In the beginning, there were many theological controversies between Buddhism and Taoism, and then between Buddhism and Confucianism. When people meet for the first time, they must first understand each other, and then adjust themselves to each other. It was indeed fortunate that the initial differences and controversies between Buddhism and Taoism as well as between Buddhism and Confucianism, were soon composed and harmonized. They quickly learnt to live together and work together, peacefully and harmoniously, not only like good friends but also like dear brothers. They loved each other and respected each other. They exchanged ideas and ideals. They endeared themselves to each other and enriched each other.

From the point of view of religion, the three — Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism — mingled together and became one and the same. The Chinese people usually called them the "Trinity of Chinese Religion". From the point of view of philosophy and culture also they became assimilated to each other. The process of this assimilation took quite a long period to be complete. It started from the Dynasties of Wei (A.D. 220-264) and Tsin (A.D. 265-419) and was gaining momentum especially during the Tang Dynasty (A.D. 678-906), and in the subsequent age of the "Five Short Periods" (A.D. 907-956), till there was evolved in the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 960-1276) a new philosophy called Li-Hsioh or Rationalism. Some scholars, foreign and Chinese, have mistaken it for "New Confucianism". This is entirely wrong. It is really a "New Philosophy" of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism combined together. It may also be called the "Trinity of New Chinese Philosophy".

Buddhism also influenced Chinese language and literature, Chinese art and architecture, Chinese philology and phonology, Chinese customs and

manners, in numerous subtle and profound ways. But space does not permit me to go into these matters.

The Message of Indian and Chinese Cultures to the World: Culture in its broadest sense means the cultivation of life, life not limited to human beings but extended to all other living beings, including animals, birds, insects, and plants. When we speak of the Indian and Chinese cultures, we mean the cultivation of life and activities of the people of India and China, physically, mentally, and spiritually.

We all know that in the remote antiquity of human history, there were four civilized nations of the world, namely, Egypt and Babylonia in the west, India and China in the east. But ancient Egypt and Babylonia are only historical memories. Their original peoples and their civilizations have disappeared into the dim past. Their cities afford materials for the archaeologists to dig out, and for scholars and poets to sing and mourn. There have been many other younger nations which came and went, rose and fell — like Iran, Greece and Rome. Only our two countries, India and China, have stood up firm and high from the very beginning of recorded history without a break. Though our lands have been many times trampled upon, devastated and usurped by foreign peoples politically and economically, yet our traditions, teachings, and customs have often assimilated and absorbed the invaders so that our countries are able to survive others.

What are the reasons for this special characteristic of the histories of India and China? It seems to me that no Indologist or Sinologist has answered the question adequately. In my opinion, the singular characteristic of the histories of India and China was and still is the supremacy of the eternal Hindu Dharma and the Chinese Tao.

The foregoing descriptions of Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, and Mohism have already shown the details of what this special message or gospel is. Here in conclusion I might sum up a few of the essential points:

1. *Realization of the universal oneness of humanity:* This brings us universal love without any distinction or discrimination and helps us to get rid of our egoism and egotism, both of which are the root cause of all troubles and calamities of the world.
2. *Belief in the ultimate salvation or liberation for all:* According to the Indian and Chinese thought, the ultimate goal of our life is *nirvana* or *moksha* or *mukti*, liberation. But liberation must be not only for our individual selves but for all mankind and the whole world. We have sometimes even to sacrifice ourselves for the salvation of all others.
3. *Internal introspection and external tolerance:* In the world we have to endure all kinds of hardship and suffering; and as mankind at the present stage has not been fully enlightened, we have to tolerate all kinds of mischief and insult. Whenever any unpleasant or unhappy thing

happens to us, we must first examine whether we are wrong or right. If we are wrong, we must rectify ourselves immediately and seek others' forgiveness. If we are right and others are wrong, we must forgive them and try to make them understand the truth in a polite manner. In this way, many troubles and difficulties can be solved.

May Chinese and Indian friendship be eternal.

India and Japan: Early Contacts

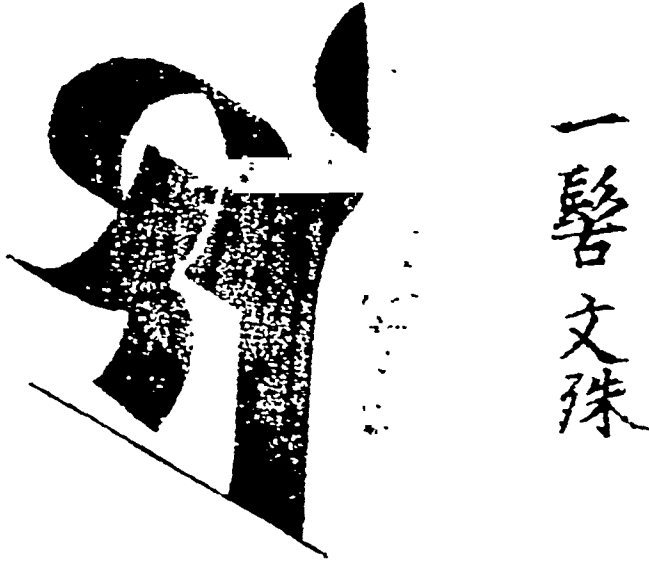
Lokesh Chandra

Kashmir is the land of creative spans, the vale of wisdom, whence have flowed new streams of courage, constantly renewing the spirit in the endless journey of the heart of man. At the beginning of the ninth century, an *acharya* from Kashmir, Prajña by name, was living at Ch'ang-an, the-then T'ang capital of China and was acknowledged to be a hallowed presence. Ch'ang-an was the greatest metropolis of the time: here the Golden Age of T'ang mirrored the vigour and grace, the stateliness and luminous beauty of Serindic culture. Prajña, as his very name implies, radiated the divine spark, the light of intellectual knowledge and psychic experience. His eloquent knowledge flowed in Chinese translations of Sanskrit works.

A monk from Japan arrived in Ch'ang-an in A.D. 805. The Shingon chronicles describe him as “a young man with a broad forehead, well-shaped eyebrows and intelligent looks, who listened silently to the discourses of his aged guru.” This was the *śramaṇa* Kukai, who was later to be famed as Kobo Daishi. He had left his homeland on board an imperial ship and, after spending several months on a stormy sea, had arrived in Ch'ang-an in late December A.D. 805, in quest of an integrated vision and a pure experience, synthesized in the esoteric doctrine of *mantrayāna* or Shingon ‘The True Word’, which was the culmination of Buddhism, a new horizon and a paradigm of a new universe, grounded in the *mantras*. The threshold, the power, the wonder of the *mantra* lay in its meditational realization, its appropriate conceptualization as ultimate meaning, and its correct enunciation as a written symbol. The letter shapes reflected the spans of inner space. Thus the script used for the *mantras* was not purely a writing system, but a visual medium



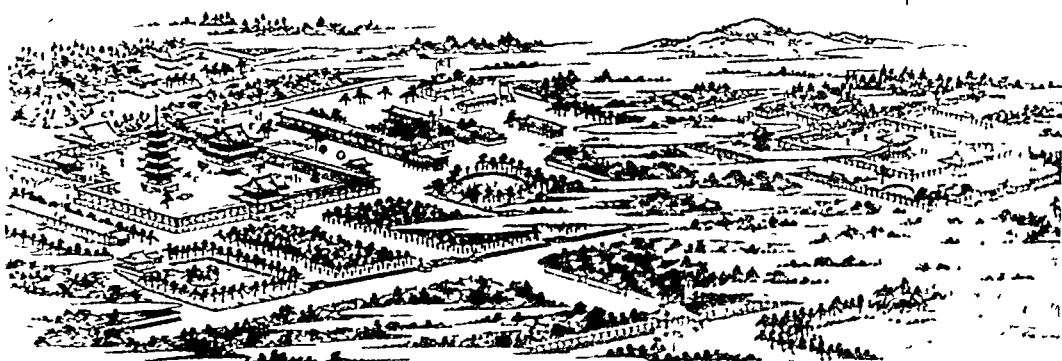
of an intrinsic dimension. Kobo Daishi was introduced by the Kashmirian Prajña into the Nagari script of the period, which has been designated by the Japanese tradition as *shittan*, a corruption of the Sanskrit word *siddham*, with which the alphabet began. To this day the Japanese have written *mantras* in the artistic *siddham-Nagari*, a contribution of Kashmir, for evoking the Cosmic Consciousness. This form of Nagari has a calligraphic charm of its own, in expressive curves and subtle linear nuances of the brush, or in sturdy and dynamic strokes of the wooden stylus bringing out its innate aesthetics. We may illustrate it with the letter *śi* which stands for *siddhir astu*: [see page 859] or by the nuclear syllable (*bījākṣara*) *śrī* [see below] wherein the *sādhaka* calligrapher seeks to discover the creativity of shape, the abandon of the flourish evoking the flow of the drapery of Kichijo-ten, that is, Lakṣmī, or Mahāsrīdevī, the Goddess of Wealth and Beauty. An eighth-century painting of the goddess preserved at the Yakushi-ji by an unknown artist who imparted subtle, rhythmic undulation to her transparent veils is a good example.



Before we elaborate the various developments that followed in the wake of Kobo Daishi's cultural renaissance we may cast a look at the preceding centuries which were the matrix for the new aesthetic, spiritual, and social ideals. In sixth-century Japan, Buddhism made a stormy entry on a scene where opposing families and clans were contending for power. The virulent civil war between the Soga and Monobe clans in 587 ended in the victory of Soga who espoused Dharma, that is, Buddhism. A religion of peace and moral grandeur, it contributed to

far-reaching political, social, and spiritual advance. Its ascendance was a victory of novelty over tradition whose grassroots customs, popular cults, practices, and deities were merged into the new Dharma. It was a challenge to the latent intellectual capabilities of Japan, an opportunity for potential literacy, and an impressive asset to cultural outflow. It was the Korean kingdom of Paikche whence Japan received her Dharma and along with it her first scribes, painters, and calligraphers — an event deemed momentous enough to be recorded in the *Nihon Shoki* in the years 463, 544, 588, etc. Astrologers, landscape architects, pharmacists, painters, bridge-builders and *bhikṣus* arrived from Korea to promote the rise of the Dharma in the Land of the Rising Sun. Empress Suiko (who ascended the throne in A.D. 593) appointed her nephew Prince Shotoku Taishi as regent. He became the Aśoka of Japan, the consolidator of the Dharma in Japan. He promulgated the first Japanese constitution in seventeen articles.

Shotoku initiated the construction of a long series of temples that have ever been the glory of Japanese architecture. Among them, Horyuji occupies the prime place. To peruse the *sūtras* in seclusion, Prince Shotoku was attracted to the Ikaruga hamlets far away from the imperial capital. Here he started the construction of his palace and the Horyuji temple, whose sheer splendour captured the hearts of all men. [see below]



The multiple buildings of the austere dormitories for the monks, the Kondo Golden Hall, the Kodo or *Sūtra* auditorium, with their woodwork painted bright cinnabar red, the roof tiles scintillating in the sunlight, gilded surfaces glittering against the sky, wind bells hanging from the eaves tinkling melodiously when swung by the gentle breeze, the nine golden rings atop the towering pagoda, the vast scale of the buildings — all evoked wonder and awe. Away from the din and turbulence of everyday life, confronted by profound beauty, a devotee could visualize the unstained purity of the human spirit. The octagonal Yumedono or Dream Hall today commemorates the site where Shotoku once lived. The

roof ornament in gilded bronze is the *chintāmani* jewel with beams of light radiating in all directions, resting on a lotus flower and a vase (*kalāśa*) covered with a canopy. This sacred hall symbolizes a centrum whence radiates the divine force of Dharma. In the hall stands an image of Avalokiteśvara modelled after Prince Shotoku, which was given his body length. In its hands rests the flaming *chintāmani*, the emblem of the Bodhisattva's power of *mokṣa*.

The Kondo or Golden Hall of the Horyūji is adorned with murals whose style has close affinities with those of India. Its special importance lies in reflecting the artistic achievements of seventh-century India. In the years 643-646, 648-649, and 657-661 the entourage of the Chinese envoy Wang Hsuan-ts'è had copied the frescoes on the walls of monasteries in Bihar. Later on, these paintings were compiled in forty volumes. Some of them were taken to Japan by the Korean artist Honjitsu, and they are said to have been the models for the Horyū-ji murals.

Even today at Yakushi-ji, a painting of the Nara period done on fine hemp of Kichijō-ten or Mahāśrīdevī Lakṣmī is worshipped as the *honzon* or "principal object of adoration", that bestows good fortune. Its first ceremony was held in A.D. 727. It is endowed with divine beauty and a feeling for the actuality of the visible world. While this painting is "like the fragrance of a blooming flower" (to borrow the words of a Japanese poem), at Shin-Yakushi-ji we find aesthetic vigour and vitality, the flood tide of life in the image of Basara, one of the twelve *dharmapālas*. The cold clay has been brought to life to pulsate with the hot blood of anger: *bhīṣaṇam bhīṣaṇānām*.

A few yards from Yakushi-ji is the Toshodai-ji monastery, where the aura of classical times lingers to this day. It was built for the Chinese *bhikṣu* Ganjin who had been invited to Japan to strengthen the monastic discipline in the opulent monasteries of Nara. He succeeded in giving birth to forces which were to correct laxities and extravagances. The severity, calm, and purity of Ganjin's character are reflected in his realistic statue. The array of statues in the *kondo* of this temple expresses the power and grace of the pantheon, with Birushana (Vairocana) seated in the centre, the origin of all in the cosmos. The wooden figures of Brahmā, Indra and the four *lokapālas* make an imposing phalanx of statues. When I visited the stūpa of Ganjin in September 1970, along with Swami Omanand Sarasvatī, at the door stood a lady who later disclosed herself as Mrs. Fusano Okada, the wife of a textile magnate. While we circumambulated the stūpa and pondered over the flown centuries, Mrs. Okada gazed at us, absorbed in a reverie. As we came out through the door, we presented her a sandal incense-stick. Prof. Chikyo Yamamoto interpreted her innermost thoughts: "She is so happy to see an Indian priest. It is in ten thousand years that one may have this pious privilege". So deeply was she moved that she had composed a poem on the spot. Memories of

eightth-century Nara became alive in a sacral realism of the present.

Floating in a sea of verdant woods is the golden ornament of the imposing roof of the Daibutsu-den, Hall of the Great Buddha, of the Todai-ji monastery. Daibutsu-den enshrines the *virāt rūpa* of Vairocana, in the form of a gigantic statue, in the national temple of eighth-century Japan. Emperor Shomu had vowed to raise this statue to a height of forty-eight feet to symbolize the power of the sacred and secular. Twelve years and immense materials were spent in casting the Daibutsu. On 9 April, 752, it was consecrated in a sumptuous ceremony, which was presided over by Bodhisena, historically the first Indian to have visited Japan. He was a Brahmin of the Bhāradvāja gotra. Inspired by Mañjuśrī, he went to China to Wu-t'ai Shan mountains held to be sacred to Mañjuśrī. In response to an imperial invitation, he arrived in Japan in A.D. 736 where he was warmly welcomed. The people knew him as the Baramon (Brahmin) archbishop. On 25 February 760, he entered into eternal *samadhi* and his disciple Shuei (Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo 51: 987a) wrote: "On his death we felt as though the main prop of the house were broken and we deplored we could hear his virtuous voice no more. . . His wisdom, vast as the ocean, always pours over us without ever being dried up." In this Todai-ji temple consecrated by the Brahmin archbishop, we can view the expressive range of Nara sculptures of Brahmā, Indra, Chatur-Lokapāla, Sūrya, Chandra, Sarasvatī, and Śrīlakṣmī which have escaped the ravages of fire. In front of the Great Buddha Hall stands the eighth century octagonal bronze lantern adorned with heavenly musicians on its grilled openwork amid a florid array of cloud patterns and swirling drapery. The world's largest statue in the world's largest wooden building was intended to express a spirit of devotion in all its grandeur and magnificence and at the same time to embody national solidarity of all classes of the population. It was thus a major step towards the democratization of Dharma.

To this day the Todai-ji and other monasteries and museums of Japan have masks which are used in the Bugaku or Gagaku dance and music which was introduced in Japan by Bodhisena and has been preserved in the form of ceremonial dances for national celebrations. There are the masks of Baramon (Brahmin), Garuḍa, Sāgara-nāgarāja, yaksa, Indra, Brahmā, Sūrya, Kubera, Agni, Vasiṣṭha rishi, Īśvara, Lakṣmī and others. These are used in dances performed in temples and at banquets held in the imperial palace. Some of the musical pieces pertain to Bairo or Bhairava. I had the pleasure of listening to Japanese sacral music at Ann Arbor, Michigan, and was charmed by the depth of its perceptivity.

A place of distinction is occupied by the Kofuku-ji temple of Nara which was for centuries a training centre for master sculptors. In its northern circular hall one is struck by the realism of the portrait-like features of the two outstanding Indian philosophers Vasubandhu (Seishin)

and Asaṅga (Muchaku). These are the masterpieces of the great sculptor Unkei who is much admired for the richness of his realistic treatment.

The Kasuga shrine dedicated to the protective deities of Kofuku-ji is a colourful display of vermilion and green on the slope of the mountain. The Indian dance and music of Bugaku has been handed down to this day in a continuous tradition in all its impressive elegance and elan, conveying the audacity and boldness of its founders, the Fujiwara family.

As we have already pointed out, the visit of Kobo Daishi to China and his personal contacts with the great Kashmirian Prajña were to produce a profound effect on the cultural evolution of Japan. After his return, Kobo Daishi started spreading education among the common people in the true spirit of *bahu-jana-hitāya bahu-jana-sukhāya* (the welfare and good of all). Until then, education had been restricted to the privileged classes, and only children of families above the fifth rank could attend academies and universities. Kobo Daishi opened an institution of general arts and wisdom (Shugei Shuchi-in) for children of all classes. The courses were both secular and sacred. To democratize and advance literacy, Kobo Daishi also invented a syllabary of fifty sounds (*Goju-on*), starting: *a i u e o, ka ki ku ke ko*, etc. The basis was the Sanskrit alphabet. He further wove the entire alphabet into a poem wherein one syllable occurred only once. This poem is called 'Iroha' and it is based on the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra. In translation:

Colours, gleam as they may,
How they blow away!
Who in this world of ours
Lasts for aye?
The deep mountains of ephemeral life
We've crossed this day.
No more shallow dreams we see.
Nor shall we inebriate be.

It is a free transcreation of the Sanskrit poem:

Sarve saṁskārāḥ anityā utpādavayadharmināḥ ।
tesāṁ vyupaśamaḥ sukhaṁ avaded mahāśramaṇaḥ ॥

The new syllabary was a revolutionary step in Japan's civilization: what was hitherto the prerogative of the predestined few became the potential privilege of all.

High on Mount Takao is the Jingo-ji temple reached by a footpath winding up its steep slope. Celebrated for its fiery foliage in autumn, it became an appropriate starting point for the understanding of Mikkyo or *mantrayāna* with its metaphysics and mystery, symbolism and extreme intellectual penetration. The main deity at Jingo-ji is Yakushi Nyorai or Bhaisajyaguru, casting on the devotees a brooding spiritual awareness. The esoteric images of the Five Bodhisattvas exude the mystery which resides in beauty itself. The gigantic paintings of the two cosmograms or

maṇḍalas of Mahākaruṇā-garbha-dhātu and Vajra-dhātu in gold and silver on purple damask, co-ordinate the esoteric traditions of the ancient Indian universities of Nalanda in the north and Kanchi in the south. An Indian is struck by the presence of a special hall for the Homa (Goma) ceremony in the Jingo-ji monastery where the blazing fires were the “wisdom which destroys obstacles to salvation.” There is also a special temple consecrated to the esoteric twin Gaṇeśa and even today worship ceremonies of Gaṇeśa are held twice a year.

Residing at Mount Takao, in A.D. 816, Kobo Daishi received imperial sanction to proceed to Koyasan to found the main seat of *mantrayāna* in Japan to symbolize the emergence of a new spiritual energy. Far away from the metropolitan capitals, amidst deep gorges and dense forests, he



established monasteries in harmony with giant trees. The tremendum of the sacred *tīrtha* deep in the mountains evoked an overpowering grandeur for the masses. To this day, it has remained a favourite resort of pilgrims, both high and low, as it was through the ages.

At Okuno-in or "inner precincts" lies Kobo Daishi in eternal *samādhi* [see page 865] amidst the serene grandeur of cryptomeria forests. In course of time it became the last resting place of the noble and the humble. Thousands of memorial stones commemorate emperors, the nobility, saints, philosophers, common men, and destitutes. These stones are called gorinto or *stūpas* (*to*) of five (*go*) elements (*rin*). They are composed of five parts representing the five elements (*pañca-tattva*): a cube to symbolize the earth (*prithvī*), a sphere for water (*ap*), a pyramid for fire (*teja*), a crescent for air (*vāyu*) and a ball for ether (*ākāśa*). Such memorial *stūpas* are being raised up to the present day. One can even find such a memorial 'stupa to love-letters' at Zuishin-nin, Kyoto. The well-known poetess Ono-no-Komachi was the most celebrated beauty of her time. She received thousands of love-letters from her admirers. Destined for tragedy, she buried them all in a bundle under the stupa, where the remains of her hermitage can also be seen. Nowhere else do we find the Sanskrit idea of mergence into the *pañca-mahābhūta* represented architectonically like this. In the Torodo or Hall of Lamps, over ten thousand oil lamps are offered to Kobo Daishi in the memory of beloved ones. There are two lights in which the larger vision of a faith unites imperium and penury — one lamp lighted by the Emperor Shirakawa in 1023 and the other by a poor woman who had nothing but her hair to sell in order to present a lamp. Neither has ever been extinguished. They are the most ancient *amarajyoti*, the light eternal. Nowhere else have nature, piety, and the remembrance of dear ones combined to produce such an atmosphere of solemn beauty and serenity.

Before we pass on, it would interest our readers to know that the seal of Okuno-in is the Sanskrit nuclear syllable (*bījākṣara*) *yu*.



Other monasteries and sacred places also have Sanskrit seals.

Till recent times, Koyasan forbade the presence of women, while Muro-ji welcomed them and thus came to be a more popular place for pilgrimage, known as the “Koya for women”. There is a large image of Maitreya Buddha on the face of the cliff on the road which leads to this temple. While it reminds us of its prototypes at Bamiyan, it is a delicate line engraving on the cliff. The central image of Sakyamuni at Muro-ji is flanked by Bhaiṣajyaguru and Kṣitigarbha on the left and by Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara on the right. The Muro-ji temple was famous for the *maṇḍala* of Indra as the lord of rainfall, painted on a wooden wall at the back of the main sanctum. On numerous occasions prayers have been offered for rain during serious droughts. In A.D. 824 Japan’s most accomplished rain-maker Kobo Daishi performed *pūjā* for rain which was a resounding success. The holy lake at Muro-ji is shaped like the Nagari letter *vaṁ* (ॳ) representing Vairocana, the prime principle of the universe for crossing over from *saṁsāra* (भवसागर) into *nirvāṇa*.

After Kobo Daishi had established the monastery at Koyasan, in A.D. 823 he was given control of the Kyo-o-Gokoku-ji (Temple of the Protection of the Land through the Noble Dharma), popularly termed Toji or the Eastern Temple. This was the establishment of *mantrayāna* in the capital of Japan itself. The twenty-one statues in the lecture hall at Toji arranged in a *maṇḍala* paradigm are an impressive monument to a ceremony that was performed in the ninth century for the well-being of the country. Among them are imposing statues of Brahmā, Skanda Kārttikeya, Sarasvatī and others, besides deities of ferocious appearance whose profound and mysterious sculptures radiate irresistible power. This

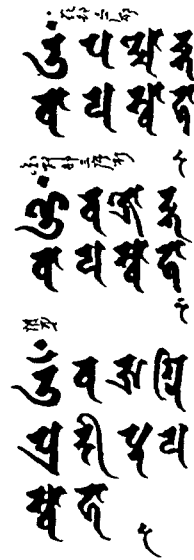


monastery has preserved the oldest Gyodo masks employed in ceremonial dances, masks for Brahmā, Indra, Sūrya, Kubera, Agni, Vasu and Íśvara, to name a few. [see page 867]

At Hase, Kamakura, stands the great image of Amida, renowned as the Daibutsu, which is deservedly the symbol of Japan today. In the thirteenth century it was constructed by contributions of devotees of the Sukhāvātī sect. Five centuries ago, a tidal wave swept away its hall and it has since sat under the open sky. Despite its immensity, the statue has an aesthetic fluency. The statue gazes downward with an aura of divine compassion (*karuṇā*) while the devotees chant adoration to Amitābha 'Infinite Illumination', *namo Amida butsu*, so that there shines the light of illumination regained.

Near Kyoto is the Golden Pavilion (Kinkaku) of Rokuon-ji which was the semi-hermitage of Ashikaga shogun Yoshimitsu as a Zen monk. It is a picturesque pavilion sitting in the pond, lending grace to the garden of Rokuon-ji Temple. Here arises the ethereal pavilion of *nirvāṇa* overlooking the ocean of existence (*bhava-sāgara*). It recalls the Golden Temple of Amritsar in the centre of the pond which is the emergence of *brahma* from the primal waters.

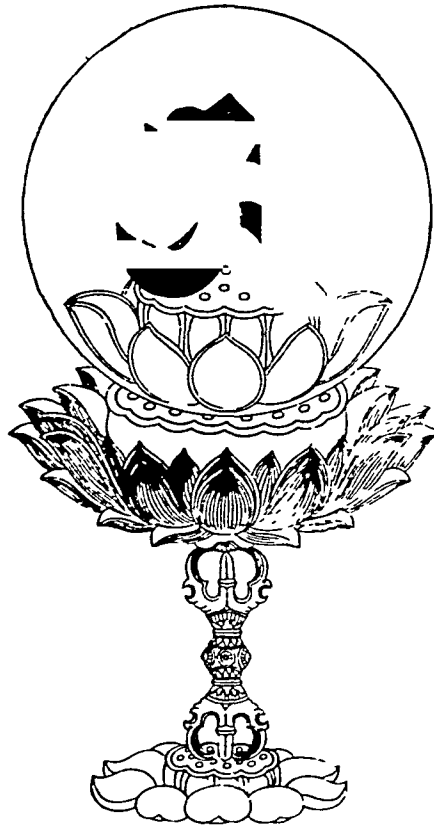
In A.D. 1126 Zen-nin the outstanding Tendai calligrapher of Siddham-Nagari, wrote mantras for the emperor. Three lines are illustrated below:



They read: *om padmodbhavāya svāhā* | *om vajrodbhavāya svāhā* | *om vajrāgni-pradiptāya svāhā* | These *mantras* have continued to the present day in the *homa* ceremonies performed in the prominent temples of *mantrayāna*.

The houses and shops at Koyasan in the Wakyama Prefecture are hallowed by prints and paintings of the letter A (अ) in the magnificent

calligraphy of the *Siddham-Nāgari* script. [see below] Meditation on the prime letter *A* (अ) is known as *A-jī-kan* in Japan. In the eighth century the Indian *acharya* Śubhakarasiṃha of the Nalanda university initiated this meditation on a golden-coloured *A* emerging from a pristinely white



eight-petal lotus. Purifying his body and mind by the *japa* of *A* (अ) with every *pūṛaka* and *recaḥa* (in-breathing and out-breathing) of *prāṇāyāma* the meditator should visualize the microcosmic *A* pervading the universe and consubstantiated with Vairocana the Illumination Supreme; to transcend the finite of his self into the universality of the spiritual.

In the words of the leading Japanese cultural historian Hajime Nakamura, “most of the Japanese regard India as their spiritual motherland”.

In ancient times, warriors went to war in helmets bearing Sanskrit *bījas* as benediction for victory. Such a helmet can be seen at the Reihokan Museum at Koyasan. The Tokonoma or alcoves in Japanese parlours often have a smiling image of Daikoku, or Mahākāla who is venerated as the Deity of Fortune. Mahākāla became clad in Japanese robes and stood on two bags of rice representing affluence. Mahākāla became the Great Time (*mahā* ‘great’ *kāla* ‘time’): the time of affluence, in contradistinction to *a-kāla* ‘famine’: the negation (*a*) of good

time (*kāla*). The Japanese also have the *bījāksara* of Mahākāla as a *Siddham-Nāgari* monogram:



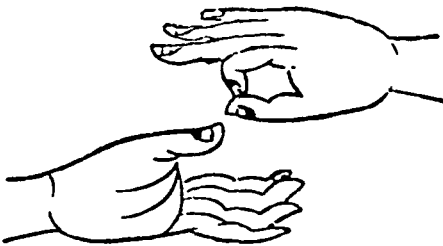
The traditional pilgrims climbing the holy Mount Ontake wear *tenugui* or white Japanese scarves with the sacred mantra *OM*:



The well-known Kabuki theme of the Narukami is an adaptation of the Mahābhārata legend of how Rishi Rīsyāśṛṅga, who had never seen a woman was seduced by Princess Śāntā, the daughter of King Lomapāda.

The wonderful art of Ikebana, which means putting living plants in water, is to love flowers as living beings and to tend them with kindly feelings. The Japanese bow before the flowers after they have arranged them. An aesthetic creation, it was the essence of life itself, pervaded by the warmth of the human heart, whereby one gives expression to the universal heart. Japanese tradition speaks of "Indian monks who, in their universal love, were the first to pick up plants injured by the storm or parched by the heat, in order to tend them with compassion and endeavour to keep them alive". While different trends and schools of flower-arrangement developed, the fine feeling for form and the "three main lines" as the foundation remained constant. The three main lines correspond to the *tribhaṅga* in Indian art. The ceremony of incense-burning added to the essence of the spiritual discipline which a budding flower and a few leaves inculcated. The clouds of incense, the gracefully created form, a profound thought calligraphed on a scroll by the hand of a master were the Zen expression of the *pañcōpacāra* wherein *puṣpa* and *dhupa* had a core role; so that man may be touched by the deeps of life itself.

The sound of eventide are the vibrations of the temple bell as it rings the 108 peals for the 108 passions that bind beings to this phenomenal world. The bell itself stands for impermanence: "The sound which it peals



梵
籥
印

左手平舒五指仰置心下以右
手覆於左手上

芥才天
費拏印

(費拏是琵琶也)

仰左手当芥如承琵琶状右手
風空捻餘散申之向身運動如
彈絃狀

左手舒五指仰掌当芥如
承琵琶状右手又舒五指
風空相捻運動如彈絃狀

forth is perishable: it is perceived but it may not be kept. The phenomenal world is like the sound of the bell, it is perceived but it may not be kept.”

As I strolled in the shops at Koyasan, my eyes fell on a manual used by the *mantrayāna* monks for learning the *mudrās* for worship. The title of this manual is *Shingon-mikkyo-zu-in-shu* “a collection of the drawings of the *mudrās* of *mantrayāna*”. In the Japanese tradition, *mudrās* evoke the presence of the divine in the mind of the initiate. According to the Japanese work *Dainichikyo*, the *mudrās* endow the thoughts, consecrations, *mantras*, all that is beyond form with a visible evanescence, to crystallize a state of meditation. Thumbing through the manual my eyes lingered on the *mudras* of Sarasvatī and a book in the form of a palm-leaf manuscript which are reproduced here. [see page 871].

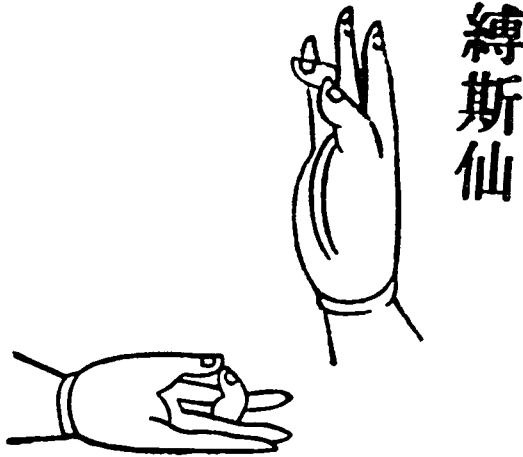
All that was transmitted from Kashmir, Kanchi and Nalanda to Japan was touched by the breath of the spirit and form that is Japan. Even in the austere simple lines representing Sarasvatī, there is the feeling of the Japanese world of “flowers and willows”: [see below]. This is the anthropomorphic



delineation of Sarasvatī on the physical plane or the plane of *kāya*. On the second or verbal plane of *vāk* she is calligraphed in the *Siddham-Nagari* script in the monkish hand of a master. Thus written, the syllable lives and

breathes in an adoring, admiring heart. On the final plane of the *citta*, she is realized as a *samaya*, a vow, a resolve, expressed as a fundamental form, and “form is emptiness, and emptiness is form” (*rūpam eva śūnyatā, śūnyatā eva rūpam*). Purity and peace, simplicity and serenity become the artless art of life,

When tea is made with water drawn from the depths of the mind
Whose bottom is beyond measure. (Hideyoshi).



Global Movements in History

B. S. Upadhyaya

Life is total, history is global, and culture is composite and continuous. The local is important only as a link in the chain, as a unit integrated in a continuum of parts. Cultural incidents and scientific achievements, supposed local, cross the confines of time and clime and cover the planet. There is no west, no east in culture or history, for to the west of the west lies the east and to the east of the east lies the west. What is east to China is west to California and the Pacific forms the east of the Old World, the west of the New. A spark ignited in a corner spreads to the ends of the world and envelops it with its light and fire.

Life and ideas are so continuous and so universal that they disdain the limits sought to be put on them. Take an instance. If an author writes a book in a European language, has it printed and sends copies to shops, he uses the inventions and discoveries of ages and countries. He writes in characters developed by the Sumerians from the Egyptian hieroglyphs and propagated by the Phoenicians. He uses paper invented by the Egyptians and the Chinese, and ink formed from the lamp-black (called 'Indian ink'), discovered by the latter. He sends his finished manuscript to his publishers through the post—a public service first organized by the Persians—in order to be put into print by a press, created by the Chinese, through a process of types of bronze first cast by the Koreans and perfected by the Japanese. In return the author receives a document—a cheque—of a kind invented by the merchants of ancient Babylon, requesting a banking house with whom his publishers have credit to pay him a certain sum partly in metal coins, such as were originally struck in half shekel weight by Senacherib in Assyria in the eighth century B C. and later improved by Croesus in Lydia, and partly in paper notes originally used by Kublai Khan, the enlightened grandson of the ferocious Mongol Chengiz Khan who held under his cruel heels the whole of China, much of Asia and parts of Europe. Part of the money thus received the author assuredly spends on tobacco to smoke or potato and tomato to eat—blessings people owe to the pre-Columbian inhabitants of America. A larger part of the money, however, goes to provide him with a well-earned holiday at some spot reached by a train or boat driven by steam, whose propulsive powers were first discovered by a Hellenized Egyptian named Hero of Alexandria. Maybe the author flies to a health resort or a port of pleasure in an aircraft first conceived by that versatile genius Leonardo da Vinci of Renaissance Italy. How many factors, how many races, indeed how many millennia, enter into the composition of the simple fact of an author spending a holiday!

Races have been restless and constantly on the move and they have moved from weird wildernesses to green valleys, from desolate lands to riparian regions. Predatory tribes have burnt and sacked settlements as they have moved for loot and plunder. The movements of the Hyskos,

the Aryans, the Scythians, the Yueh-chis, the Huns, the Mongols all have enacted the same drama of bloodshed and they relate the same tale of unrelieved cruelty. Civilizations have been deluged and destroyed by barbarian hordes, and yet the residue has not been colourless. For even those that dealt the blow and knocked the bottom out of a settled civilization imparted to its decaying corpus a little of their yeast and vigour, however savage, thus adding their own tone to the existing pattern.

Motifs and ideas travel across the lands and seas as do wares. The distant little world of pre-history Egypt bought its metals in Mesopotamia and Mohenjo-daro sold its seals in Ur and Kish. Before civilization became definable a network of trade routes was laid over the earth. Caravans from Ararat and Ankara, Taurus and Tarsus, journeyed forth and back, across Samara to Jerusalem and Thebes. Those that set out from Antioch and Damascus wended their way through Susa and Ekbatana, up the hills and down the dales, and along the spurs and the passes of the Hindu-Kush, detoured to Pataliputra and unbuckled at Ujjain. The madeira of Spain was stored in the vaults of Shanghai and the black pepper of Kerala ransomed the eternal city of Rome from Alaric the Visigoth. As we just noted, banking system developed by the Phoenicians at Tyre and Carthage conditions our transactions today and coins struck and minted by Sennacherib at Nineveh and Croesus in Lydia shape the models of our currency. Egyptian hieroglyphs, Sumerian ideographs and Babylonian syllabary roughed by the climes and ages, embellished the epitaphs of the Etruscans and the calligraphy of the Kufans, shared equally by the Semites and the Aryans, and blossomed forth into our present-day alphabets.

The story of the Deluge, an event occurring in Sumeria, as disclosed by the diggings of Leonard Woolley, could not remain confined to the epic of *Gilgamesh* and it soon formed its varied versions in the literatures of the civilized world, the *Satapatha Brahmana* not excepted, and Shamash-napishtim of Nippur was reborn in Ziusuddu of Babylon, in Noah of the Hebrews, in Manu of the Indo-Aryans. The pre-diluvian records were reflected in the Rigveda and the talismans and taboos of the early settlers on the Euphrates governed the magical charms and spells of the sorcerers of the Atharvaveda. The Code of Hammurabi, exhibited in the Louvre, established the first link of the chain running through the Laws of Lycurgus and the *Samhita* of Manu down to the Code Napoleon. The metric system standardizes the weights and measures of the world. The humped bull of the Indus Valley set the model for the Apis bull of the Egyptians and, going the round through Sumeria and Babylonia, it developed wings as the sentinels of the Assyrian palaces at Nineveh and grew a beard on its human-headed chin on the columns of Apadan and ended by topping the shafts of Ashoka, thus completing the circle. The pyramids with their hollowed vaults and the ziggurats with their

solid structure provided the *stupas* with their chambered sanctum and the commemorative tower. The panegyric epigraphs on the basilisks and columns of Egypt passed on to the Babylonians and Assyrians and, coursing through the Persepolitan pillars and the Behistun monuments, they created the Asokan wonders. And all this branched off from a common trunk, the Neolithic culture, which gave to our civilization its two foundations, agriculture and the potter's wheel, the latter leading us in course of time into space journeys.

A miracle was wrought when India yielded to Chinese pilgrims manuscripts of value which were sought to be multiplied through mechanism to enable them to be acquired by the new initiates into Buddhism in Chinā. And block printing was invented along with paper and Korea created the types which Japan perfected. Paper and printing travelled to Europe and although the Arab horsemen, the great civilizers of the world who carried a sword in one hand and books in the other, were held up at the Battle of Poitiers by Charles Martin, the inventions brought in by them helped to diffuse the vernacular renderings of the Bible so earnestly needed for the Reformation movement in Europe. Chinese wisdom, Indian mathematics and medicine and the studies in Greek philosophy, conserved and translated at Baitul-Hikma of Damascus and Baghdad, were conveyed by the Arabs to the humanist and pagan societies of Europe. The steel tempered at Damascus shaped the scimitar of the Caesars and shone in the blades of Babar and Sanga. The wonder of the mariner's compass was repeated when the gunpowder, made in China, came to be used by Henry VII of England to break the citadels of his refractory barons. The innocuous powder had been discovered under the Tang emperors for the innocent frolic of fireworks. Later, formed into hand-grenades and turned to military use by the Saracens, it was taken to Europe by the invading Arabs. It proved as decisive at the confluence of the Danube and Sava as in the Battle of Kanwaha. Indeed Chinese tea, Indian spices, fabrics and gems, Latin American tobacco, potato and tomato, the Babylonian zodiacal signs and art of divining, the planetary week calendar invented by Constantine and circulating over the world, became global. Clement of Alexandria said that "Greeks stole their philosophy from the barbarians: The philosophies of Kapila and Pythagoras are indeed so very akin that they seem to have sprouted from the same stem. History and culture develop sides which refuse to be confined to local units and take on a total character.

When the Hittite queen wrote to the Egyptian Pharaoh to stop war and seek amity, she laid down the first foundations of international understanding millennia before a League of Nations was formed or a United Nations Organization was constituted.

Belshazzar's holocaust was spelt by a phrase *mene mene takel upharsin* (you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting) which,

recast into 'the writing on the wall', remains Chaldean no more but takes over a universal character of imminent doom. Forms of slogans in art and literature — the Classical, the Roman, the Gothic, the Arabesque, the Romantic, the Neo-classical, the Impressionist and the post-Impressionist, the Expressionist, the Realist, the Existentialist, the Surrealist and the like — come to be used in lands as far apart as the Americas and Rhodesia. Literary criticism today swears by Aristotle and themes relating to Electra and Orestes, the children of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, once created and staged by Aeschylus and Sophocles, have today become the glory as much of the American and French theatres staging Sartre. Oedipus is a *complex* not restricted to the tragedies of Greece but has stalked the ends of the world and enriches the meaningful vocabulary of a saddening and shading cast of ideas. Our Akademis are named after the Athenian ones where Plato, Aristotle and Epicurus queried, debated and taught. The cities of the United States are christened after Greek cities and the architecture of the Congress in Washington D C. repeats the Forum of the Romans and many a structure of the modern world is modelled after the Parthenon on the pediments of which Myron, Phidias, and Praxiteles are being reproduced. The Olympics have been resuscitated and become a global organization today. Thucydides, Herodotus, Tacitus, Pliny and Livy down to Gibbon, Spengler, Trawel and Toynbee, standing in a row along the corridors of time, tell and re-tell how history builds and unbuilds and builds again, vertically, horizontally. Indeed they all demonstrate that we are all of one piece.

Indian mercenaries fought at Marathon, shared the defeat of Darius at Arbela and combed the marshes of the Caspian for the Scythians. The Hittites and Mitannis pledged by Indian gods on the heights of Boghas Koi and Alexander the Macedonian built his cities in Egypt and India and rearranged the politics of three continents. Hannibal crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and scaled the tops of the Alps on Indian elephants and, beaten at Zama and pursued across the waters, took poison, and died in a little Greek town, while Caesar the Roman ruled the Britons and founded Paris. Rains failed on the borders of China and pastures were parched. The Huns, becoming restive, moved westward and the Yueh-chi in Kansu were unhinged and made to flee head over heels. They toppled the Wu-sun and the Śakas and the latter uprooted the Bactrian Greeks from the valley of the Oxus. Attila the Hun carried sword and fire along the Danube, renamed Hungary after his clan and invested Rome and visited the fiords of Norway with depredations. Mongols, the Tartar descendants of the Huns, crushed the whole of Asia under their feet, built a mosque at Moscow and held the Holy Roman Emperor a prisoner in his own palaces of Vienna, and the empire to ridicule. And while Chengiz drove the Sultan of Khwarizm across the Indus and

caused Yildiz and Kubacha to disappear from history, his sons trounced the confederacy of Christian princes opposite Belgrade.

An Indian colony was settled at Memphis in Egypt long before the classical Greeks became aware of their own scintillating intellect. Another developed in the canton of Taron on the upper Euphrates, to the west of Lake Van, as early as the second century B C. These Indians built temples installing images of gods as high as twenty feet which stood there until razed to the ground by the holy Christian St. Gregory about A D 304, when the colonists defending their home and sanctum died the death of martyrs. Buddhism spread as a welcome faith in western Asia and eastern Europe as early as Asoka, and Alberuni records that "in former times all the countries of Khurasan, Persia, Iraq, Mosul and the region up to the frontiers of Syria" professed the precepts of Buddha. The missionary Order of the Christian Church took the stamp of the Buddhist monastic order and made its first appearance on Mt. Carmel.

Long before the Arab navigators made use of the "south-pointing needle" (the compass), invented by Chang Heng (d. A.D. 139) and applauded about 1190 by Guyot de Provins in one of his poems, Hippalus the Roman had discovered the monsoon winds. The discovery was hailed by the mariners of the western and the eastern worlds for the knowledge, that winds blew regularly across the Indian Ocean, freed them from their havens and harbours where they had to keep docking for months. Now they could sail with the winds, ride indomitably the crest of the waves and cross the seas from the Red Sea and the Horn of Africa to the land of 'Indies' and round the narrow strait between India and Ceylon. They could also venture out to the great isles of Indonesia and onward and beyond to the Gulf of Tonkin, the Chinese Sea and to the upward north.

Seals for signature proved the unconscious origin of prints. In the seventh century A.D. Buddhist missionaries experimented with various methods of duplication, through seals, rubbings, and stencils, and the textile print made its appearance at the end of a line culminating in the art in India. The earliest extant black prints present a million charms on the frail ground of textile and they were finished in Japan about A.D. 770 in Sanskrit language and Chinese character — an excellent instance of cultural interaction.

The art of writing stemming into two from the pictography of Egypt and ideographs of Sumer sprouts into scores of styles — ranging from the Babylonian, Assyrian, Hittite, Phoenician, Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, Roman, Kharoshthi and perhaps also the Brahmi, — alphabets that cover the mode of writing spread over the world except China. The Jātaka stories, the fables of Aesop and the *Panchatantra* had almost a parallel though an independent rise and growth but, crossing the bounds of their beginning, they created the nucleus of the literature of stories and

romances. The *Panchatantra* passed through various versions, of the Pehlavi, the Syriac, the Arabic, the Hebrew, the Italian and later, of the languages of the rest of the world. The *Arabian Nights*, rising from an Indian base, superimposed the imagination of the western world and the adventures of Sindbad imbued its yeast to many an occidental tale. Like chess and the decimal system, the fables gained international currency across the frontiers of the world. Kalidasa has influenced many a poet in the west. Schiller followed his *Meghaduta*, while composing his play called *The Captive Queen*. Daṇḍī's story of Kusumamanjari on his famous composition *Dasakumaracharita* furnished the kernel and the end of the great novel *Thaïs* of the Nobel Prize winner Anatole France. Examples unending in numbers can be quoted to show how the world of literature and arts has progressed through the contributions of its various units. Much of these stories and oriental ballads have been carried to the countries of the world by the roaming gypsies who are really Indian but were once mistaken, because of their colour and the oriental strain, for Egyptians. Besides giving Rumania its name, they have created a language of their own and have enriched local languages by bringing into them words and expressions of various peoples in whose countries they camped. Jefferson's draft of the Rights of Man has become the nucleus of the constitution of every emancipated people. Arts and letters all over the world today have become composite. Their trends are created at one place and soon they steal into those of distant peoples.

The progress of Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam, the interchange of cultures, trends in literatures and arts, sciences and inventions have created a composite heritage of humanity to the making of which all the races and peoples have contributed. It is through this common heritage that humanity recreates its ideals and finds itself.

Science, Value and Man

Ram Chandra Pandeya

Science, technology, and industrialization, as we know them today, are the product of western culture. There are certain values associated with them, although they are supposed to be value-neutral. It would be philosophically wrong to suppose that values are exclusively subjective. A cursory review of the development of modern science and technology will show us that from the very beginning sciences have been associated with a set of values and they presuppose a distinct way of life. Industrialization, for example, assumes that people's demands will continue to increase and there is no limit to the desires of men. In societies where material wealth is regarded as less important than spiritual attainments, technology and industrialization would not be favourably received. Almost all the religions of India have emphasized spiritual and religious values. Thus when industrialization was introduced, a clash ensued between material and spiritual values. In our country there has been no whole-hearted acceptance of science and its offshoots. Nevertheless, western culture and outlook towards life are penetrating the east. Some of the cultures of the east are on the verge of disappearance and others are on the path of decline. That is why thinking people in India and other eastern countries are seriously asking the question: Are we going to surrender completely to western culture or can we synthesize east and west? The third alternative is not worth considering, because in this competitive world we cannot afford to remain materially destitute while other countries are rapidly progressing.

Gandhi in recent times demonstrated the traditional Indian approach with great effectiveness. He was opposed to mechanization, as he was convinced that the values associated with technology are incompatible with the spirit of Indian culture. He visualized India as a country of villages, each self-sufficient on the basis of cottage industries. But this was bound to remain a pious wish, because India could not afford to stand on its own in the community of highly developed countries without the help of science. Nehru's idea of striking a balance between science and tradition was more dynamic and represented the people's real aspirations. So India started equipping herself with various industries and today our efforts have borne some fruit.

But the rapid pace of industrialization has already begun to have an effect on the life and outlook of our people. Much of our present-day trouble can be traced back to conflict of values. Unconsciously we are committed to traditional values but in practice we are accepting the values conveyed by industries. Our young people are particularly bewildered. They have started feeling and behaving as if they need not be concerned with values. The student unrest, the revolt against the institution of family, and abnormal social behaviour are symptoms of this value conflict.

The development of modern science in seventeenth-century Europe took the form of a revolt against mediaeval forms of Christian religion.

Among the first victims of science were certain dogmas and beliefs concerning cosmology and astronomy. The authority of the Church diminished and consequently the authority of science began to increase. Ideas regarding the nature and status of man underwent a change. The calculations of such early scientists as Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, and Newton made man aware of an unfathomably vast universe consisting of millions of galaxies. Man and his earth were no longer the centre of the Universe. This belittling of man had another notable impact. In the old days man considered himself nearer God whose favourite creation he thought he was. With the beginning of modern science he became aware of his insignificance and began to see and feel that between him and his God there was an immeasurable stretch of space. Thus man was separated from God and he no longer could look towards an almighty and benevolent God in hours of distress. This feeling of separation from God also removed fears of spiritual sacrilege and punishment that man had in mediaeval times. He was no longer a God-fearing creature. This assertion of freedom from the bond that used to tie man to God gradually made the practices of confession, prayer, and other similar religious acts meaningless. It is true that man's fear of God was exploited by those who were in power but by gaining freedom from the Church man lost his moorings; he became like driftwood in the ocean of worldly turmoil.

Man's realization of his insignificance in the universe had an adverse reaction. He began to explore ways in which he could assert not only his importance but also his superiority over other creatures of the universe. He discovered that he had a special faculty of thinking and knowing, which he found lacking in other creatures. With the help of science he set about to know more about the secrets of the universe. Behind the quest for knowledge, which became the aim of science, there was a hidden motive — to show off man's superiority. If all the secrets that Nature has concealed within herself could be known, the universe could no longer intimidate man by its complexities and treacherous behaviour. This ideal, if accomplished, would prove man to be the master of the universe.

Along with the process of knowing Nature, man also began to compete with it by producing things which Nature could not produce and which could be employed further to tame and exploit Nature. This idea gave birth to technology. The productive functions of man, when sufficiently developed with the aid of scientific discoveries, made man, at least in his unconscious mind, a demi-God because he had more or less assumed the same functions though on a smaller scale, that the God of old days was supposed to have. Man could think of becoming God.

From egoism it is a short step to arrogance and intolerance. The two world wars which took place after science and technology had advanced

were inspired by the kind of ideology outlined here. Man thought that just as he was going to conquer Nature, he could also conquer other men who were less developed and had less knowledge of the secrets of Nature. In other words, some men, particularly those who were advanced in the field of science and technology, began to treat other men as if they were fit to be conquered and exploited along with Nature. The effect of science was visible in human relations and a new concept of man as a part of brute Nature emerged.

There is still another aspect of the development of science in the west which is of significance. It may be recalled that in the primitive period of human civilization man was at the mercy of Nature and he had both fear and reverence for it — fear because Nature could do harm to his life and withhold things without which he could not live, and reverence because Nature provided him with what he needed. Later, when the secrets of Nature were gradually known, man began manipulating it. A time came when man declared a full-scale war against Nature. In the later part of the nineteenth century this declaration of war became irrevocable and complete. But at this stage man's whole attention was directed towards the world of Nature; he had little time to look within himself. This is the reason why the twentieth century man declared that there was no soul inside man and the so-called mind was a ghost supposed to run a machine. This means that man thought about himself only in the process of his conquest of Nature; that is, man looked at himself from without, not from within. This brushing aside the inner being resulted in the split of man. There was the inner being who, though overlooked, could not tolerate the fact of man becoming a part of the world of machines, and also there was an outer self which tried to identify itself with the world outside. This is exactly the opposite of what was thought of man in old days. The ancient man thought himself to be pure consciousness and treated the external world as if it was an appearance of this consciousness. Modern man thinks that man is a part of the world of matter and the inner man is a myth of an earlier age. This demotion of the inner man can be seen resulting in various forms of estrangement and alienation.

Ancient man recognized that there was a force, call it soul or mind, which was present alike among all men. This awareness gave a feeling of solidarity of the entire human race. Religion was a means by which the unity of all men could be realized. But today science has rejected the possibility of there being any such common reality linking all men. Consequently today any effort to institute an idea of equality of all men has only a formal and figurative meaning. Moreover, ancient man thought that all men were the expressions of the same God or Absolute. The man of today thinks that all men are equal, not the same, and equality is interpreted in terms of equality of opportunity to

enjoy and to live. This means that each man is a self-contained unit, a windowless monad of Leibniz, an atomic entity. Atoms may behave in an identical fashion but no two atoms can be the same in any respect. Each man is confined to himself and the society of men is based on an unwritten contract for not interfering with personal affairs of others. This has taken away the old sense of fellow-feeling, love, compassion, and similar sentiments that were encouraged in pre-scientific days. Today the basic sentiments are marked by competition, secrecy, and disbelief.

Modern science developed against the background of mediaeval Christian religion and its conditions were provided by the European culture. Therefore, though science represents a revolt against the Christian dogma yet it takes for granted many things that were and are even now parts of the western civilization. It may be recalled that the religions practised in the west believed in the theory of man's fall and banishment of Adam and Eve. The eating of the forbidden fruit of knowledge gave man the capacity to discriminate good from bad, but at the same time it deprived him of his closeness to God and consequently of all divine qualities. Ever since then man has been striving to gain his lost position though inwardly he has always been conscious of disobedience to God and the feeling of sin. The idea of man the sinner against God was uppermost in the minds of the people of mediaeval Europe. Another major element of European culture came from the civilization of ancient Greece. Right from Socrates onwards there was a firm conviction that man was basically a rational being. What was the source of fall in Christianity was taken in the Greek world to be the essence of man. After the Roman conquest of Greece, although Greek and Christian views were sought to be synthesized, it was not possible to achieve a harmony between the two opposed convictions. In mediaeval times the Christian element was predominant but the Renaissance heralded a new era where the Greek element became supreme. Disbelief in authority and complete faith in man's capacity to know were the dominant notes of the time when modern science took shape. But the people, being conditioned as they were for centuries by Christianity, took science to be an agent aggravating sin. Thus from its start science was associated with the idea of sin. Gradually knowledge was taken to be an unavoidable characteristic of man and people accepted with calmness that man was doomed to know. Thus science seeks to liberate man from tradition and superstitions but its Christian association necessarily restricts its scope. "Man is free to know but not free to get rid of his prerogative" is the basic presupposition of science. Man is thus necessarily a part of the Nature to which he has fallen after his banishment from Paradise. In other words he is not a rational *animal* but a knowing machine. He cannot withdraw from Nature to the world of spirit because science does not recognize any world other than the

world of Nature; science does not allow this freedom. Thus man is free only within the world of science.

This presupposition of science makes the coexistence of science and religion impossible because any religion demands the kind of freedom which science cannot grant. This freedom primarily consists in an unfettered excursion into the world of self and experience of the mysterious within. The tragedy is that even when one claims to have such an experience that experience is sought to be judged on the same standard as any ordinary experience. Consequently this spiritual, mystic, or religious experience is dubbed as abnormal. This shows the extent to which science has become the sole standard of judgement and evaluation. Anything that cannot be measured scientifically is called spurious. This means that in a given society the unmeasurable experience of the kind mentioned earlier cannot be held to be valid if science also finds acceptance there. All this explains the gradual decline of religion in the western world and today religion is not even a worthy and respectable subject of drawing-room talk.

My analysis of science and its relation to religion so far has only one aim, namely to show that in eastern countries where religion and spiritual values are still held in high esteem science cannot have a free hand. We in the east are aware that we cannot prevent science from strengthening its hold because that would be suicidal to our material interest. Though having seen the way science has slowly but surely poisoned religion and left it to die in the wilderness, the people are not prepared to let their own religion and allied values disappear. A way will have to be found to make the two at least coexist if not co-operate.

It is true that much nonsense goes in the name of religion. We have thus to decide how much of what is called religion is true and valuable and how much of it has to be discarded. This decision can be taken purely on rational grounds using the purpose for which religion is needed as the sole guide. Religion as we conceive it in the east is the experience of unity of all living beings as participating in and deriving their being from one transcendental Reality. If we are Hindus we think that all living creatures are expressions of the Absolute Brahman which in itself is pure consciousness, existence and bliss all in one. For a Mahāyāna Buddhist the entire universe is a manifestation of the Tathāgatagarbha. The Theravāda Buddhist sees all beings bound by one and the same law which is also more or less the situation obtaining in Chinese religions. All these religions, therefore, believe in the common origin and essential unity of mankind and consequently uphold the realization of man's identity with this transcendental Reality to be the ultimate goal of life. Keeping this in view we can say that anything that creates division on superficial grounds like race, creed, and colour is spurious and cannot

find a place in religion. Nationality which is sought to be meticulously preserved these days is also superficial because it divides a group of men from others. The very idea of superiority and quest for power emanates from false egoism. If one and the same reality pervades the entire universe, there cannot be anyone who can be considered superior or inferior to anyone else. Religion is not a dogma propounded by a person for a chosen few; it is either universal or is a hypocrisy.

This idea of religion takes for granted that knowledge of the essential unity of mankind is the sole means to achieve the end. Feelings and actions will have to be subordinated to this knowledge. The essential unity of all creatures is a matter of direct experience and each individual has to realize it himself. Therefore, any authority is of little significance. This emphasis on knowledge and reliance on direct experience brings the religions of Indian origin closer to Greece but separates them from Christianity and Islam. Similarly the kind of knowledge that eastern religions seek cannot be offered by science.

Though for a religion it may be a fact that all men are essentially one yet as a fact this is of no significance. This fact becomes significant when known and realized. The function of religion is not complete as long as this realization does not take place; but after this realization religion becomes useless. Therefore, religion is always future-oriented. It is not concerned with what is there or what was there in the past. Its primary aim is to show what will come in the future. One religion differs from another with regard to the picture of the future it depicts. Heaven, hell, resurrection, final judgment, *moksha* and *nirvāna* are the ideas concerned with the future as they are not here and now; they have yet to come. How to achieve them or to avoid them is the chief concern of religion.

Unlike religion, science is concerned with facts; with what there is, and each such fact is analysed in terms of its antecedents. Scientific explanation of a given fact is always in terms of what has already happened. It does not as a rule offer any explanation in terms of what would happen in the future. Teleology is, scientifically speaking, a poor substitute for science. Therefore, in science we find a tendency to move backward in time taking its start of course from the given present. These days we find scientists and technologists talking of the future of mankind. But the visualization of the future on scientific grounds is nothing but a projection of the scientific knowledge of the present on the future. It is a kind of planning for the future which is already conditioned by the past. Any plan for the future presupposes that the future will be governed by the past. If the future that a scientist visualizes is not governed by the past his planning becomes useless. The kind of future that religion visualizes is different from the future conceived by the scientist. We find two different approaches towards the future in the history of religions of the world. According to one approach, which is typically

represented by Hindu religion, it is to think of the entire world of the past as belonging to a person's own history. This may be said to be a method by which a man annihilates his personality and identifies himself with the entire universe. In that case an individual becomes a universal man, the Brahman. The past has here been completely submerged. This very result has also been achieved by another religion of Indian origin, namely Buddhism. Buddhism emphasizes renunciation of the world which means that a man has to disown and abandon his past completely. The past has no relevance for the future and the destiny of man will be achieved if a man has become free from his past. Thus religion as I see it does not take the past of the man into account and therefore its conception of the future is entirely different from that of science.

We can place aesthetics on the time-scale midway between science and religion. While enjoying beauty or creating art we are neither aware of antecedents of the art object nor are we concerned with the consequences that may follow. Enjoyment seeks to arrest the fleeting moments of time and its aim is to extend the duration of the present to the farthest possible limit.

Science, aesthetics, and religion represent three dimensions of human activity: In old days science was linked with the end to which it leads and thus a kind of unity of science and religion, the past with the future, was instituted. Similarly to prevent vulgarity and sensuality, aesthetics was linked with religion. The best art was religious in character. Thus all the three dimensions were co-ordinated and in this co-ordination religion was the prime consideration.

The movement of secularization in the west, which was nothing but anti-religious science in disguise, separated these three dimensions on the plea that religions create differences. Whether religion is a source of difference or discord is a matter of dispute. It is true to some extent that in old days wars were fought on the basis of religion but in modern times religion was hardly a point of difference in two world wars. Religiously speaking, if one is permitted to say so, these world wars were fought among those who followed one and the same religion. But in those cases also where religion seems to be a matter leading to war it is not the basic principle of religion but egoism and prejudices that have been built around a religion that lead to wars. It is very important for us to remember that a religion in essence is not the same thing as a religion common people follow in their daily life. Religion in daily life contains much that on close examination would be found to be anything but religion. In modern age we have to take religion in its purer form and not in its mundane appearance.

In its purer form a religion becomes the concern of entire humanity because divisive forces are separated from religion. As a matter of fact the welfare of the entire humanity by creating a conditions where all

human beings can participate in the common experience should now be emphasized as the aim of religion. If you like you can translate this new conception of religion in the language of any religion of the past. We can replace God by universal experience and the participation of entire humanity in that experience is religious communion. If such a religious experience be the aim only that aspect of science would become a part of this religion which promotes welfare of the man and not destruction. In other words only peaceful uses of science will be permitted and destructive applications of science would be altogether eliminated. If we can start developing our thoughts in this direction right now and attach aesthetic values to any experience in which all men can participate we can not only save mankind from the threat of annihilation that the nuclear age has brought, we can also by means of co-operation and mutual assistance build a community of all men. In this community no difference of race, country, or political ideology would be possible. It would be a world community.

The ideal religion, as I have tried to present here, is the only way in which we in the east can combine science with our tradition. All Asian religions are quite liberal and this form of religion would be readily acceptable to the Asian people, though a typical western man would find this idea of religion hard to accept. Since we in the east are confronted with the problem of relation between science and religion or between east and west, which is the same thing, for us this seems to be the possible situation — although the west is today in need of some such approach more than we are, as is evident from the interest that the west has started taking in eastern tradition and religions.

Only One Earth

Karan Singh

The *Atharva Veda* has a magnificent Hymn to the Earth (*Bhumi Suktam*) with 63 *mantras*, including the following:—

“Earth, in which are the sea, the river and other waters,
in which food and cornfields have come to be,
in which live all that breathe and that move,
may she confer on us the finest of her yield.

All sustaining, treasure-bearing, firm staying place,
gold-breasted, home of all moving life
pleasant be thy hills, O Earth,
thy snow-clad mountains and thy woods.

Earth, in which the waters, common to all,
moving on all sides flow unfailing, night and day,
may she pour on us milk in many streams
and endow us with lustre.

We invoke all-supporting Earth
on which trees, lords of forests, stand ever firm.
Rock, soil, stone and dust.
Earth is held together and bound firm,
to her my obeisance, to gold-breasted Earth.

Whatever I dig from the Earth,
may that have quick growth again.
O purifier, may we not injure thy vitals or thy heart

The concept of the Earth as the sustainer of the human race, of the race itself as one family (*vasudhaiva kutumbakam*) and of the necessity to nourish and protect the earth from despoliation, is thus deeply rooted in our cultural heritage. It was not until early in 1972 however, when the National Committee on Environmental Planning and Co-ordination was established that for the first time there came into being in our country a body specifically directed towards identifying and investigating the problems of improving the human environment, promoting public awareness of environmental problems at every level, and ensuring that environmental values are injected into our economic policies. It is a measure of her far-sightedness and capacity to take a total view of the human situation that Indira Gandhi has been the first leader of the developing world to realize the significance of ecological problems and to move towards facing them at a comparatively early stage in our social and economic development.

Inaugurating the Committee on 12 April 1972, Indira Gandhi said,

“As one who has been deeply interested in this subject since long before I had ever heard of the word ‘ecology’, I am naturally glad that people have woken up to the dangers which threaten the world as we know it. . . . Since man has discovered that he could use nature for his own purposes he has been interfering with his environment. Man is a part of Nature and only one of the many species who inhabit the earth. But he has treated it as his colony to exploit it. The scale of his intervention has now grown to a point where it has produced vast and disruptive changes which have already modified our existence more profoundly than any earlier human activity. Hence the ecological problems with which we are now concerned embrace diverse aspects ranging from the economic, social, psychological problems of human settlements to the management and use of natural resources and the conservation of natural habitats.”

The setting up of the National Committee in April 1972 was particularly appropriate because in June that year there was held in Stockholm the first United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, a conference that will surely go down as a deeply significant milestone in the long and tortuous history of the human race on this planet. The conference, whose motto was ONLY ONE EARTH, opened on the 5 June in the dramatic Opera House of Stockholm. The welcome speech was delivered by the dynamic young Prime Minister of Sweden, Olaf Palme, and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kurt Waldheim, also addressed the conference. Over a thousand five hundred delegates and a similar number of observers representing more than a hundred countries, the world press, and dozens of official and private organizations concerned with various aspects of the human environment, met in the Swedish capital from 5 to 16 June.

The background papers for each of six Subject Areas had been prepared with great care over a three-year period by a Working Group under the direction of Maurice Strong, secretary-general of the conference. The preparatory work itself represented a major achievement inasmuch as it brought together in an organized and integrated form a vast mass of information, analysis and concrete proposals covering in its six areas almost every aspect of the human environment. A key document was a book entitled *Only One Earth: The Care and Maintenance of a Small Planet*, by Barbara Ward and Rene Dubos, prepared with the assistance of a 152-member committee of consultants from 58 countries.

The conference represented the first planetary approach to the environmental problems facing mankind today. It considered the international recommendations contained in the working papers of the six subject areas and, in addition, a draft Declaration on the Human Environment and an Action Plan. Our delegation, apart from C. Subramaniam, myself and I.K. Gujral, included a number of

distinguished scientists and administrators from various disciplines. In dealing with the planning and management of human settlements we were able to mobilize opinion to accord this problem the highest priority vis-a-vis the developing countries, and our suggestion to set up an international fund to strengthen national programmes under this head was adopted with overwhelming support. Similarly, in dealing with development and environment our amendment, which clarified that the environmental concerns of the affluent countries should not have the effect of diverting resources from assistance to developing countries, and that in fact there should be a larger transfer of resources to meet the environmental requirements of the developing countries, was adopted with an overwhelming majority despite opposition by the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and some other affluent countries.

Perhaps the most important act of the conference was the adoption of the Declaration on the Human Environment. The working group on this declaration held prolonged debates in an attempt to hammer out a text that would be acceptable to the hundred-odd delegations from countries with vastly different social, economic, and political systems. I had the privilege of participating in many of these sessions, and found it a fascinating experience. Finally, early in the morning of the last day of the conference, a text was produced which was brought before the plenary session. This text, which was unanimously adopted with the sole exception of the People's Republic of China, consists of a seven-paragraph preamble and twenty-six principles.

Both in the preamble and in the principles the impact of the Indian delegation was considerable. We had in fact proposed an entirely new preamble which was described by several delegations as being the best draft before the conference. However, in a spirit of compromise and co-operation, we agreed to the final preamble which incorporated several of our sentences, particularly those highlighting the problems of the developing nations and the fact that millions of human beings living below the minimum levels required for a decent human existence itself represented an intolerable degradation of the human environment. Two entirely new principles proposed by the Indian delegation were adopted, one dealing with the special responsibility to preserve the world heritage of wild life and the other with the pollution dangers to the oceans which represent the essential reservoir of life on this planet.

It was generally accepted that the highlight of the conference was the remarkable address by Indira Gandhi who was in Sweden at that time on a State visit. This address needs to be widely circulated, because it represents not only the voice of India but indeed the conscience of the developing world. *Inter alia* she said, "The inherent conflict is not between conservation and development, but between environment and the reckless exploitation of man and earth in the name of efficiency. . . .

Pollution is not a technical problem. The fault lies not in science and technology as such but in the sense of values of the contemporary world which ignores the rights of others and is oblivious of the longer perspectives.” Then again, voicing the age-old commitment of India to peace, she said. “The most urgent and basic question is that of peace. Nothing is so pointless as modern warfare. Nothing destroys so instantly, so completely as the diabolic weapons which not only kill but maim and deform the living and the yet-to-be-born; which poison the land leaving long trails of ugliness, barrenness, and hopeless desolation. What ecological project can survive a war?”

The fact that, apart from the Prime Minister of Sweden, Indira Gandhi was the only head of government to address this historic conference fittingly symbolizes her deep interest in the problems of the human environment, and the leading role that our country will have to play under her leadership to strengthen peace and prosperity on our “Only One Earth”. India today is in a crucial phase in her long and turbulent history. Despite difficulties and stiff opposition from certain elements within the country and outside, we have taken a pledge to move forwards on the path of social emancipation, economic development, secularism, and national unity. The broader responsibility towards the human environment must always be kept in mind, because this is part of the responsibility that we owe to generations yet unborn for whom we hold the present in trust.

The Future of Education

Ramji Lal Sahayak

I am not an astrologer who can indicate the future events but often a close look at what is happening around helps the people to see into the future. It would, therefore, be not a completely futile task to examine the present situation to understand the problems that mankind may have to face twenty-five years hence or in the distant future. It is necessary to have a forward look so that we are not taken by surprise when new challenges emerge owing to the impact of broader and deeper socio-economic and political currents of the world.

The most characteristic feature of the present is the speed at which changes are taking place. It took thousands of years for man to be able to move at a speed of fifteen to twenty miles with the help of the steam locomotive towards the end of the eighteenth century but it took only a century and a half more to attain a speed of eighteen thousand miles per hour. Modern man is overtaken by speed and most of the working people in a highly industrialized society move every day at a speed of sixty miles either in cars or trains. The thinking man needs new ideas, new machines, new processes at such a fast speed that knowledge of today becomes out of date tomorrow. This makes it difficult to anticipate problems that may arise in future and often the solutions have to be found on an *ad hoc* basis. Alvin Toffler, in his challenging book *Future Shock*, speaks of the emergence of 'ad-hocracy' on the debris of bureaucracy to deal with the future problems of man. He says: "Today there is mounting evidence that the duration of man's organizational relationships is shrinking, that these relationships are turning over at a faster and faster rate. And we shall see that several powerful forces, including this seemingly simple fact, doom bureaucracy to destruction."

The fact of speed is so conspicuous that seventy to eighty thousand people die every year on the streets in the United States of America of accidents and still an average American family maintains two cars instead of one.

The question of speed is important for education as well. There is an emphasis on accelerated learning. A child of eleven can learn today what an adult could not think of fifty years ago. A prominent psychologist, Jerome Bruner, in his book *The Process of Education* says that anything can be taught to any child at any time. The result is that reading and arithmetic are being taught even from the age of three. Knowledge is expanding beyond all proportions and, therefore, the time to impart that knowledge becomes more and more insufficient. More knowledge must be given to the child in a much shorter duration if he is to be kept up-to-date and is to be prepared for the future. The curriculum and text-books must be changed quickly to keep pace with the changing times. The technology of teaching must be in close touch with the technological developments outside which take place at a fast speed.

The pressures are so great that a multipronged attack is needed to

educate the child. Television, radio, newspapers, films, and various other tools of mass communication are pressed into service to make the child a full-fledged and complete man. Obviously the school by itself cannot cope with the demands of the socio-economic changes. It is for this reason that education has been defined as 'message' because it is a one-way process, i.e., the child has to receive and is hardly required to react. The 'message' is given at a fast speed and there is hardly any time for a pause or repetition. The child is impatient to learn. He is not prepared to stay for long years in a school which has lost much of its importance. The student wants an open school and an open university where he can go at his convenience because he has so many other things to do. The student of today is not merely a dependent or protection-seeking young man. Instead, he is a full-fledged citizen with a right to vote and, therefore, to participate in the political and economic turmoil of the community. He is not a passive listener in the classroom or lecture hall. He wants to participate in the school, college, or university administration. The future of education must take note of this.

The second characteristic of the present age is the explosion of population. In spite of the best efforts of the people of the world it is said that the population of the world will double itself by the end of the present century, i.e., be near about six thousand millions. Man has started looking for a habitat under the sea or on other planets. Only 30 per cent of the school-going population of the world is receiving education.² It is obvious that it would be impossible for the present school system to provide education to those children who need education. It is possible to imagine that the school will lose importance gradually and its function will be taken over by various technological and electronic devices. The child may get most of his education sitting at home and looking at television or participating in computer programmes. Have we really any plan to prepare school teachers and students to meet the challenges of the future?

The third characteristic of the present is the technological revolution. Until recently technology meant factories and machines. It is, however, not so today. In space technology, relative silence and clean surroundings are essential. The assembly line—the organization of armies of men to carry out simple repetitive functions—is an anachronism and more and more sophisticated electronic devices are taking over the work of human hands. New ideas and their application are not only bringing about changes in technological processes but changes in the social, philosophical, political, and economic structure of society as well. Education cannot escape the impact of technology. The teaching machines, programmed instruction, computer-assisted transfer of information are making a major break-through in education. Computer education finds a place in many schools of the United States of America, Radio, television and videotapes are exercising great influence on the younger generation. The curriculum today is

determined not so much by what the child needs or society desires but what can fit into the machine. The teacher today cannot carry on with the chalk-and-talk method but needs some background of technological devices. The future of education depends on how quickly we adapt ourselves to the changing needs of future society. The future requires greater flexibility in curriculum, shorter cuts in the learning process, and greater adaptability to new situations.

The fourth characteristic of the present is the family structure. Large families consisting of a hundred people and a few generations living together have vanished before our eyes. Husband, wife and a child (or no child) is the pattern of the shrinking family today and so it is advertised and publicized as the ideal. But there are signs which indicate that the days are not far off when the husband and wife will not live together. They may have to live at different places. This requires change in the structure of family life and consequently changes in the whole traditional concepts of education which has ceased to play a major role. And today many of the ills of the school campus arise because the school system sticks to an illusion of responsibility which has no meaning. One writer has beautifully described how hopeless is this resistance to change:

“We may stay in the old house — only to see the neighbourhood transformed. We may keep the old car — only to see the repair bill mount beyond reach. We may refuse to transfer to new location — only to lose our jobs as a result. For while there are steps we can take to reduce the impact of change in our personal lives, the real problem lies outside ourselves.”

Therefore, in order to survive, the school must take note of the sociological changes and accept a major shift in educational responsibilities to agencies other than the school.

The fifth characteristic of the present is the pollution of environment. The first Conference on Human Environment sponsored by the U.N.O. which began in Stockholm on 6 June 1972 has drafted a declaration for adopting preventive measures against pollution. Thus the problem is being given serious consideration at both the national and the international level. In big cities, the problem is how to get fresh air. In the rural areas, the use of pesticides is destroying plants and animal life which are in many ways useful to men. In the seas, life in water is decreasing at a fast speed. Even human survival has become difficult. In Japan, the poison used for killing insects in vegetable and fruit plants got into mothers' milk and jeopardized the health of children. When industries are established close to the river, it serves as a boon to the industries and the river serves as a drainage. The result is that sacred rivers are being polluted at a fast speed and it may be that over-industrialization may create a situation in which pure water and air may not be available to man.

The result of all this is that men are scared all over the world and the problem has been brought into the educational process as well. The study of the problem of environment finds a place in the school curriculum as it is expected that the younger people must be made aware of the dangers and they must learn to live in a manner which ensures a cleaner environment.

The sixth characteristic of the present age is the revolt of the youth. There has always been a gap between the younger and the older generation but such a sharp clash did not take place before. This revolt is termed differently as counter-culture movement, radicalism, activism, etc. The young man of today is not the passive, dependent individual being trained for some remote future. Instead, he is already a citizen called upon to sacrifice his life in war and to participate in the socio-political life of the country. The right to vote having been given to the youth at the age of eighteen in several countries has changed the very structure of the educational world. The student wants a voice in shaping the curriculum and deciding what he should be taught in schools and colleges. He challenges the uninspiring, dull methods of teaching and rejects the obsolete system of incomplete, inadequate and meaningless evaluation. He wants to participate in the administration of the educational establishment. While much of the turmoil on the educational campus all over the world may be political or cultural or economic, it must be conceded that a large part of it arises out of academic considerations. When the student walks out of the examination hall because the question paper is stiff, above the standard, or contains something of the course which has not been taught, the authorities seldom try to go to the root of the matter. When the student walks out of the class or abstains from attending the same because he cannot understand what the teacher teaches, the authorities hardly care to remove the causes of non-attendance. One can go on adding example after example to prove that what is often termed as indiscipline is not really so and the young men are being dealt with unjustly in several ways. It is understandable, therefore, that the Gajendragadkar Committee has recommended participation by students in university and college administration. But that recommendation is being implemented only half-heartedly and in a piecemeal manner. Unless we prepare ourselves now for the future, the shock that the future may give to us may be unbearable and we may have to regret our unpreparedness.

The seventh characteristic of the present age is centralization. As knowledge gets more and more sophisticated, life gets more and more complex. One hardly realizes how dependent man is today on remote authority for what he wears, what he eats and what he drinks. A remote power failure may stop all communications from the outside world, cut off water supplies, and may plunge the city or town into

darkness. Most of our life is controlled by specialists in different branches whose actions are not even within our comprehension or understanding. This essentially leads to centralization in administration and government. The power plant set up at a long distance giving electricity to large areas of the land cannot be controlled by the local community but by some central authority. This centralization compels people to belittle the importance of the individual and, therefore, of democracy. Technocracy is now a current term which describes the centralized system of government. The schools of tomorrow must be prepared to face this situation and decide how the individual child can survive or adapt itself to this force of centralization or technocracy.

People complain that our educational system is outdated. The complaint is not without justification. As I have said in the beginning, changes are taking place at a great speed. But the accelerative thrust is least perceptible in education. Educators change only when the system collapses or crashes under the accelerative thrust. They are, by and large, caught unprepared. Changes in education have been brought about more by outside factors and forces than by educators. It is important that teachers, and educators see the signs of the times and ponder over the situation. Let us hope that the dynamic leadership of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi will inspire the nation-builders to face the coming challenges and shoulder new responsibilities in the field of education.

¹ Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner *Teaching as a Subversive Activity*; Penguin Books; pp 28-29

² *Encyclopaedia of Education*, Vol. IV, p. 540.

Satyagraha and the Human Condition

T. K. Mahadevan

Man's attainment of the power of speech, which set him on a road different from that traversed by his fellow mammals and which led to what we now call civilization, also marked, paradoxical as it may seem, the beginnings of his eventual downfall. For with the power of speech there came into existence, for the first time in evolution, the power of deception as well. Had man been speechless, one imagines, he would have remained as honest as the other animals. True, he would not then have been able to erect the marvellous edifice of civilization, but he would not also have so irreparably undermined his future by learning to mix fact with fiction, reality with myth, truth with falsehood.

If we trace the development of sophistication in human language, and especially examine the vicissitudes of that sprawling language family called Indo-European (Indo-Hittite-European, to be more precise) we will find that such sophistication reached its peak in Sanskrit — and in India. In no other part of the world had the pursuit of language been taken up with such devotion. Although the Indo-Europeans wandered far and wide, scattering the riches of their tongue, it was in India that they were able to indulge their linguistic speculations to the full. The Indo-Aryans, caught in the tentacles of their language power, also became the world's most florid myth-makers.

Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the ancient Hindus were unaware of the dangers that would flow from an uninhibited indulgence in language, leading to the point where truth and untruth became so blurred as to be only stylistically distinguishable. This is evident from their scriptural admonition: *satyam vada, dharmam cara* (*first, speak the truth; then, live the good life*). Indeed, the main thrust of the Hindu scriptural tradition, from the Rig-Veda downwards, is to inculcate in man a taste for truth — an inculcation which at times seems dangerously obsessive.

What has all this to do with Gandhi's satyagraha? Isn't satyagraha, as Gandhi enunciated it, something like a technique of social change? Isn't satyagraha the eventual flowering of what began as Civil Disobedience? Isn't it also, at a further remove, a dynamic adaptation of the concept of the General Strike? For if you look at the etymology of the word 'satyagraha', you will find that it is an active principle. An element of action, actual or potential, is in-built in the word. In popular parlance, a satyagrahi is one who is willing to die for truth (truth here meaning also justice, equity, and so on).

All this is certainly true, but satyagraha is something more than action. It is in any case not a technique, a weapon or a magic wand. Satyagraha is, simply, adherence to truth. A satyagrahi is one whose inside and outside are at one, whose thought, word and act are so intimately related to one another that in any one of them we see a reflection of the other two. If that sounds a trifle mystical, one can simplify by saying that a satyagrahi is one who is fiendishly honest.

Honesty is of several kinds. According to the station or calling of a person, one or the other kind of honesty may seem for the time being dominant. But at the root of it all is what may loosely be called intellectual honesty. The absence of this is man's primeval curse. From it flows all other kinds of dishonesty. A satyagrahi is thus one who is at root intellectually honest. That he would be ready to pay the price of his honesty goes without saying. For reasons that are not clear to me, this readiness to pay the price has somehow been given undue importance, so much so that the practice of satyagraha has tended to become something like a contest where a man's mettle is tested.

I like to fancy Gandhi's teaching as consisting of a triune core: "truth-non-violence-satyagraha". Separating the elements of this triune concept and isolating them, even if only for purposes of study, is inimical to a perception of the integral nature of the Gandhian teaching. For non-violence and satyagraha by themselves have no significance unless they are taken along with truth. One of the unfortunate consequences of such fractional study of Gandhi has been his universal identification with non-violence, peace and so on. Gandhi was no man of peace, nor was his non-violence a thing of pristine purity. He was non-violent and peaceful up to a point. What, however, marked him out from beginning to end was his devotion to truth. If he was a true satyagrahi it was not because he braved the British *lathis* on the Dandi seashore but because he was honest unto himself at all times and in all seasons. He did not have a public and a private image. Indeed he was not concerned with projecting any image at all. Satyagraha is thus a state of naturalness, being what one actually is rather than putting on a show. In Hindu terminology, satyagraha may be said to be a kind of *kaivalya-bhāva* or *svabhāva-avasthā*. When a man attains the power of being what he is, without frills and embroidery — and whether he is saint or sinner — he is a true satyagrahi.

All this may sound simplistic, until we examine the present human condition. It needs no deep probing to realize that what ails man is his growing incapacity to be what he is. In past ages, when the human family had not become one little neighbourhood (as now), the disease seemed less virulent because to all appearances it was endemic. Today with the enormous powers that electronics and satellite communication have placed in human hands, making privacy a thing of the past, the disease has become a dangerous epidemic. Every act of deception practised by an individual, a group or a nation has the tendency today to snowball, so that a little squeak of a lie becomes a big roar, threatening to engulf both the perpetrator and the perpetrated in one fell swoop. And in this world of the Big Lie, satyagraha as a technique is an anachronism. Marching and waltzing, fasting and keeping vigils, cramming the jails and a hundred other forms of demonstrative

behaviour have no sort of useful role to play any longer.

There is another aspect of satyagraha which is of deadly importance but which has not been rightly understood. Satyagraha is the constant readiness to respond to reality — and reality — political reality — is nothing if it is not constantly changing. A satyagrahi is thus one who has a plastic and alert mind. A satyagrahi is not static. His mind is not ossified. He has no doctrinal moorings. All of which does not mean that he is fickle! A mind that changes is not necessarily inconsistent. In any case, as Bertrand Russell once argued, “an inconsistent system may well contain less falsehood than a consistent one”.

The essence of the human crisis today is a deficient awareness of reality. It may also be said to be an incapacity of the heart to keep pace with the head. But the incapacity is not innate, it springs from ignorance. Take the problem of over-technology, which in my view sums up the whole of man's dilemma. For clarity's sake, we may expand it into three connected problems — population, pollution, and the Bomb. But at root man's problem is one of over-technology. It is the uncritical pursuit of the myth of “technology for technology's sake”. One of the pernicious forms of this myth is the naive belief, shared openly by many eminent scientists of our time, that if technology creates problems it can also, given time, solve them. In fact the problems of technology are essentially insoluble in technological terms. But man is an incurable myth-maker. In place of the theologian's fancy, we now have the day-dreaming of technologists. We rather glibly assume that technology is a process which is amenable to endless sophistication. And of course, at the end of it all, is the myth of the clean bomb, the smokeless factory chimney, the non-combustion automobile and so on. The situation is alarming precisely because these myths are being nurtured not by the man in the street but by the supermen who make and run these machines, ostensibly for the good of all of us.

There is a new term which is gaining currency — ecology. But the essence of the ecological vision, which the Vedic *rishis* described as *rita*, is not in evidence anywhere in our current debates. We seem to think that ecology is simply a question of cleaning up our environment, reducing our population and perhaps reducing our dependence on machines. Ecology is in fact a great deal more than this. It is essentially an insight into the inescapable interdependence of things. Its function is to remind us of the deep interpenetration that exists among small and big things in this entire universe, so much so that you cannot, as it were, drop a pin here without causing a commotion in some distant star.

No ecological perception is worth the name if it does not include an element of renunciation. Having become the captive of his expanding knowledge, and the power that knowledge brings, man has reached the point where he must turn round and say, “Thus far and no

farther.” The biggest reality facing man today is this compulsive need for him to renounce his own powers. If on the other hand he allows the pursuit of power to outdistance him, then nothing, alas, can save him from disaster.

An acute awareness of this reality and a readiness to respond to it creatively is the essence of satyagraha. He is no satyagrahi who either shuts his eyes to this reality or is ignorant of it. Such a man may be truthful in his daily life, honest and sincere in his dealings with his fellows and deeply committed to the pursuit of justice — but, lacking an awareness of this larger reality, his satyagraha, such as it is, will be in vain. For robbed of the long perspective his actions can only end in frustration.

I have often argued in the past that it is not enough for us — not necessarily as followers of Gandhi but at least as inheritors of his prophetic vision — to crouch in his shadow and blunder our way forward. That way we neither serve ourselves nor Gandhi. Our duty rather is to get up on his shoulders and look a little farther than he had been able to see. For the pursuit of truth is an ongoing process. Though Gandhi indeed was far-sighted and saw a great distance ahead of him, it is only humanly natural that we, living a full quarter of a century after him, should venture to see farther than he saw.

What does this mean in concrete terms? First, a reshuffling of our priorities. Secondly, a quickening of our pace. And thirdly, a determination not to repeat our mistakes. For the world has never stood still and never will. It is not the function of a great man or a great idea to shackle our progress. Rather its function is to hustle us out of our natural lethargies. Satyagraha is useful only if it is understood in this larger sense. In the narrower sense it is dangerous.

Section X

The Nehrus

Motilal Nehru

B. N. Pande

In August 1922, the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee was to pay a visit to Jabalpur, the headquarters of the Hindi C.P. Provincial Congress Committee. The Committee was headed by Hakim Ajmal Khan. It included amongst its members Motilal Nehru, M.A. Ansari and Vithalbhai Patel. I was then personal assistant to the president of the Provincial Congress. I was directed to receive the Committee at Gondia and bring the chairman and the members by car to Jabalpur. Two cars had been hired for the purpose. Unfortunately the car occupied by Hakim Saheb developed serious trouble near Balaghat. He suggested to Motilal Nehru, who was occupying the other car, to proceed to Jabalpur. But Panditji declined with the remarks — 'नहीं जनाव, हम सब साथ चलेगे' (No Sir, we shall all go together).

The repair required a few hours. This necessitated our forced stay at the circuit house at Balaghat. I had to arrange a hurried lunch. The circuit house cook was overwhelmed. He used all his skill in preparing a meal. At the table I observed that in spite of his western ways, Motilal Nehru was out and out an Indian. He ate with his fingers. Before and after lunch he carefully washed his hands with soap. After lunch he brushed his artificial set of teeth and rinsed his mouth several times. On a chance remark from Vithalbhai Patel, he said — 'सफाई के मामले में मैं पूरा हिन्दुस्तानी हूँ' (I am a perfect Indian in matters of cleanliness).

Panditji did not forget to compliment the cook for his delicious dishes. The poor fellow felt the thrill of his life. He had heard the legends about Motilal Nehru that he had the best Kashmiri and Goan cooks to cook Indian and European style dinners at Anand Bhawan for his Indian and European guests.

The lunch room vibrated with Motilal Nehru's anecdotes and hearty laughter. I still remember one. He said how once a cook from Saurashtra scored over Swarup Rani Nehru. The cook was engaged on a salary of a hundred rupees a month plus all the facilities. In return he offered to cook one dish a day. Next morning his choice of preparation was *dalia* (porridge). The store-keeper informed Mrs. Nehru that the new cook had drawn a quarter seer of *dalia* and a seer of ghee. When the cook brought the *dalia* at the breakfast table it looked stone dry. Mrs. Nehru rather sternly asked the cook where the ghee had disappeared? The cook emptied the *dalia* on a napkin and squeezed the fat into a pan. Mrs. Nehru saw to her surprise that the *dalia* which looked so dry yielded the full seer of ghee. Mrs. Nehru instantly expressed her regrets but the cook, bowing low, said that he had heard a great deal about the lavish dishes of Anand Bhawan but he was leaving in disappointment. In spite of Motilal Nehru's persuasions the proud cook bade a final good-bye to Anand Bhawan.

We resumed our journey after lunch. Motilal Nehru would have been justified in taking us to task for the unsatisfactory arrangements for transport. But in spite of inconvenience I found him cheerful and in the

best of humour throughout the journey.

The Flag Satyagraha: The chairman and members of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee arrived at Jabalpur three hours late. Their first public engagement was to receive a civic address by the Municipal Committee. The civic body had also decided to hoist the national flag over the town hall. The nominated members had placed two alternative proposals: (i) as was customary only the Union Jack be unfurled at the time of presentation of the welcome address, (ii) or the Union Jack be hoisted side by side with the Tricolour. Both these proposals were rejected by an overwhelming majority. The proposal to hoist only the national flag was carried. While replying to the civic address on behalf of his colleagues, Motilal Nehru congratulated the chairman and members of the municipality on their bold stand in vindicating the honour of the national flag. He said that the Tricolour was the flag of the people, representing India's spirit for freedom and spirit of sacrifice and the day was not far off when from Kashmir to Cape Comorin the Union Jack would be replaced by the Tricolour on every public building.

Two weeks later the Jabalpur flag issue was raised in the British House of Commons. The Conservative members furiously criticized the laxity on the part of the Government of India in allowing the rebel flag to be hoisted over a semi-government building. Replying to the criticism, Lord Winterton, the Under-Secretary of State for India, assured the House that the Government of India would not tolerate the repetition of the incident. The assurance was followed by a brutal sequence.

In December 1922, the Congress session at Gaya appointed a committee, with C. Rajagopalachari as chairman and Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Jamnalal Bajaj and Devdas Gandhi as members, to tour the country with a view to enlarging the sphere of constructive programme. The committee's itinerary included a visit to Jabalpur in early February 1923.

The municipal committee decided to accord a civic reception to Rajaji and the members of his committee. It also decided to hoist the national flag on this occasion over its town hall. The members of the Committee arrived on the appointed date. The time for the civic reception was fixed in the evening. But the district magistrate promulgated prohibitory orders under Sec. 144 of the Indian Penal Code and sealed the town hall and the municipal office, thus forcing the municipal committee to abandon the reception.

In the evening a mammoth public meeting was held at Tilak Bhumi, in the heart of Jabalpur, under the presidentship of Sundarlal, who was the president of the Provincial Congress Committee. Rajaji, Rajendra Prasad and Devdas Gandhi delivered stirring speeches exhorting the people of the province to take up the challenge and vindicate the honour of the

national flag.

Sundarlal made a whirlwind tour of the province and enrolled nearly five thousand volunteers, of whom a thousand were Muslims, to offer flag satyagraha.

On 18 March 1923 occurred the first anniversary of Gandhiji's incarceration. The Jabalpur City Congress Committee took out a procession which wanted to proceed towards the Civil Lines. A strong police force under the district superintendent of police, Bambawala, barred the way. Sundarlal, who had just returned from his tour, hurried to the spot.

An interesting dialogue took place:

Sundarlal : Why have you stopped the procession?

Bambawala : You have not obtained permission for taking out this procession.

Sundarlal : (Writing out an application then and there and presenting it to Bambawala) Here is an application.

Bambawala : I cannot allow such a huge procession.

Sundarlal : I guarantee that only ten persons will go in the procession. The rest will disperse.

Bambawala : But will these ten persons shout slogans?

Sundarlal : They will walk tight-lipped.

Bambawala : But will they carry the Tricolour flag?

Sundarlal : Sure, they will.

Bambawala : Well, to be frank with you, Pandit Sundarlal, I am prepared to allow the entire procession, they would be free to shout slogans provided they do not carry the Tricolour flag with them.

Sundarlal : On my part there will be a one-man procession. His lips will be bandaged. He would not shout any slogans but he would carry the Tricolour flag.

Bambawala : I am sorry, the flag is the main issue to which the Government is objecting.

There was no alternative but to violate the prohibitory orders. Sundarlal selected ten satyagrahis, including himself and the well-known Hindi poetess Subhadra Kumari Chauhan. I was chosen as the flag-bearer. As soon as we entered the Civil Lines area we were arrested and locked up in the cantonment police station. To our surprise we were released in the morning unconditionally. When we asked for the flag to be returned we were informed the flag had been confiscated.

Later Sundarlal was arrested and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. The flag satyagraha, as announced, began around the town hall. Nearly five hundred volunteers were arrested while attempting to hoist the flag on the building. As a precautionary measure nearly a hundred important leaders all over the province were arrested and jailed.

A procession was taken out at Nagpur in the Civil Lines area on the

13 April 1923. It was severely *lathi*-charged resulting in injuries to many. A satyagraha committee was formed at Nagpur with Jamnalal Bajaj as chairman. The committee did not have as much manpower, because the C.P. Marathi Congress Committee, led by B.S. Moonje, was opposed to it. The Congress Working Committee, at its meeting in Bombay, appointed Vallabhbhai Patel to conduct the Flag Satyagraha at Nagpur. By 15 August 1923, some 1748 volunteers had courted imprisonment at Nagpur, of whom more than 1,200 volunteers were from the Hindi region of the Central Provinces. The volunteers from Hindi C.P. were still pouring in when a settlement between Vallabhbhai and the Governor of the Central Provinces brought the Flag Satyagraha to an end. An application for taking out a procession on 18 August 1923 was sent by the Satyagraha Committee to the deputy commissioner of Nagpur. The procession with Tricolour was taken out through the Civil Lines area under the leadership of Makhanlal Chaturvedi. After covering the three-mile route the procession terminated without any incident. After an anxious wait of fifteen days the satyagrahis who had offered satyagraha at Nagpur were released from prison. But the 500 satyagrahis at Jabalpur and other parts of the Hindi region, including Pandit Sundarlal, were not covered by Vallabhbhai's settlement with the Governor.

After my release from prison, as advised by the senior leaders of Hindi C.P., I approached Motilal Nehru at Allahabad and posted him with the terms of the settlement which had completely ignored the satyagrahis from the Hindi region of the Central Provinces. Motilal Nehru issued a statement criticizing the hasty winding-up of the Flag Satyagraha. He made pointed reference to the fact that the terms of the settlement had left out the satyagrahis of Hindi C.P., including the leader of the movement, Sundarlal.

Replying to Motilal Nehru's criticism, Vallabhbhai said at a meeting at Ahmedabad: "Pandit Motilal Nehru has criticized my action. I am a mere child before him. His sacrifices and his services to the nation are priceless. He is an experienced leader. He has every right to point out the mistakes of a raw hand like me." Vallabhbhai then explained in detail how the Flag Satyagraha had ended in a victory. But all of us who were in the Flag Satyagraha from the very beginning felt that there was something fishy in the Nagpur settlement.

Sundarlal and others were released after serving their full terms of imprisonment. Addressing a rally of volunteers at Jabalpur on 2 October 1923, Pandit Sundarlal congratulated them on their courage and sacrifice and said that the Flag Satyagraha was but one step in the series, and there would be one satyagraha after another so long as Gandhiji was in prison. He asked the organization to be prepared for the next satyagraha. The speech was reported in *The Bombay Chronicle* and was read by Vallabhbhai Patel. He immediately sent a telegram to Sundarlal, which

read: "Urgent consultations come first train—Vallabhbhai."

I accompanied Sundarlal to Ahmedabad. We stayed at the Sabarmati Ashram with Haribhau Upadhyaya. We met Vallabhbhai at the office of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee. Vallabhbhai began the talk by saying: "Sundarlal, as soon as you are released you begin to talk in terms of a series of satyagrahas. You started the Flag Satyagraha. You were arrested and put in prison, and the entire burden of conducting the satyagraha fell on me. Nobody helped me. And what did I get for reward? A severe criticism from your Motilal Nehru."

Sundarlal: "I do not think his criticism was unfair. When there was no dearth of satyagrahis you should not have wound up the movement. You certainly should not have done so until the terms for the release of all satyagrahis, including those of Hindi C.P., had been settled. You went to Nagpur at the direction of the Congress Working Committee not only to save the honour of the flag but to save the prestige of your friend and colleague Seth Jamnalal Bajaj as well."

Vallabhbhai: "Sundarlal, you are in a fighting mood. But the real issue is not the satyagraha. The real issue is how to save the Congress from the onslaught of the Pro-changers. The topmost leaders of the Congress, like C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Lajpat Rai and Ajmal Khan, stand for Council-entry. Their second line of leadership consists of such brilliant young men as Subhas Bose. So let the No-changers take stock of the situation before the Kakinada session of the Congress. Let us meet here at Ahmedabad. You go and persuade Rajaji to come to Ahmedabad and give the No-changers a clear lead."

While analysing the outcome of the meeting with Vallabhbhai, Sundarlal told me: "Two issues arose from this talk. Was Vallabhbhai eager to wind up the Flag Satyagraha? Yes, he was, and hence the outcome was confusing. Number two: Is he suffering from an inferiority complex? Yes, he is. He is feeling disappointed at the lukewarm attitude of Rajendra Babu and Rajaji. All this is hardly encouraging." We agreed that the outcome of the Kakinada Congress had become doubtful. However, we left for Salem, the home-town of Rajaji, as advised by Vallabhbhai, to persuade Rajaji to join the Ahmedabad meet of No-changers. But that is a different story.

The Camel's Dilemma: As far as I remember, it was in November 1922 that Motilal Nehru was deputed by the Congress Working Committee to hear and decide an election dispute concerning the elections to the Hindi C.P. Provincial Congress Committee. The complainants included E. Raghvendra Rao, Ravishankar Shukla and Govind Das. Sundarlal and his colleagues were the defendants. The hearing continued for two days and was decided in favour of Sundarlal.

Motilal Nehru stayed at Govind Bhavan, the Civil Lines residence of Govind Das, and held the enquiry at the P.C.C. office. Both the groups were present in full force. The first witness produced by Raghvendra Rao

was Arjun Singh of Hoshangabad. The witness was in a dilemma. He had sympathy for both the groups.

There were no tables and chairs and everybody squatted on carpets. The witness sat folding his knees to the right. Then he changed his position to the left. He repeated this operation. Motilal Nehru silently watched the nervousness of the witness.

When Raghvendra Rao requested Motilal Nehru to take the statement of the witness, he replied: 'जरा ठहरिए, मैं देख रहा हूँ कि आखिर जेंट किस करवट बैठता है।' (Please wait a little. Let the camel take a final posture).

All those present enjoyed a hearty laugh!

Cow's Fodder: The Election Dispute Enquiry adjourned in the evening for tea. I had requested Mrs. Mehta, a Parsi neighbour of ours, to be ready with the tea things for Motilal Nehru. But Govind Das had made arrangements of his own. He brought the tea in a silver tea set.

When Govind Das poured out the tea, Motilal threw a glance at the tea (which had already been mixed with milk and sugar) and then stared at Govind Das's face. To his nervous enquiry, Motilal Nehru said—'यह गाय की सानी आप किसके लिए लाए हैं?' (For whom have you brought this cow's fodder?) But he said this with such kindly laughter that everybody else also burst into laughter, including E. Raghvendra Rao.

Mrs. Mehta came in with the tea tray and saved the situation.

The Unity Conference: The Moplah agrarian movement in Kerala in August 1921 suddenly took a communal turn. At the other end of the country, Kohat was rocked by riots. There were disturbances in Punjab, U.P., Bihar, Bengal, Bombay, Hyderabad Deccan, Madras Presidency, Gujarat, C.P. and Maharashtra. The communal forces that were lying low during non-co-operation movement raised their head at the bidding of the imperialist masters. The army of Rai Bahadurs, Khan Bahadurs and Sardar Bahadurs supported by big business and industrialists engaged mercenary assassins who killed innocent people with the connivance of the police. There was method, organization and reward in the heinous trade of communal killings.

The Hindu Mahasabha, under the leadership of Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lajpat Rai, Shraddhanand, and M. R. Jayakar was gaining in popularity. At the annual session of the Hindu Mahasabha at Varanasi, Madan Mohan Malaviya proposed the strengthening of Hindu Sangathan to protect Hindu interests. Shraddhanand started the Shuddhi movement to convert Muslims back into the Hindu fold.

As a counter-measure Saifuddin Kitchlew had started Tabligh (conversion) and Tanzim (organization) movements. Sir Fazli Hasan gave a call for conversion of scheduled castes to Islam. Mahatma Gandhi was released on 5 February 1924 from Yeravda Prison. He saw the cruel spectacle with intense pain. He issued a lengthy statement indicting Hindu and Muslim fanatics. There was a loud protest from the communal

press and platform. A Hindu-Muslim riot broke out in Delhi. Brutal and cowardly killings continued for days together. Mahatma Gandhi announced a fast of twenty-one days. He was in very poor health. In fact he had been released from prison before the expiry of his term on account of his grave illness. Gandhiji's fast shook the nation. A unity conference was convened in Delhi in the last week of September by Maulana Mohammad Ali, who was then Congress President. It was attended by nearly 300 eminent representatives of parties and communities. Leading Congressmen and field workers engaged in the work of communal harmony were also invited. My name was included as one of the delegates from Hindi C.P.

The problem of electing a chairman was left to the delegates. Various names were suggested and rejected. They wanted a president who was absolutely secular, unbiased, and non-communal, and they found such a person in Motilal Nehru. His name was proposed by Shraddhanand, Lajpat Rai, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Jugal Kishore Birla, and B. S. Moonje from the Hindu side and Fazli Hasan, Mohammad Shafi, Ziauddin Ahmad, and Abdul Rahim from the Muslim side. Dr. Ansari commented that Motilal Nehru was a symbol of communal harmony and the country's composite culture. His unanimous election proved that India would ultimately stand for communal harmony and cultural synthesis.

The unity conference devoted four full days to finding solutions for the burning communal issues of the day, namely, cow slaughter, desecration of places of worship, music before mosque, the time of *arti* coinciding with *namaz*, *tazia*, and cutting of the branch of *peepul* tree, and *jhatka* and *halal*. Those were the issues that had led to communal riots in various parts of the country. The delegates clashed on every issue. All the time it looked as if the conference would disperse without arriving at any solution. Yakub Hasan of Madras and Tej Bahadur Sapru forced the issue by making the delegates agree that the conference would not disperse without arriving at an agreement.

The deliberations had their lighter side also. While Sir Tej nicknamed Nekiram Sharma of Bhiwani as Mr. Arti Prasad on account of his diehard attitude on the issue of *arti*, Mr. Jinnah nicknamed Zafar Ali Khan as Halal Khan and Ganda Singh as Jhatka Singh on their insistence on *jhatka* and *halal* issue.

Motilal Nehru conducted the proceedings with rare ability, skill and limitless patience. It was he who saved the conference from breaking up. His drafting satisfied all concerned. Maulana Mohammad Ali had evolved a new *Kalima* and repeated it to groups: "We are one nation and Motilal Nehru is our Peshwa."

Motilal Nehru succeeded in persuading the delegates to arrive at unanimous decisions on all the issues. They passed a resolution requesting Gandhiji to end his fast. The delegates took a pledge to work for lasting Hindu-Muslim unity.

The conference declared its faith in complete freedom of conscience and the practice of one's religion. It condemned the desecration of places of worship, the persecution of those changing their faith, and the use of force and compulsion for religious conversion. It authorized Maulana Mohammad Ali, the Congress President, to convene an all-parties' conference at Bombay in November 1924 to review the results of the Lucknow Pact and evolve an agreement on constitutional reforms. It also constituted a National Union for Hindu-Muslim Unity with Motilal Nehru as its chairman.

Indira Nehru, who was six at the time, was also seen in one of the sessions of the conference. She came with her grandfather. She was a regular visitor to Gandhiji during his long fast. C. F. Andrews, who was guarding Gandhiji, was very strict with other delegates, but placed no restrictions on Indira. Gandhiji seemed to derive solace from little Indira. When he broke his fast, little Indira was sitting at his bedside.

After the death of Deshbandhu C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru's hands were too full to enlarge the activities of National Union for Hindu-Muslim Unity. In December 1925, during Congress session at Kanpur, Motilal Nehru convened a meeting of the general body of the National Union. Leaders from various provinces participated in it. As member of the All-India Congress Committee from Hindi C.P. I also attended that meeting. As far as my memory goes, Motilal Nehru referred to his proposal for a round table conference that was adopted by the Central Assembly in 1924, and said that the rights and interests of the minorities, especially of Muslims and Sikhs, should be guaranteed in the constitution. He condemned the utterances of some Hindu Sabha leaders that Muslims should be driven out of India in the same manner as Moors had been driven out from Spain. Maulana Azad Subhani quoted a couplet from Zauk :

गुलहाए रंग रंग से है जोनते चमन
ऐ जौक इस जहा को है जेव इहल्लाफ से ।

(Different colours of flowers add to the beauty of a garden. Says Zauk, unity in diversity makes the world graceful.) The meeting suggested that Motilal Nehru, along with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, should tour the country to spread the message of unity.

A Smashing Reply: C. R. Das died in 1925 leaving Motilal Nehru alone to manage the affairs of the Congress Swarajya Party. General elections for the legislatures took place in 1926-7. The atmosphere was surcharged with communal poison. The religious conversion movements Shuddhi-Sangathan and Tabligh-Tanzeem were carried on with fanfare by fanatical Hindus and Muslims. Communal riots were frequent and fierce. Such of the Hindus and Muslims who stood for communal harmony, national integration, and secularism were decried as traitors to their communities. The separate electorates had injected a deadly communal virus into the body politic. In 1926 Gandhiji had taken a year's furlough

from politics and had retired to the seclusion of the Sabarmati Ashram. At that hour of India's trial if there was one man who defended the citadel of communal harmony and composite culture with all his strength it was Motilal Nehru.

Lajpat Rai, Shraddhanand and Madan Mohan Malaviya were the 'Trimurti' representing Hindu forces. Motilal Nehru faced their combined challenge single-handed.

In October 1926 the 'Trimurti' came to Allahabad to address an election meeting. Malaviyaji presided over the meeting and Lala Lajpat Rai, who was the principal speaker, made an undignified personal attack on Motilal Nehru. I had great respect for Lalaji. In December 1920, at the Nagpur Congress session, I was captain of a section of volunteers and was allotted the task of looking after the comforts of Lalaji. I had heard his soul-stirring address to the volunteer rally at Nagpur. On the question of Hindu-Muslim unity he had said: 'फूट जाए ये आखें गर ये हिन्दू-मुसलमानो मे कोई तमीज करे' (May I lose my sight if I differentiate between a Hindu and a Muslim.) But at the Allahabad meeting he declared: 'हिन्दू-मुसलिम इत्तहाद की बात करना आहिनी दीवार से सर टकराना है' (To talk of Hindu-Muslim unity is to dash our heads against an iron wall.) His criticism of Motilal Nehru was bitter and personal.

I stood up at the public meeting and challenged his statement. There were many people in the audience who supported me and joined in the protest. They pressed Lalaji to withdraw his insulting remarks. The meeting ended rather abruptly.

When Motilal Nehru returned to Allahabad in the course of his election campaign, somebody narrated to him the incident of the meeting. He sent for me. I gave him a factual account of the happenings. I also gave him a nasty leaflet which had been circulated at the meeting in which Motilal Nehru was described as a beef-eater. The Hindu voters were warned that if Motilal was returned to the Central Assembly then cow-slaughter in public places would be legalized. Motilal Nehru was furious at this base propaganda.

Motilal Nehru advised me to go to Kanpur with as many workers as possible to help in the election of Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, one of the most respected leaders of Uttar Pradesh (or the United Provinces as it was then called). The Opposition had set up against him one Chunnilal Garg, a multimillionaire industrialist. Money had flowed like water. Two days before the election, Lajpat Rai, Madan Mohan Malaviya and Shraddhanand had addressed a crowded meeting in his favour. Motilal Nehru's meeting was fixed on the last evening prior to the polling day.

Nearly fifty thousand people attended the public meeting organized by the City Congress Committee. Motilal Nehru spoke for nearly an hour. He made a moving appeal to the voters of Kanpur to stand by the Congress. The audience was touched emotionally. As soon as he concluded

his speech one Raja Ram Sabir, a secretary of the Hindu Sabha, stood up to put a question and without waiting for permission he asked: "Panditji, have you taken beef?" Pin-drop silence followed the question. All eyes were focussed on Motilal Nehru. All ears were eager to hear his answer. He made Sabir to repeat his question at least half a dozen times to the audience in all directions. We were all expecting an indignant reply, but came a humorous one:

चारपायों में चारपाई नहीं खाई
परिन्दों में पतङ्ग नहीं खाई,
जलचरो में नाव नहीं खाई ।

Of the four-legged I have not eaten a cot,
Of the flying birds I have not eaten a paper-kite,
Of the water animals I have not eaten a boat.

The meeting ended with the thunderous cries of *Tyagmurti Pandit Motilal Nehru ki Jai*.

Motilal Nehru left in the morning for Allahabad. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi carried the day and won by a thumping majority.

After reaching Allahabad I gave Motilal Nehru a detailed report on the polling. He was happy. I pleaded, "Panditji, you should have given a smashing reply to that baseless lie." Panditji retorted: 'मैं चाहता था कानपुर वाले उस गन्दे झूठ का मुंहतोड़ जवाब दे. मुझे खुशी है कि उन्होंने दिया.' (I wanted Kanpur citizens to give a smashing reply to that dirty lie. I am glad they did.)

The bitterness between Lajpat Rai and Motilal Nehru, however, proved a passing phase. Lajpat Rai worked in close contact with Motilal Nehru in the preparation of the Nehru Committee Report. At one of the meetings of the Committee, Lajpat Rai embraced Motilal Nehru. Tears began to roll down from the eyes of both, and all previous bitterness was washed away. A few months later, Lajpat Rai died a martyr to the injuries he received while demonstrating against the Simon Commission.

Mountain Camel: It was perhaps March 1928. The drafting sub-committee of the Nehru Committee was holding its regular sittings at Allahabad. With my batch of volunteers, I was looking after the arrangements. Motilal Nehru had already moved to the newly constructed Anand Bhawan.

One day, during a short break in the discussions, Motilal Nehru, along with M. A. Ansari, J. M. Sen Gupta, Srinivasa Iyengar, Tej Bahadur Sapru and others were sipping coffee in the verandah. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant came in and sat down after bowing to Motilal Nehru. He was not very well known yet. Srinivasa Iyengar enquired, in an aside, who the gentleman was. Motilal Nehru, introducing Govind Ballabh Pant, said: "This mountain camel is my new find." When everybody enjoyed the quip, including Govind Ballabh Pant, Motilal Nehru added: "And he is an excellent parliamentarian."

When Jinnah Was in Tears: The Madras Congress in 1927 authorized the Congress President, Dr. M. A. Ansari, to appoint a sub-committee to draft a constitution for India. Ansari nominated a committee with Motilal Nehru as chairman. At the same time in December 1927 the Muslim League appointed a committee to draft a constitution for India in consultation with the Working Committee of the Congress.

The constitution drafted by the Nehru Committee was ready by September 1928. The All-India National Convention met at Calcutta to consider the Nehru Report. I watched the proceedings from the visitors' gallery. When Motilal Nehru called upon Mohammed Jinnah to place his proposals, Jinnah assured the convention that the Muslims were willing to give up separate electorates in favour of joint electorates with reservation of seats according to population ratio. His other proposals were:

1. Sind should be formed into a separate province.
2. Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.
3. The Hindu minorities in the Muslim majority provinces should have reservation of seats just as Muslims would in Hindu majority provinces.

Jinnah made an impassioned appeal to the delegates of the convention to accept his proposals so that "our combined efforts may help us in achieving the Swaraj of our dreams." Tej Bahadur Sapru made an eloquent appeal for the acceptance of Jinnah's proposals.

It was left to M. R. Jayakar to play the wrecker's role. He strongly opposed Jinnah's proposals. He questioned Jinnah's leadership of the Muslims. He threatened that the representatives of the Mahasabha would walk out of the convention and oppose the Nehru Report *in toto* if Jinnah's proposals were accepted.

Jinnah assured the convention that he was not speaking as a Musalman but he was speaking as an Indian. His only desire was to make seven crores of Musalmans march hand in hand with others to achieve freedom for their common Motherland.

As chairman of the convention, Motilal Nehru appealed to the delegates to ponder over Jinnah's proposals coolly and sympathetically.

A delegate: Let Jinnah accept the Report unconditionally.

Sapru: The demand is unreasonable.

Delegate after delegate stood up to oppose Jinnah's terms. Many communalists masqueraded in the garb of Congressmen.

A dejected and despondent Jinnah quietly sat down and was observed wiping his tears with his handkerchief. It was a tragic scene. While the Mahasabha leaders were jubilant, Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders were mute witnesses to the tragedy. The Indian Jinnah was buried at that convention to rise later on as an arch communalist, a sole representative of the Musalmans, to claim the division of the country.

As was expected, the fate of the Nehru Report was also sealed.

Daily Reporting: The Salt Satyagraha in 1930 was going on in full swing. *Lathi* charges and firing were the order of the day. Thousands had been put behind bars. Jawaharlal Nehru, who was the President of the Congress, had already been jailed. He had nominated Motilal Nehru as his successor. Kamala Nehru was acting as the president of the Allahabad City Satyagraha Committee and I was one of the secretaries.

Motilal Nehru carried on his presidential duties from his sick-bed. Although he was in delicate health his enthusiasm knew no bounds. He was in close touch with happenings over the country. He had issued instructions for intensification of picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops.

One day Kamalaji informed me that Papa wanted daily reporting of the activities in Allahabad. She directed me to do the reporting daily at 4-30 p.m. when Papa had his tea. I arrived at the appointed time at Anand Bhawan. Motilal Nehru was sipping tea. I was also offered a cup of tea. I had hardly ever taken tea. I was also ignorant of tea etiquette. I think I had poured three or four spoonfuls of sugar and a lot of milk in my cup of tea and gulped it down steaming hot. Motilal Nehru remarked: "You seem to be in a great hurry." I felt ashamed of my rustic manners.

When in the evening I reported this back to Kamalaji, she first scolded me, and then taught me tea manners: "Do not put more than one spoonful of sugar in your tea. Do not gulp down your tea but sip it. Take care that you do not empty your cup before Papa empties his." I thanked her for the hints.

It was the last week of May. The temperature in the shade ranged between 110 and 115 degrees F. Kamalaji's daily routine included posting of women and men volunteers at each of the foreign cloth shops and changing duties from one post to the other as and when need arose. Every evening she prepared the duty chart for the next day's picketing. One evening she developed a temperature. Next day when I went to report to Motilal Nehru, he rebuked me: "You people have no method in your work. You make your City Congress President run around the whole day in unbearable heat. She will collapse one day. Can't she stay in shade and issue orders from there?"

Next morning Kamalaji was again at her post. When I approached her with the request that she should go back and take rest, she was angry with me: "What business did you have to report all my movements to Papaji? How can I sit in the shade when a large number of lady volunteers day in and day out stand in the burning sun and picket the foreign cloth shops?"

The delicate physical frame of Kamalaji harboured an undaunted spirit. Her sincerity overpowered us all.

The reporting was a daily feature for over a fortnight. Sometimes Motilal Nehru was in a reminiscent mood and narrated events and anecdotes of long ago. One of them was of a civil suit in which he was representing the respondent. The opposite party claimed the inheritance of the property. The case hinged on an Urdu document. The respondent had to prove that the plaintiff had full knowledge of the document. On cross-examination the plaintiff pleaded his utter ignorance not only of the Urdu script but of the Urdu language as well. Motilal Nehru read the two-page document to him. He had got nearly a hundred words underlined whose meanings, he said, he did not know. Motilal Nehru laid aside the document and asked if the witness was interested in shikar. The witness felt a great relief and said that tiger-hunting was his hobby. For over an hour Motilal Nehru questioned him about his various expeditions in tiger-hunting. The questions and answers were in Hindi. The judge was puzzled why such an eminent lawyer as Motilal Nehru was pursuing an irrelevant cross examination. He mildly drew counsel's attention to it. Motilal Nehru at once reverted to the document in question. The witness repeated his previous answer that he did not understand the meaning of nearly a hundred words. Motilal Nehru then pointed out that in the cross examination the witness had used, in his answers, the same hundred words, the meaning of which he had said he did not know.

In the last week of June 1930 Motilal Nehru had to leave for Bombay to preside over a meeting of the Congress Working Committee. A large crowd saw him off at the station. I did not know then that I was seeing him for the last time. He was arrested in Bombay and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. In August 1930 I was also arrested at Jabalpur for delivering a seditious speech and sentenced to a year's hard labour. I was released from the Seoni special jail on 14 March 1931 as a result of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. But Motilal Nehru had already passed away on 6 February 1931.

Jawaharlal Nehru

B. N. Pande

In 1923 I was serving a term of imprisonment in the Ajaini Central Prison, Nagpur. Amongst the fellow prisoners were Vinoba Bhave, Satyadev Vidyalkar and medical men like Dr. Ghia, Dr. Desai and Dr. Hardikar. Many of us were given work of making quinine tablets in the quinine factory located in the prison. As was to be expected, we were constantly engaged in discussing politics. Hardikar had only one topic to discuss: how to organize and train satyagrahis into a disciplined force of the Congress? He felt that volunteers were enrolled at every Congress session, huge sums were spent on their uniforms and a short training course was given to them, but after the session they disappeared into thin air. Why should not a permanent organization be created?

The discussions in the quinine factory took concrete shape in the idea of a Seva Dal. Hardikar was assigned the task of drafting a constitution for it and of convening a conference at the time of the next Congress session. The first conference of the Seva Dal was held at Kakinada in December 1923 under the presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru. It was there that I came into personal contact with him for the first time.

The Kakinada Congress appointed a volunteer board. The Hindustani Seva Dal took firm roots in course of time. It became a common sight to see the uniformed volunteers of the Dal efficiently managing Congress functions, regulating traffic, and maintaining order in the million-strong crowds at Congress Nagars. The presence of trained volunteers added dignity to functions like flag-hoisting and presentation of a guard of honour to Congress presidents. Jawaharlal Nehru gave the Seva Dal so much prestige that even Subhas Chandra Bose captained the Congress volunteers at the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1928.

When the Congress decided to launch the Salt Satyagraha in 1930, people enrolled themselves as volunteers in large numbers. In February of that year a volunteers' training camp was opened at Allahabad. Although Jawaharlal Nehru was the president of the Congress, he donned the volunteer uniform and joined the daily drill and parade. By personal example he demolished the barrier between leaders and volunteers. Sri Prakasa, S.K.D. Paliwal, Sampurnanand and other U.P. leaders also took part in the parade.

During parades and camp fires Jawaharlal Nehru obeyed the orders of the captain. I remember that at one of the camp-fires the captain asked him to sing a song. We all knew that music was not one of Jawaharlal Nehru's strong points. But he tried his best to exhibit his talents. This spirit of equality inspired the volunteers to face *lathis* and bullets.

When requested to address the trainees at the valedictory ceremony, Jawaharlal Nehru's memorable words were: "So long a leader considers himself a volunteer he will inspire the masses to undergo any amount of sacrifice. The moment he loses the volunteer's spirit he ceases to

be a worker and the moment he ceases to be a worker he ceases to be a leader.”

Travels Among the Kisans: In the first phase of the Non-Co-operation Movement, the Congress Working Committee directed all provincial Congress committees to prepare one of their *tahsils* for mass civil disobedience. Gujarat chose Bardoli and the U.P. Congress chose Handia.

Early in 1928 the Allahabad District Congress Committee drew up a programme of mass contact in Handia as preparation for launching a mass no-rent satyagraha. The programme comprised establishment of Khadi production centres, eradication of untouchability, intensification of work for Hindu-Muslim unity, tightening the campaign against drink evil, complete boycott of foreign cloth, enrolment of volunteers, and securing of a pledge from the Kisans that in the event of satyagraha they would be prepared even to lose their lands.

Jawaharlal Nehru and Purushottam Das Tandon used to join the campaign in the afternoon, address village meetings, contact people, and return to Allahabad in the evening. After some weeks Jawaharlal Nehru decided to undertake a walking tour in the *tahsil*. The workers were electrified. The villagers were informed that he would spend a whole week in the *tahsil* covering it from one end to the other on foot. Years earlier he had done so in the Pratapgarh and Rai Bareilly districts.

Jawaharlal Nehru arrived at Handia by train and immediately started on foot for Rishipur. Thousands of people, including a large number of schoolchildren, followed him. He stopped and talked to the peasants at work in the fields. He examined the tools they were using. He enquired about manure and the crop yield, about their indebtedness and the attitude of the zamindars, and about their health and their habits. The peasants gladly answered his questions. Never before had anyone inquired about their conditions with such sympathy. At many places people broke down when describing their miseries. He would cheer them up.

In the afternoon a meeting was held at a centrally located village when Jawaharlal Nehru spoke to them in a group, analysed the cause of their miseries, and delivered to them Gandhiji's message of self-reliance through Khadi and the eradication of the twin evils of drink and untouchability. Then he talked to them of the impending no-rent satyagraha and the sacrifice it involved. He warned them of the brutal repression that they would have to face.

We had made arrangements for a tent to be pitched for his night's rest. He had his morning tea and breakfast in the tent and as soon as he was ready to move, the volunteers would pack the tent and pitch it up at the next place of halt for the night.

He had at first thought that during his tour he would live as the peasants lived, answering the call of nature in the field, having his bath at the village well, and sleeping under mango trees. But this experiment

lasted only for a day. Hundreds of people would surround his tent from the early hours and not leave him even for a minute. Hundreds of village young men vied with one another in drawing pails of water from the village well to give him a bath. This exuberance made him alter his arrangements. From the third day he decided to use a smaller tent for toilet and bath.

Jawaharlal Nehru carried with him some tea and snacks for his lunch, which he called 'tunch.' Dinner was had with one of the villagers, preferably a kisan. With each passing day the dinner became more elaborate. At one of the halting places there were as many as thirty-six dishes. He was angry and sad : angry with us for failing to check the lavishness, and sad because of the false sense of hospitality prevalent in our poverty-stricken villages. From that day he decided to take only boiled potatoes and unbuttered *chapatis* for dinner and only parched gram and boiled sweet potatoes or carrots for breakfast.

The *pad yatra* covered most of Handia *tahsil* and part of Phulpur and Soram *tahsils*. It created a deep impression on the peasants. The results were witnessed in 1932 when a call was given to withhold rent. Thousands of peasants were deprived of their land. An army regiment with machine-guns marched through Soram, Phulpur and Handia to frighten the peasants to pay rent but it had no effect. The vanguard of the army was composed of British soldiers, who threatened the village population pointing machine-guns at them, but the rear was composed of Indian soldiers of the Jat regiment who assured the peasants that this *tamasha* was only to frighten them. In fact the jawans told the villagers that they had sympathy with them and that they had come from the peasantry themselves.

No-Rent Satyagraha: Mahatma Gandhi was scheduled to land in Bombay on 28 December 1931 after attending the Round Table Conference. Jawaharlal Nehru was the general secretary of the Congress. He was scheduled to leave Allahabad for Bombay, accompanied by T.A.K. Shervani, who was president of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee, and who was to report to the Working Committee the alarming agrarian situation that had developed in U.P. Purushottam Das Tandon had already been arrested and jailed.

On 14 December 1931, the U.P. Government issued an ordinance assuming wide powers for repression and suppression. Under it the district magistrate of Allahabad served a notice on both Jawaharlal Nehru and Shervani not to leave Allahabad for a period of one month. Both of them defied the order and boarded the Calcutta-Bombay Mail on 24 December. The train had hardly covered a distance of seven miles when it was stopped at Iradatganj and both the leaders were arrested. Jawaharlal was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment on 26 December.

Govind Ballabh Pant took over as the "dictator" of the U.P. Congress Committee. He nominated Lal Bahadur Shastri as "dictator"

for the Allahabad D.C.C. and myself as "dictator" for the Allahabad City Congress Committee.

Gandhiji himself was arrested in Bombay early in the morning on 4 January 1932. The news reached us in Allahabad at about 8-30 in the morning. The city observed a spontaneous hartal. For the evening a procession and protest meeting was announced.

At about 11 a.m. reports came to me that four shopkeepers of Johnstoneganj had refused to close their shops, in spite of persuasion of the people, and that a large crowd had collected there and violence was apprehended. I rushed to the scene at once and found a large crowd engaged in heated argument with the shopkeepers. Two of the shopkeepers were Hindus and two were Muslims. They declared defiantly that they cared little whether Gandhi lived or died.

I told the crowd that the hartal was entirely voluntary, and if the four traders did not feel like closing their shops they need not be forced. The crowd listened to me and dispersed. Then I posted volunteers at the four shops and instructed them to see that nobody disturbed them.

I went to Johnstoneganj again at 4 p.m., an hour before the procession was due to start. Many volunteers had already gathered but they were surrounded by nearly 500 policemen with *lathis*. Bomford, the district magistrate, and Measures, the senior superintendent of police, were also there. Nearly two dozen mounted policemen, two prison vans and an ambulance were also lined up.

After consulting my colleagues I asked the processionists to stand in rows of four and make chains with their hands. I told them that in the event of a charge by the mounted police they should lie down. We knew from experience that it was easy for the mounted police to break a standing procession but almost impossible to disperse prostrate satyagrahis. I also gave instructions about the slogans that were to be raised.

Exactly at 5 p.m. the district magistrate ordered the processionists to disperse in ten minutes. When the ten minutes were over, Bomford ordered Measures to make a *lathi* charge. As soon as the *lathi* charge started, the satyagrahis repeated the slogans with me:

पुलिस हमारे भाई हैं। इनकी रगों में वही खून है जो हमारी रगों में है।

इनकी लाठी हमारा आशीर्वाद।

(The policemen are our brothers. The same blood flows in their veins as in ours. We offer them blessings in lieu of their *lathi* blows.)

The first *lathi* blows were severe, and many of us had bleeding injuries. But as our slogans gathered rhythm the blows got milder. The policemen raised their *lathis* menacingly but dropped them on our heads lightly.

Bomford became restless. He ordered in a loud tone: "Measures, make a severe *lathi* charge."

Measures retorted: "I can't help it. Don't you see the policemen are

getting demoralized.”

The retort by Measures enraged Bomford. He cried: “Why can’t you make your men obey your command?”

Measures was a sober officer. Instead of continuing arguments in public he retired and stood aloof. Bomford took over command and ordered the mounted British sergeants to make a charge on the processionists and disperse them. When I heard this I ordered the processionists to lie down. They obeyed me and stretched themselves on the road. A mounted sergeant ran on Alla Bux, one of our satyagrahis. Another mounted sergeant trampled my knees.

Then an unexpected incident happened. The four shopkeepers who had earlier refused to close their shops in the morning could not control themselves after witnessing the police brutalities. Leaving their shops they jumped on the road and blocked the way of the mounted sowars. The sergeants charged. The shopkeepers fell down and the horses ran over their bodies. All four died. The same shopkeepers who had denounced Gandhiji a few hours earlier had become martyrs to the cause of freedom, exhibiting the subtle effect of non-violence. Twenty-seven others received severe injuries and thirty were arrested.

When the city satyagraha council met in the evening we decided to continue our programme of defying the ban on processions. A procession was announced for the next evening, and it was to be taken out to the Civil Lines.

One person who had witnessed the evening’s goings on was Bernard Aluwihare, a young barrister from Sri Lanka. He had come to meet Jawaharlal Nehru, but Nehru had been arrested already. While coming to India Aluwihare had assured his fiancée that he would hurry back after his talk with Nehru. Krishna Nehru brought him to witness the first day’s satyagraha. The tragic scene made his blood boil. Next evening when our procession started towards the Civil Lines, it was stopped by a large number of police force at Tandon Park. There was a *lathi* charge, and all of a sudden, Aluwihare appeared at the head of the satyagrahis. He was promptly arrested, produced before a magistrate the next day and sentenced to three months’ imprisonment.

I could imagine how angry Jawaharlal Nehru would be with us. Two days later Krishna Nehru met her brother and told me:

अलु विहारे की गिरफ्तारी पर भाई बहुत नाराज थे। एक विदेशी नागरिक को तुम लोगो ने सत्याग्रह में क्यों शामिल होने दिया? महीने भर बाद उसकी शादी होती थी और तुमने अपनी बेवकूफी ने उसे यहां जेल भिजवा दिया।

(*Bhai* was very angry at the news of Aluwihare’s arrest. He said: “How did you allow a foreigner to get involved in our satyagraha? He was to be married next month and due to your foolishness he has landed himself in prison.”)

Jawaharlal Nehru had asked Krishna to convey his displeasure to me. I

was the “dictator” of the movement and by my negligence an unauthorized person had offered satyagraha.

I was arrested after a week and sentenced to a year’s rigorous imprisonment. I requested the magistrate to place me in C class but he placed me in B class.

In the Allahabad District Jail, I met Aluwihare and told him how angry Jawaharlal Nehru was with me. He assured me that after his release he would seek an interview with Jawaharlal Nehru and clear the misunderstanding.

At my insistence I was placed in C class after a fortnight and transferred to the Camp Jail, Lucknow, and a few weeks later to Bareilly.

The Bareilly District Jail was a hell of a jail. Jawaharlal Nehru, Govind Ballabh Pant, R. S. Pandit were all confined there but we had no access to them. Inhuman punishments like standing hand-cuffed and the cross-bar were awarded to political prisoners to break their spirit. *Lathi* charges on the political prisoners was almost a daily occurrence. Only half of the prescribed quantity of rations was supplied to C class prisoners, and the quality was horrible. This little Andaman was ruled neither by the superintendent nor by the jailor, who were figureheads, but by the chief warden of the jail.

I went on a hunger-strike. Nine other prisoners joined me. We were transferred to a small barrack adjacent to the barrack of Jawaharlal Nehru. The prison doctor was sympathetic to us. We had already passed ten days without food. The doctor informed Jawaharlal Nehru of our hunger-strike and brought back a message of sympathy from him.

When we had entered the twenty-first day of our hunger-strike, the Nawab of Chhatari, then Home Member on the U.P. Government, called on Jawaharlal Nehru, who insisted that he should first visit the hunger-strikers and then come to him.

The superintendent and the jailor reluctantly brought the Home Member to our barrack. I narrated to him in detail the inhuman treatment that was being meted out to C class prisoners. The Nawab requested us to break our hunger-strike and himself undertook to redress the wrongs of the C class prisoners.

On this assurance we broke our hunger-strike with half a dozen oranges sent by Jawaharlal Nehru.

When in 1934 Jawaharlal Nehru was again sentenced to two years’ rigorous imprisonment in Calcutta, he pleaded to be placed in C class.

After we broke our hunger-strike, we developed complications and were removed to the jail hospital. Being C class prisoners we could get milk and fruits only on medical grounds. The doctor was generous with us. He was an enlightened Muslim who was opposed to the Muslim League.

The doctor would always let us know whenever Jawaharlal Nehru made enquiries about our illness. Prior to my release I asked the doctor

to mention to Panditji that I intended going to Calcutta to attend the Congress session. It was the doctor who had told me of the Congress session, for we were not allowed any newspapers.

After some days the doctor told me that he had conveyed the message to Jawaharlal Nehru.

“Did he make any comment?” I enquired.

“No, he did not,” said the doctor, but added, “Panditji was most critical the way the Congress session was held in Delhi (April 1932)—the delegates forming a huge marriage procession, some in the disguise of palki bearers, some as lamp-carriers, some as band-players and the president-elect posing as if he was a bridegroom. It was most disgusting. It would have been better if the session had not been held at all. Disguise and secrecy have no place in a satyagraha movement. They should have announced the date, time, and place.”

“Did he offer any comments for the Calcutta Congress session?” I asked.

“No, none at all,” said the doctor.

My reaction was one of disappointment. It was foolish of me to have expected that Jawaharlal Nehru would send instructions to me. Later, when I analysed his comments on the Delhi session, I realized that they contained the guidelines for the Calcutta session.

After release from Bareilly I went back to Allahabad. Lal Bahadur, Sadiq Ali and Manzar Ali Sokhta were still in jail serving two-year sentences. Sundarlal, Uma Nehru, Purnima Banerji and Muzaffar Hasan had been released and were available for consultation. They entirely agreed with Jawaharlal Nehru's criteria for a Congress session and advised me to see Jugal Kishore, who was then general secretary of the AICC. The Acharya was an elusive Pimpernel. It took me nearly three weeks to locate him in Delhi. He advised me to go to Calcutta much ahead with a band of responsible Congress workers and help the reception committee to organize the session in the manner indicated by Jawaharlal Nehru. He gave me a letter for Dr. P. C. Ghosh, the chairman of the reception committee. He also advised me to meet Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the President-elect of the Calcutta session. Malaviyaji was then staying at Allahabad with his son in George Town. He appreciated the criticism of Jawaharlal Nehru of the previous session, and asked me to tell Dr. Ghosh that the Calcutta session should be held in a manner that would meet with the approval of Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru.

I had not yet paid my respects to Shrimati Swarup Rani Nehru. A few months earlier she had been severely beaten by a police sergeant while participating in a procession. She had received bleeding injuries and had remained unconscious for hours. The grand old lady had added a brilliant chapter to the history of freedom movement of India.

I felt sanctified when I touched her feet. I gave her an account of my experience at the Bareilly District Jail and of my meetings with Jugal

Kishore and Malaviya. She was glad that I had conveyed her son's guidelines to proper Congress authorities. Then she said that she had decided to attend the Calcutta session.

She was in such frail health that I said : "No, Mataji, no. It would mean a terrible physical strain on you. You are too old and delicate in health."

"Why? Look at Malaviyaji, he is also old. If he is fit to preside over the session, I am also fit to attend it. Well, I have decided to go to Calcutta."

I had met Swarup Raniji not less than a hundred times. She was so gentle, so unassuming, and so self-effacing that this new aspect of a determined personality was unexpected but also fascinating.

I pleaded: "You have already faced a brutal *lathi charge*."

"What of that? Let them arrest me and put me in prison. I shall feel very happy. Let them break my head a second time. Jawahar would feel proud of his mother."

There was defiance in her voice, defiance against foreign rule, and determination to make her own contribution in the struggle for freedom. Here was the proud wife of Motilal Nehru, partner in his splendour and a co-sharer in his renunciation. Here was the proud mother of Jawaharlal Nehru, the idol of the teeming millions of India. And by no stretch of imagination could I then say that here was the grandmother whose granddaughter would one day prove to be the greatest woman ruler and statesman that the country had produced in her recorded history of five thousand years.

Before taking leave of her I again touched her feet. She placed her hand on my head in a gracious gesture of blessing. I left Anand Bhawan with a sense of elation and inspiration.

Ten of us left for Calcutta. We thought we would be there well ahead of the session, but the Government of Bengal was a step ahead of us. On nearing Calcutta we read in the newspapers that an ordinance had been issued banning the Congress session and making it a penal offence, punishable with six months' imprisonment, to provide transport, boarding, lodging and other facilities to the Congress delegates.

On reaching Calcutta we tried a couple of hotels for our stay. We told them that we had come to attend the Congress session. They sympathized with us but politely declined accommodation. The manager of a *dharamshala* near *Kalighat* provided us with lodging. We told him we were delegates to the banned session but he said that he did not care.

The next day we met Congress friends. B. L. Kapoor, whom I knew well, was in charge of the boarding and lodging arrangements. Two thousand five hundred delegates were expected to come to Calcutta. Fifty per cent of them were sure to be arrested on the way. Arrangements had to be made for at least twelve hundred delegates. Hotels and *dharamshalas* would not do.

The police could easily swoop on them. Why not rent half a dozen buildings, I suggested? Housing was no problem in Calcutta at that time. Kapoor, Muzaffar Hasan and I went round the city and selected eight buildings. We paid a month's rent in advance. As Kapoor was a known figure, the receipts were made in my name.

With Satyadev Vidyalkar and Purushottam Rai, both of whom were prominent leaders of Burra Bazar Congress, I met Dr. Prafulla Ghosh, the chairman of the reception committee. I gave him Acharya Jugal Kishore's letter, and also told him of Jawaharlal Nehru's views.

It was agreed that the Congress session be held in two sittings held at two separate places on two days. The date and time and place were to be widely advertised. Delegates would not come in any disguise. Short of this it was felt that we could adopt any strategy to foil the attempt of the authorities to prevent the session being held.

On 29 March, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the President-elect of the Congress, was arrested at Asansol, along with nearly two hundred delegates accompanying him, including Devdas Gandhi, Govind Malviya, and K. D. Malviya. So was Swarup Rani Nehru.

The Calcutta police got scent of some of our rented lodgings. They raided them and arrested nearly five hundred delegates including A. G. Kher, Jagan Prasad Rawat, and my friend Muzaffar Hasan. Profulla Ghosh and other Bengal leaders were also rounded up. The total number of arrests of the delegates crossed the figure of fifteen hundred. Still there were a thousand delegates who kept themselves strictly inside their lodgings.

We did not know how Jugal Kishore arrived in Calcutta. He convened a meeting of the subjects committee at the residence of a friend at Bhowanipore. We were not more than thirty-five people, but almost all the provinces were represented. Seven draft resolutions were adopted and we discussed plans for the two sittings of the session. It was decided that seven hundred delegates would attend the inaugural session and the remaining three hundred the concluding session.

The committee also resolved that Mrs. Nellie Sengupta was to preside over the session in view of the arrest of the President-elect. The first session was to be held at the tram junction on Chowringhee. The delegates were to enter the Museum building a little before noon and busy themselves seeing the Museum until 1-30 p.m. It was a Saturday. Offices situated near Chowringhee would close at 1-30 p.m. disgorging thousands of office-goers. They would all naturally rush towards the tram junction to catch trams for different destinations. The delegates were to mix themselves with this crowd and make their way to the tin canopy, arriving there a little before 2 p.m.

The strategy for the second session on Chittaranjan Avenue was that the delegates would enter a cinema building located at the crossing of Chittaranjan Avenue and Chitpur Road for the matinee show at 3 p.m.

At the interval at 4-30 p.m. they would come out and rush towards an open space nearby and hold the session.

The press was informed that Mrs. Sengupta would preside, but not of our strategy. The commissioner of police was left guessing where to concentrate the police force to prevent the assembly of the delegates. We had no doubt that Mrs. Sengupta would be arrested and would not be available for presiding over the session. So Jugal Kishore instructed that Binodanand Jha of Bihar and Dr. Sukhdev of Delhi might preside over Chowringhee and Chittaranjan Avenue sittings if they were able to reach the place.

Our strategy proved a tremendous success. Meetings and rallies on the Maidan are generally held at Ochterlony Monument. So a large police force guarded it. Exactly at 2 p.m. the delegates gathered at the Chowringhee canopy and the proceedings started with *Vandemataram*. Somebody welcomed the delegates on behalf of the reception committee. Then Binodanand Jha delivered a brief presidential address. He moved the first two resolutions from the chair. A crowd of nearly twenty thousand people, released from offices, watched the proceedings and cheered them vociferously.

A stupefied police force rushed from the Ochterlony Monument to the canopy. They were angry at their failure to prevent the session. Mounted sowars trampled the crowd to clear the way to the canopy. But they could not enter the low-roofed canopy with their horses.

Some European sergeants, who were the first to enter the canopy, made a merciless baton charge on the delegates. The deputy commissioner of police pounced on Binodanand Jha and assaulted him like a madman. But cries of *Zindabad* by the crowd electrified the delegates. The Gandhi caps and the white Khadi dress of the delegates became crimson with blood.

The proceedings remained yet to be concluded. So I stood up on a bench and began to read resolution after resolution pausing only to put them to vote. A section of the delegates formed a chained cordon of hands around me to prevent the police from getting at me. In the midst of raining *lathi* blows we completed the last item, the singing of *Jana Gana Mana*.

Only then could the sergeants break the cordon. Blows after blows rained on me. I fell down. A hefty sergeant stood on my chest and kicked at my ribs. Then we were all dragged to a waiting police van. We were then driven to the Lal Bazar police headquarters amidst thunderous cries from the people, which were like sweet music in our ears.

All of us had received bleeding injuries, and some had suffered fracture, but there were no doctors and no first-aid and nobody to attend to our injuries. There was no food and no water for full twenty-four hours. The place was so overcrowded that we could not even stretch ourselves.

Next evening Dr. Sukhdev joined us with nearly a hundred and fifty delegates, all of them with bleeding injuries. The strategy at Chittaranjan Avenue had also proved successful.

I was feeling severe pain in my ribs. Dr. Sukhdev examined me and pronounced: "Sorry, I suspect two of your ribs are broken."

On the third day I was produced before the police commissioner for interrogation. I was then removed to the Alipore Central Jail where the prison doctor, who was a kind man, bandaged and plastered my broken ribs. I was expecting to be tried but I was released from the prison after a week.

The leaders who had been detained at Asansol including Swarup Rani Nehru and Madan Mohan Malaviya were also released. I met Madan Mohan Malviyaji in Calcutta. On the basis of my written submission, he issued a strongly worded statement condemning the barbarous treatment that had been meted out to the delegates.

The journey to Calcutta and her arrest and short detention proved very strenuous for Swarup Rani. She developed a temperature and her illness began to cause anxiety. Jawaharlal Nehru was released on 30 August, 1933, a month before his two-year term of imprisonment was due to end. I found him both worried and restless, worried on account of his mother's illness and restless on account of stalemate in the political situation. He felt that so long as the Congress had not suspended civil disobedience, Congressmen should devote themselves to working for the no-rent campaign.

He went to meet Gandhiji in Poona and had frank discussions with him. After his return he convened a three-day meeting of Congress workers. Jawaharlal Nehru and Narendra Deva laid great emphasis on the socialist objective of the Congress. It was for the first time that a gathering of prominent Congress workers had been given an ideological approach to Swarajya based on a socialist programme.

Not many days passed when Krishna Nehru's engagement to G. P. Huthesing was announced and the wedding was fixed three weeks later. Feroze Gandhi and Radhe Shyam Pathak and I spent our entire time at Anand Bhawan helping in the arrangements for the wedding.

Jawaharlal Nehru was in a reminiscent mood. He would say: "Papa is constantly in my mind. What lavish preparations he had made for my wedding and for the wedding of Sarup (Vijayalakshmi Pandit) and how poorly I am getting my younger sister married!" He recalled that Motilal Nehru had ordered a special dinner set for 2,500 invitees.

I found Kamala Nehru very enthusiastic. On her shoulders fell the entire burden of management. A list of invitees was to be prepared much in advance. This was done with great care. It included relations, friends, colleagues, Congressmen, and citizens. The outside invitees consisted of family members, relatives, intimate friends, and colleagues. Kamala Nehru assigned the despatch work to me.

Jawaharlal Nehru was very careful in preparing a list of his father's friends.

He wanted that the dinner should be served on banana leaves, as

they did in South India. But as fresh banana leaves were not available in Allahabad in abundance the idea had to be given up.

Jawaharlal Nehru's farewell to Krishna was very touching. After the send-off he sat downcast in a corner of the Anand Bhawan verandah.

I enquired: "Panditji, are you feeling very sad?"

"This was the only responsibility that Papa had left to me. I do not know if I had discharged it well," he said.

In December 1933 Jawaharlal Nehru invited prominent Congress workers of Allahabad city and district for discussions. The Congress was still an unlawful organization. He wanted us to select a few *tahsils* of the district for fifteen days' intensive tour to deliver to the peasants the message of the Congress. But his condition was that we should not carry a single paisa with us. The villagers should offer food, but if they did not, then we had to go hungry. If they offered shelter for the night well, otherwise we were to sleep under trees. He also advised us to walk on foot from village to village not using any conveyance.

Only three of us from the city offered our services—Lal Bahadur, Feroze Gandhi and myself. Three of the district Congress workers from Handia, Phulpur, and Karchhana also offered their services. They were Shrinath, Sadanand and Sheo Sewak. Lal Bahadur was allotted Handia *tahsil*, Feroze the Karchhana *tahsil* and myself the Phulpur *tahsil*.

We started on our journey after receiving a thorough briefing from Jawaharlal Nehru. We carried a blanket on our shoulder and a change of clothes and toilet things in a knapsack. We were sure that our tour programme would be cut short by our arrest. But to our surprise each of us was able to complete his itinerary.

The peasants were very busy irrigating the *rabi* crop. So we had to meet them on their fields. As soon as they saw the Tricolour they would rush towards us. We found them neither demoralized nor despondent in spite of the hardships they had suffered during the no-rent campaign in 1932. We programmed our night halts in thickly populated villages so that largely attended public meetings might be held in the evening. Men, women and children would gather at these meetings to hear our speeches. After the meeting there were many invitations for dinner and shelter for the night. We preferred to spend the night with peasants who had suffered in the no-rent campaign.

The orthodox sections of the village were critical of Gandhiji's Harijan movement. They charged that Congress was out to destroy the *Varnashrama*, the age-old Hindu social order. But when we explained to them the significance of the Harijan movement the majority of them would agree with our viewpoint.

Jawaharlal Nehru was happy and satisfied when we presented ourselves before him after completing our fifteen-day assignment. For nearly two hours he questioned all three of us in detail on all aspects of village life and

the after-effects of the no-rent satyagraha.

Then came Independence Day, 26 January, 1934. We discussed the programme with Jawaharlal Nehru. He instructed me to announce a meeting by printed notices and leaflets on behalf of the City Congress Committee. It was settled that I should read the pledge and after that he would deliver the speech. He also told me to come prepared for arrest.

Jawaharlal Nehru was addressing a public meeting in Allahabad after more than two years. The Mohammad Ali Park was full to capacity. A large police force with a police van was also there. I read the pledge which the audience repeated. Then Jawaharlal Nehru delivered a speech, which lasted for an hour and a half. He reminded the people of their pledge to achieve complete independence. He said that Swaraj would be the Swaraj of the poor and the downtrodden. This could be possible only through socialism.

Everybody thought that after the meeting we would be arrested. But as soon as the meeting was over the police force vanished with its van.

Before the next programme could be chalked out, Bihar was engulfed in a terrible earthquake. Congressmen all over the country concentrated their efforts on collecting money and material to meet the calamity. Jawaharlal Nehru toured affected areas. When he returned to Allahabad in the second week of February he was arrested on a Calcutta warrant. He was taken there and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment. When I approached him for a message at the time of his departure from Allahabad, he said, "There are enough people for relief work. Let some of you carry on the fight for freedom."

Jawaharlal Nehru visited Europe in 1938. On his return to Allahabad some of us called on him. A few minutes later, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and Lal Bahadur Shastri came in. Jawaharlal Nehru said: "Hullo, Dr. Dollfuss!" Rafi Saheb was puzzled. He thought he had been addressed with a new epithet and enquired: "Why has this new title been conferred on me?"

Jawaharlal Nehru said: "No, not on you Rafi, but on Lal Bahadur."

Rafi Saheb did not know who Dr. Dollfuss was. Some of us had heard his name but did not know that Dr. Dollfuss was the same height as Lal Bahadur until Jawaharlal Nehru told us all about Dr. Dollfuss. Rafi Saheb then said: "So you have chosen Lal Bahadur for the foreign portfolio in your Swarajya cabinet?"

"Do not lose heart, Rafi. You will be the Home Minister in the Swarajya cabinet provided Pantji spares you," Jawaharlal Nehru said. Rafi Saheb was then home minister in Pandit Pant's cabinet.

Anand Bhawan used to receive a heavy mail of which a substantial part was in Hindi. Jawaharlal Nehru asked me to clear the Hindi letters. It was May-June 1938. The day temperature ranged between 115° and 118° F. When I reached Anand Bhawan at about 2 p.m. Jawaharlal Nehru was in his library on the upper floor. His table was near the western door.

The door was open. A hot wind was blowing all over him. But he sat working undisturbed. I read out the important Hindi letters and he indicated to me the gist of the answers and asked me to write them down. I finished my job in about two hours. I followed this routine for nearly a week until he left on tour. One day I asked him: "Panditji, you sit near open door for hours together facing hot wind. Will this not affect your health?"

He said: "The seasons are gifts of Nature and men should share them alike."

In 1938 Muslim League stepped up its poisonous propaganda resulting in communal riots all over Uttar Pradesh. Allahabad also became a scene of violent communal rioting. The riots continued for many days resulting in considerable loss of life and property. A prominent Congress worker, Pashupati Nath Gupta, was stabbed while pacifying the rioters. Jawaharlal Nehru rushed to the spot and had him moved to the hospital. Prompt medical attention saved his life.

Unmindful of his own security Jawaharlal Nehru rushed to the localities where the clashes had taken place. Govind Ballabh Pant was Chief Minister. He was nervous for Jawaharlal Nehru's safety and so were the district magistrate and police officials. Jawaharlal Nehru told them: "Instead of worrying about my safety, please try to save innocent people from being stabbed to death. Their safety should be your prime concern."

A Hindu-Muslim Unity Board was set up with Jawaharlal Nehru as president, Sundarlal as vice-president and myself and Purnima Banerji as secretaries. For well over two weeks Jawaharlal Nehru spent eight to ten hours daily meeting people, both Hindus and Muslims, consoling and pacifying them. On his persuasion the Hindu and Muslim shopkeepers opened their shops after nearly ten days.

But the Leader Road, the main approach to the railway station, continued to be the scene of many fatal incidents. Unwary passengers coming from or going to the railway station between midnight and the early hours of morning were suddenly pounced upon and stabbed to death. As the victims were only Hindus the general belief was that this systematic stabbing was being done by Muslim League volunteers.

At a meeting of the Unity Board, Jawaharlal Nehru offered to patrol the area himself between midnight and morning. The district officials were horrified at the suggestion and promised to take drastic steps. But Jawaharlal Nehru wanted us to do our own patrolling. Four of us, K. M. Ashraf, Z. A. Ahmad, Sajjad Zahir, and myself, took up night patrolling. Ashraf was in charge of Muslim Mass Contact Department of the AICC and Ahmad was one of the secretaries of U.P. Provincial Congress Committee. Sajjad Zahir was then secretary of the Allahabad City Congress Committee.

We went to the Leader Road in car. After parking it we began our patrolling. At about 3-30 in the morning we saw a villager going towards the station with a box on his head. The night was chilly and he had covered himself with a blanket. The night was dark. We thought the villager would be a sure victim of an attack. We offered to escort him but he declined. Sajjad Zahir was willing to drive him to the station but he refused to be obliged. All of us were puzzled. We could not understand his obstinacy. After a brief argument the mystery was solved. The villager in disguise was no other than the senior superintendent of police. He disclosed his identity and requested us to withdraw from the scene, since our presence would scare away the killers.

He soon succeeded in arresting the leader of the gang and on his disclosures many arrests were made. The stabbing cases on Leader Road also stopped.

Azad Hind Volunteer Corps: 1945. Most of us had been released from detention. The Congress was still an unlawful body. So was the Seva Dal. Inspired by the exploits of the Azad Hind Fauz, we started an independent volunteer organization under the name of Azad Hind Volunteer Corps. We engaged two INA officers to train the volunteers in three groups: the Nehru Brigade and the Subhas Brigade and the Rani Jhansi Brigade. More than a thousand volunteers including two hundred and fifty women enrolled themselves. They had to sign a pledge. Most of the volunteers preferred to sign the pledge with their own blood.

The AICC had at the time its session in Calcutta. The newspapers prominently reported the blood-signing ceremony.

When Jawaharlal Nehru returned to Allahabad he sent for me and asked: "What was all this signing with blood? Do you or do you not realise that whatever you do at Allahabad will be linked with me? I thought you had grown up but you still seem to be immature."

I pleaded: "Panditji, during the Quit India movement the Congressmen acted like an unorganized mass. We have yet to attain freedom. We have yet to fight a final struggle. Is it not necessary that we should train our volunteers in such a way that they may be prepared for the supreme sacrifice in a disciplined manner?"

For nearly an hour he analysed the post-War position and said: "Britain will be happy to quit India. There will be no need for another Quit India movement."

"In that case there is no need to organize a trained volunteer corps?" I enquired.

"No, the need will be there, but for a different purpose, for facing the communal conflagration."

The Azad Hind Volunteer Corps grew in popularity. It was a sight to see hundreds of uniformed men and women receiving training from the smart officers. Ninth August, the Quit India Day, was fast approaching.

The Allahabad City Congress decided to observe it as Liberty Week. The Azad Hind Volunteer Corps decided to award posthumous *rajat patras* with a message inscribed by the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, to the families of martyrs.

The preparations had continued for a fortnight when I received a letter from the district magistrate, T. B. Crossley, to go and see him.

When I met him on 5 August he advised me to give up the plans for the Liberty Week. He said that the matter had been discussed at the recent meeting of Governors held in Delhi, and it had been decided not to permit its celebration. The Muslim League had represented against permitting the celebration.

I told him I would consult the Congress President and let him know the decision.

I had already sent a telegram to Jawaharlal Nehru inviting him to participate in the Liberty Week and present the *rajat patras* and purses to the martyrs' families, to which I received the following reply in Hindi:

Kangan, Kashmir
1-8-1945.

Dear Bishambhar Nath,

I am in receipt of your letter. For the last twelve days I have been wandering about in the hills. I was far away from any post office. I am returning to Srinagar today. When I thought of coming to Kashmir from Simla it was decided that the Kashmir visit would last for three weeks and I would spend a week visiting a few places on my way back. But my Simla stay was stretched a little longer. I am afraid it will not be possible for me to return to Allahabad and join in the Liberty Week without disturbing the programme drawn up here and displeasing many people. Therefore please excuse me. I should have very much liked to be in Allahabad on such an occasion but I am helpless.

I hope the Liberty Week will be successfully celebrated and no obstacle will come in its way.

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The letter was followed by a telegram from Srinagar, which said: "Wholly unable return Allahabad before end third week of August. Please carry through your programme without me. Jawaharlal Nehru".

Meanwhile the district authorities had served on me the following order:

ORDER UNDER RULE 56 DIR

1. This order shall come into force immediately and remain in force until specifically withdrawn.

2. It shall apply to the limits of Allahabad Municipality and cantonments and to the entire area within a radius of ten miles from the Allahabad General Post Office.
3. No public meeting or procession shall take place without at least 72 hours notice in writing to the District Magistrate. For the purpose of this order, any procession or meeting which is open to the public or to any class or portion of the public, whether held in public or in a private place, and whether admission thereto is restricted by issue of tickets or otherwise, shall be deemed to be a public meeting.

T. B. Crossley,
District Magistrate

August 4, 1945, Allahabad.

The superintendent of police was an Indian and friendly to me. I rang him up and enquired whether the authorities would permit me to carry on our programme if I sent a notice in writing. He said: "No it has already been decided to refuse permission."

It became imperative that we should seek the advice of Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru and the Congress President, Maulana Azad. Gandhiji said: "Consult Congress President Maulana Azad. Only he is entitled to advise you. I cannot give you any advice on the issue of satyagraha."

The same day we received the following telegram dated 3 August from the Maulana Azad from Gulmarg:

"Ch Gulmarg E 39 Pandit Bishambharnath
South Malaka Allahabad

Your telegram if procession and meeting banned people may follow programme on ninth August in their private quarter as directed in my statement stop under present circumstances action against orders inadvisable — Abul Kalam Azad."

On reaching Gulmarg, Jawaharlal Nehru consulted Maulana Azad and on 4 August he despatched the following telegram:

Cf Gulmarg 4 Bishambharnath Pande,
142 South Malaka, Allahabad.

After consultation with Maulana have fixed eighteenth August for departure Kashmir visiting Frontier Lahore Delhi reaching Allahabad about 27th stop Trust Liberty Week celebrations will be conducted with dignity sobriety and in spirit dedication avoiding recrimination conflict stop Congress Presidents instructions in regard August and subsequent days should be followed — Jawaharlal Nehru.

It was a herculean job to control two thousand young volunteers, both men and women, from defying the ban order. Most of them had not been

able to take part in the Quit India movement, being too young, and they now wanted to contribute their share to the struggle.

As directed by Maulana Azad, the Liberty Week was observed without breaking any provisions of the Defence of India Rules. We divided the Azad Hind volunteers into batches of four each. They were spread all over the city, and placed flowers at the spots where satyagrahis had been shot dead. We requested Purushottam Das Tandon to present purses, clothes, and fruits to the surviving dependants of the martyrs at their homes. In the evening the entire traffic on Johnstoneganj Road, where the Congress office was situated, stood still at 5-30 p.m. for five minutes and offered silent homage to the memory of the martyrs. We postponed the ceremony of distributing *rajat patras* until the arrival of Jawaharlal Nehru.

A letter came from Jawaharlal Nehru from Gulmarg:

Gulmarg,
August 10, 1945.

My dear Bishambharnath,

Your last telegram to me was sent to Gulmarg when I was in Srinagar. I received it on the evening of the 9th when it was too late to send an answer. I understand, however, that Maulana sent you a reply. I am very sorry that I have been away from Allahabad during this time of serious decisions. I have stayed on here not for the pleasure of it but for important work and at the request of the Maulana and other friends who have gathered here.

There has been a slight change in my programme and I now leave Srinagar on the 21st. After paying brief visits to Murree and Nathiagali I intend to spend three days in Lahore — 25th to 27th. I wanted to go straight from Lahore, reaching there on the 28th evening. But there is some talk now of a meeting of the directors of the *Herald* in Delhi. If so, my return to Allahabad will be delayed two or three days.

We held a public meeting at Srinagar on the 9th to celebrate the day and a private meeting at Gulmarg with the Maulana present.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru.

After returning from Kashmir he presented the *rajat patras* at a mammoth public meeting to the families of sixteen martyrs who had laid down their lives in Allahabad during the Quit India movement.

In the meantime the Government withdrew the ban on the Congress and released the properties and records of the AICC office at Swarajya Bhawan. The city deputy superintendent of police sent me the following letter on 25 August 1945:

Dear Sir,

I have been directed by the Superintendent of Police, Allahabad, to inform you that the U.P. Government has ordered the delivery of the articles of the City Congress Committee office to the City Congress Committee

I shall be obliged if you will kindly nominate some gentleman to take the delivery of the articles therein and appoint a time and hour for the same so that a responsible police officer may be deputed to comply with these orders of the Government.

Yours sincerely,

A. R. Khan, K. B.

With the end of the War there was an upsurge in the trade union movement. The Communist Party of India had kept itself aloof from the Quit India movement. Naturally it lost its prestige with the working class, who looked towards the Congress. As president of the City Congress I lent my full support to the trade union movement.

The two ordnance establishments in Allahabad employed more than thirty thousand workers. A sixth of them belonged to the minority community, and the Muslim League began to fish in troubled waters. The League made common cause with the Communist Party. The Revolutionary Socialist Party of India also had some following in these defence establishments. The R.S.S. also claimed some followers.

At the call of the Muslim League, Calcutta had already experienced a blood-bath. The president of the City Muslim League was also the president of the Muslim Defence Workers' Union. His bitter speeches poisoned the atmosphere amongst the workers and soon there was a communal riot in Chheoki ordnance depot. The police had to open fire killing four.

Jawaharlal Nehru had just returned to Allahabad. He sent me a note on 18 July, 1946:

My dear Bishambharnath,

I have long wanted to talk to you about various developments in Allahabad, but I have been away and have had no time. The stabbing outrages day before yesterday among the C.O.D. workers naturally upset me and I wondered how far the policy we have been following here has been correct. I am referring particularly to labour policy. Naturally we must sympathize with labour, organize it and strengthen it. It seems to me, however, that we are merely throwing ourselves into every kind of dispute without inquiry or consideration and co-operating with very dubious persons. I am told that there is some kind of a labour joint front here. What this is I do not know. But so far as I know, there has been

no such direction from the Provincial Congress Committee. In fact we have discussed this matter in the P.C.C. Council on several occasions and the decided opinion was that Congress workers should not ally themselves with other groups who are politically opposed to the Congress. In a moment of crisis and trouble one may work together, but generally speaking it is better for Congress workers to stick to their own platform. Otherwise people opposed to the Congress take advantage of a joint platform and give expression to views which the Congress does not favour. This applies specially to the Communists. Some of the Communists individually are earnest people, but they have followed and are still following a policy which is harmful to Congress, and it is not right for us to have joint platforms with them in regard to any public matter. That would apply too, I think, to the R.S.P.I. who are continually talking in terms of violence. It must be definitely understood that the Congress has not changed its policy in regard to non-violence and peaceful methods. Apart from that policy, recent events leading to the C.O.D. troubles and riots and stabbing show us how dangerous it is to dabble in any incitement to violence.

The postmen's strike has on the whole been a peaceful one, but occasionally it hovers on the verge of some kind of conflict. If the strike is to succeed it must be entirely peaceful with no compulsion at all.

We must remember that there is a Congress Government functioning in the Province and we have to make its path easy. When it errs or when its subordinates err, we can go to it and try to get the matter straightened. We cannot play into the hands of people who are out to discredit the Government by all means.

Dealings with the police are likely to be ticklish because the police is used to old ways. Nevertheless the police has to function in accordance with Government's policy; and it does no good to go about attacking and running down the police as a force especially in times of communal or other tension in the city. Where the police misbehave it is up to us to draw the attention of the Government to it.

I should like you to explain all this to your prominent colleagues and workers.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru.

We discussed the letter at an urgent meeting of the executive of the City Congress Committee. When I called on Jawaharlal Nehru, he asked me to prepare a complete list of trade unions in Allahabad with the number of workers and the number of unions in each establishment, the names of the political parties controlling such unions, the list of office-bearers, etc. I prepared a chart within three days and laid it before him. He

made detailed queries. The postal strike was then going on. He wanted to see for himself the way the picketing was being resorted to at Allahabad. I accompanied him to the GPO and the RMS offices. He met the workers and made enquiries about their service conditions and advised them to remain peaceful. The workers were overjoyed.

When we returned to Anand Bhawan he gave me detailed instructions as to what we should do and not do in conducting the trade union movement.

Tandon and Nehru: Purushottam Das Tandon and Jawaharlal Nehru were lifelong colleagues in the struggle for freedom. Both were born and brought up in the same city. Both practised law in the same High Court. In spite of differences, they had genuine affection for each other. While Tandon's first love was Hindi, Nehru's first love was socialism. Both were great lovers of Indian culture. But while Tandon believed in unalloyed Hindu culture, Nehru believed in synthesis of cultures. Tandon inherited the orthodox traditions of his political guru, Madan Mohan Malaviya; Jawaharlal Nehru inherited the liberal traditions of his father. Dieting was a fad with Tandon, Nehru had no fads although he preferred a simple diet. Tandon was a scholar of Urdu and Persian; Nehru knew little Urdu but whatever he knew he made full use of. Both loved Sanskrit and believed that Sanskrit opened the gate to wisdom. While Nehru made immense use of Sanskrit literature in his writings and liked its ceremonial use, Tandon insisted that in ceremonials Sanskrit should be replaced by Hindi. At the wedding of his sons and daughters he used Hindi versions of the Sanskrit *mantras*. Tandon became the rallying centre of conservative forces, Nehru was a symbol of rational and progressive thought. But we Congressmen of Allahabad had intense respect for both the leaders.

In 1924-25 Tandon was president of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee and Gandhiji was the Congress President. Tandon felt unhappy with Gandhiji as he addressed all important letters not to him but to Jawaharlal Nehru. He offered to resign if Gandhiji had no faith in him. Gandhiji explained that Motilal and Jawaharlal were both members of the Working Committee and he was bound to consult them on national issues. But Tandon was not satisfied.

Madan Mohan Malaviya regarded Tandon as his *manas putra*. After 1925 Tandon came under the influence of Lala Lajpat Rai. On the death of Lajpat Rai, he became president of the Servants of the People Society. Both Malaviya and Lajpat Rai were ex-presidents of All-India Hindu Mahasabha. Tandon never joined Hindu Mahasabha. But some of his statements were exploited by communal parties.

The Servants of the People Society had a good band of workers as life-members. Lal Bahadur was one of them. Tandon posted him at Allahabad to work amongst the peasants. Lal Bahadur had a high

regard for Tandon but when he came in contact with Jawaharlal Nehru he developed an equally great respect for him. Later he became something of a bridge between Tandon and Nehru and used all his humility to tone down the differences between the two.

After 1947 the old guard of the Congress wished to challenge the leadership of Nehru. But the problem was that unless he was challenged in Uttar Pradesh the opposition could not achieve any substantial results. With Sardar Patel's support Tandon was elected President of the Nasik Congress.

Lal Bahadur and I had been colleagues since he came to Allahabad in 1929. For many years we were next-door neighbours. We were frightened at the new developments, as we were convinced that this new alliance would prove fatal to Uttar Pradesh. Lal Bahadur had his own methods of dealing with Tandon. At our initiative Sri Prakasa and Bal Krishna Sharma entreated Tandon to refrain from adopting a collision course.

But the clash could not be averted. The issue of supreme leadership was finally decided at Nasik. The session proved the Waterloo of the conservative forces. Jawaharlal Nehru emerged as the unchallengeable leader. Tandon resigned from the presidentship of the Congress. Uttar Pradesh was saved from a painful internecine conflict.

Lal Bahadur became Jawaharlal Nehru's most trusted lieutenant. He was Home Minister in U.P. and he was drafted into the Union Cabinet.

Tandon temporarily retired from politics. But Lal Bahadur persuaded him to stand for the Lok Sabha seat which had been vacated by Sri Prakasa on his appointment as Governor of Madras. Once again Lal Bahadur acted as a bridge between Tandon and Jawaharlal Nehru.

His Home Town: I was Mayor of Allahabad when Jawaharlal Nehru visited his home-town in 1960. He had been chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board twenty-five years earlier and had taken keen interest in the planning and development of Allahabad City. He left important notes on civic administration in the municipal files. I went through them carefully. One of his notes said:

"The true civic ideal aims at common possession and common enjoyment of municipal amenities, and these amenities go on increasing till they comprise almost everything that a citizen requires. Roads, bridges, lighting, water supply, sanitation, hospitals and medical relief, education, parks and recreation grounds, games, proper housing museums, art galleries, theatres, music are some of the activities that a modern municipality should be interested in, and some of the amenities which it should provide free of cost to all its citizens. . . ."

A few weeks earlier I had informed him that the Allahabad Municipal Board had been raised to the status of a municipal corporation and that

I had been elected its mayor. He wrote to me:

My dear Bishambharnath,

My congratulations to you and other newly elected members of the Allahabad Municipal Corporation.

I have been deeply interested in corporations and municipalities and the like ever since the days, long ago, when I was myself connected with the Allahabad Municipality. Somehow, these bodies seem to bring one into more intimate touch with the life of the people than other kinds of work, say, for instance, work on Legislative or such-like bodies which pass laws and otherwise are in charge of the affairs of the State and the country. When you go to Delhi you get farther away from the common man, sitting as it were on some legislative mountain-top from where you may occasionally have a telescopic view. On the contrary the city fathers do come into intimate touch with the people of the city and their problems. And nothing is more interesting and fascinating than dealing directly with this human problem and the problems of a great city. In a sense, I rather envy such people at times.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

It was Jawaharlal Nehru's practice to visit his Lok Sabha constituency two or three times a year. During his 1960 visit, he stayed for two days, and addressed several meetings in his constituency. He also addressed a public meeting in the city. I informed him of Tandon's serious illness. Jawaharlal Nehru decided to call on him in the afternoon and asked me to accompany him. On our way he enquired about the slum clearance, housing and other development activities of the corporation. When we were passing through the newly developed narrow streets he severely criticized our town planners:

"These people have no imagination. They look only five or ten years ahead while they should look at least a hundred years ahead. When were these roads planned?"

"Just after the Second World War."

"They are hardly 40 feet wide."

"The side-streets are 40 feet wide and the main roads are 60 feet wide," I said.

"This will create traffic problems," said Panditji and added: "When Russian town-planners planned 300 feet wide roads for Moscow after the War, the British and French town-planners scoffed at them. But ten years later, while the streets of London and Paris were jammed, Moscow has no problems. If you ever visit Moscow you will see it for yourself."

He said that when he was municipal chairman he had commissioned

the services of H. V. Lanchester, the famous town planner, to make a survey of Allahabad and suggest a broad outline for the planning of the city. Lanchester made many important suggestions, but the town planners had not made use of them.

I said: "Panditji, we do not have imposing buildings in Allahabad. That is why Allahabad remains unimpressive as a city. Can't some of the Central Government offices be located here?"

He replied: "Some people consider that if a city is to be beautified, big buildings should be put up. Beautifying a city is important but beautifying does not mean putting impressive structures."

After a pause he added: "Are you not satisfied with the beautiful confluence of two great rivers like Ganga and Yamuna at Allahabad?"

The conversation came to an end as we reached Tandon's residence. Jawaharlal Nehru was shocked when he saw Tandon in his broken health. But Tandon's face was lit up with a smile when he saw his old comrade in arms.

Kamala Nehru

B. N. Pande

Jawaharlal Nehru took a close and continuous interest in the political activities of his home-town. Even when he was President of the Indian National Congress he continued to be president of the Allahabad City Congress Committee. He always experimented his political theories first in his home-town and then, on the basis of experience gained, on the country at large.

The year 1930 saw an unprecedented awakening of the masses in India. The Salt Satyagraha was in full swing, and Jawaharlal Nehru was the Congress President. On his arrest for breaking the salt laws, he nominated Motilal Nehru as acting President of the Congress and Kamala Nehru as president of the City Congress Satyagraha Committee.

I was then one of the secretaries of the City Congress Committee in charge of meetings, processions, programmes, and publicity. As soon as Kamala Nehru's name was announced I called on her at Anand Bhawan and asked whether she had any instructions.

"Yes," she said, "when I come to the City Congress office tomorrow, please give me a list of volunteers, both of men and women. I want to scrutinize them."

I told her, "The picketing of foreign cloth shops starts at 9 a.m. sharp."

"In that case I shall reach the City Congress office at 6 a.m. And for your information, I am very punctual."

I went straight to the office, made the list of volunteers up to date both wardwise and alphabetically, mentioning their age, addresses and special qualifications, and got it typed in three sets. I also prepared a list of the shops selling foreign cloth, their location, and the names of the proprietors. By midnight, with the help of a batch of volunteers, the office was thoroughly cleaned, the furniture and fixtures rearranged. I advised the staff and other office-bearers to be at their post exactly at 5-45 a.m. to receive our new chief.

Kamala Nehru was punctual to the second. Without wasting time on formalities she asked for the list of women volunteers. She carefully scrutinized it and then asked for the list of men volunteers. She went through it very carefully, noted certain names, and then enquired:

"Is Lal Bahadur a married man?"

"Yes, his family is here," I replied.

"Is Mohanlal Gautam also married?"

"Yes, his family is also here," I said.

"And yourself and Muzaffar Hasan?"

"We are both bachelors."

"Tandonji is our Vice-President. How is it that Mrs. Tandon's name is not on the list?"

"His daughter-in-law is one of our most regular volunteers," I pleaded.

"Does she work as proxy for Mrs. Tandon?"

"Yes, if you interpret it that way."

“What about our treasurer, Vishvamitra? He has a very large family. Is his wife in the list of lady volunteers?”

“Yes,” I said, “Mrs. Gyanvati is a very regular volunteer.”

The number of women volunteers did not satisfy her. “Only 150 lady volunteers in such a big and politically and culturally advanced city as Allahabad! No, it has got to be doubled,” she asserted.

She asked me to guide her to Lal Bahadur’s house. Lal Bahadur was away at the office of the All-India Congress Committee but Lalitaji was at home. When she heard that Kamala Nehru had come to her house she became nervous. But she obeyed the command and came out with Kamalaji. Then she herself led us to the house of Mohanlal Gautam. Mrs. Gautam was also conscripted. Then we went to K. D. Malaviya’s house. He was away in jail on three months’ imprisonment. With Lalita Shastri, Mrs. Gautam and Durga Malviya, Kamala Nehru went to the houses of other Congress workers. She said: “How can we ask other people to send their wives and daughters to picket foreign cloth shops unless Congress workers themselves set an example? I am glad their wives are responding. I shall have to be firm. I do not want hypocrites. I shall have nothing to do with men who have no courage to follow what they preach.” Kamala Nehru returned with nearly twenty freshly recruited women volunteers and straightaway posted them on duty at the foreign cloth shops.

After leaving Kamala Nehru at the picketing centre, I went to the A.I.C.C. office to complete the editing of the material for the next Congress bulletin. There I met Lal Bahadur and informed him that his wife had been conscripted by Kamala Nehru and was probably doing picketing at the moment outside a foreign cloth shop at Bajaja Patti.

Lal Bahadur: “Is that so? Then my wife must be presenting a comic scene with her long *ghunghat* (veil).”

“No, I saw her doing her duty as any other volunteer without veil.”

Lal Bahadur: “Then it is a miracle. However, I am not going to her rescue. Let her enjoy her freedom.”

But he requested me to go back and help his wife as she did not know a thing about picketing of foreign cloth shops. She was also not used to speaking to strangers. He promised to look after my editing work.

When I went back I found that Lalita Shastri had injured her wrists and there were blood marks on her clothes. I was aghast. Kamala Nehru narrated with pride the bravery of the shy new recruit.

Lalita Shastri was requesting a customer with folded hands not to purchase foreign cloth. The shopkeeper retorted—‘बहिन जी, आप विलायती कपड़ा खरीदने की मना कर रही है मगर आपने जो चूड़ियां पहन रखी हैं, वे भी तो विलायती हैं।’ (‘Sister, you are requesting the customers not to purchase foreign cloth but the bangles that you are wearing are also foreign!’)

Lalita Shastri: “Are they?”

Shopkeeper: “Sure, they are.”

Lalita Shastri pondered over the remark, then took hold of the iron yardstick from the shopkeeper, and smashed all her bangles. Then, with folded hands, she again requested them not to buy and sell foreign cloth.

The customers and the shopkeeper were struck dumb at this sudden action. All the adjoining shopkeepers felt ashamed. As a penance they at once closed their shops.

Kamala Nehru was proud of her new recruit. She complimented Lalita for her bold and courageous action and referred to her as the "heroine of the day."

B. N. Chopra was one of our most enthusiastic party workers. He came from a well-known Khatri family. He knew practically all the women members of his community. He helped Kamala Nehru to recruit nearly fifty women volunteers from his community. Krishna Kant Malviya, the veteran Congressman, got his daughter-in-law enrolled as a volunteer. Kamala Nehru persuaded Govind Malviya, son of Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, to enrol a large number of women from the Malviya community. The daughter-in-law of Sukhdeva Prasad Kaul, prime minister of Mewar, was at Allahabad. Kamala Nehru enrolled her as a volunteer. We all felt amazed when we found that Kamala Nehru had even succeeded in persuading Lady Maharaj Singh, wife of the Commissioner of Allahabad, to join her band of women workers. For a few days she picketed shops for half an hour daily. She was always present in our processions and meetings. She proudly confessed: "I am a new disciple of Kamalaji." When we reminded her of her husband's position, she retorted: "My husband may be a government officer but I am a free citizen."

The number of women volunteers was not only doubled but trebled. For the first time in the history of Allahabad, one found women of the most orthodox and aristocratic families leaving behind their veils and jumping into the satyagraha movement. In the words of Rama Kant Malaviya, eldest son of Madan Mohan Malaviya, Kamala Nehru had brought about a social revolution in Allahabad.

Kamala Nehru approached conservative Muslim families also. She invaded their secluded apartments. How could one close the door against the daughter-in-law of Motilal Nehru? The Muslim ladies were overwhelmed. A few of them also came out for picketing, with their *burgas* on.

Kamala Nehru was a hard taskmaster. She spared none, not even herself. But we all felt a thrill working with her. She gave our movement a new dimension. Her impact on the citizens was tremendous.

Cloth merchants themselves convened a meeting and decided to request Kamala Nehru to seal their stocks of foreign cloth. They promised not to import foreign cloth in future. In the presence of Motilal Nehru and Purushottam Das Tandon, Kamala Nehru sealed the foreign cloth stocks

of the cloth merchants amidst deafening cries of *Kamala Nehru Zindabad!*

When this was being done, my eyes were fixed on Motilal Nehru. There was a glow in his eyes and a smile on his lips. He must have felt as much pride in his daughter-in-law as he felt in his son.

When the Salt Satyagraha was in progress, the students of Modern High School, Allahabad, decided to hoist the national flag over their school building. The Principal, Dr. Ghosh, was averse to the idea. He issued a prohibitory order threatening to expel anyone who disobeyed him. But the students went ahead. True to his word, the principal rusticated five student leaders. Thereupon the students went on a strike. In sympathy with them, the students of other educational institutions observed a strike. They took out a procession and marched towards the Modern School. The vast field of the school was turned into a seething mass of young heads.

The Modern School in those days did not enjoy a high academic reputation. It had admitted a large number who had been refused admission in other institutions, and it was generally believed that they were used by the police to beat up nationalist students. On that day also, some of these students joined the police in attacking the general mass of demonstrating students. Many boys received bleeding injuries. The situation was getting out of control.

As soon as we received the news at the Congress office, Kamala Nehru asked all of us to accompany her to the Modern School. Ranjit Pandit, Vijayalakshmi Pandit and Krishna Nehru also joined us. Indira Nehru insisted on accompanying the party. We found that a large police force headed by the senior superintendent of police, Mr. Measures, was there. Measures warned the students that if they tried to ransack the building he would be compelled to order firing.

Kamala Nehru assessed the gravity of the situation and then directed me to announce in my loud voice that students other than those of the Modern School should withdraw outside the boundary wall. They did so. Then she asked me to tell the students of the Modern School to go back to their classes. This order was also obeyed.

Kamala Nehru then advanced towards the injured who were lying unattended on the school verandah. She praised them for their bravery and cheered them individually for defending the honour of the flag.

In the meanwhile Indira Nehru was engaged in a heated argument with a European sergeant. Suddenly the sergeant raised his baton to strike her. Like a young tiger cub she fearlessly and proudly raised her head to receive the blow. But Measures, who chanced to pass by, intervened.

By this time a medical van had arrived and Kamala Nehru despatched the injured to the hospital for dressing their wounds.

Then she addressed the students and appealed to them to go home. They lingered a little longer insisting that the police must leave first.

Kamala Nehru: The condition of Dr. Ghosh's heart is very delicate. He gets palpitation on seeing a national flag.

A Student: We want him to die.

Kamala Nehru: So you have come determined to hold a condolence meeting?

This sent the students into peals of laughter.

Kamala Nehru: The entire police force is here. Let them remain here. You march back in a procession to P. D. Park. Hold your meeting there and pass a resolution condemning the action of the Principal and the police authorities.

The idea appealed to the students and they left the place in a procession shouting *Kamala Nehru Zindabad*.

When we arrived back at the Congress office we met the agitated parents of the injured students. Their emotions were surcharged with communal tension, because many of the students of the Modern School belonged to the minority community. Kamala Nehru told them: "By showing communal spirit you would be playing into the hands of Dr. Ghosh and the police authorities." When they were told that amongst the injured were four Muslim students, their anger cooled down.

After their departure Kamala Nehru sent batches of volunteers to mixed localities to allay communal fears of the people. She herself toured many parts of the city with women volunteers. She appealed to the Muslim parents to help in creating an atmosphere free from communal tension. Their attitude was helpful. Kamala Nehru returned in the evening to Anand Bhawan very tired but with the sense of a job well done.

At the other end, the principal of the Modern High School lodged a complaint with the police naming five of us under Section 448 Cr. P.C. At dead of night Mrs. Kamala Sharma, wife of Rai Bahadur Captain M. P. Sharma, woke me up and informed me that I was going to be arrested early in the morning. I thanked her for the information and tried to snatch a few more hours of sleep. Exactly at 4 a.m. there was a knock on the door. A deputy superintendent of police was there with a warrant of arrest. When I entered the gate of the jail it was 5 a.m. Within half an hour, four other co-accused also arrived including Ram Kumar Shastri, assistant secretary of the United Provinces Congress Committee, and Padma Kant Malaviya, editor of the *Abhyudaya*. We were informed that the trial would take place in the jail superintendent's office the same morning.

The trial began at 10 a.m. with Bomford, the district magistrate, himself presiding. Krishna Kant Malaviya, Kapildeo Malaviya, Shyam Kumari Nehru, Uma Nehru, S. K. Dar, Ramakant Malaviya and K. N. Katju were all present in the court. Kamala Nehru arrived a few minutes before the trial began.

When the trial started I enquired from the district magistrate, "Sir, may I know who you are?"

Bomford: "I am the district magistrate of Allahabad."

Myself: "But we do not know you."

Bomford: "You may enquire from your friends."

Myself: "Ram Kumar, this gentleman says he is the district magistrate. Do you know him?"

Ram Kumar: "No, I do not know him."

Bomford: "It does not matter whether he knows me or not."

Myself: "Since you say you are the district magistrate, may I seek some information?"

Bomford: "Yes, you may."

Myself: "Have you read the Bible?"

Bomford: "Of course, what do you mean?"

Myself: "Have you read the five commandments?"

Bomford: "Yes, I have."

Myself: "Sir, one of the commandments says: 'Do not judge others otherwise ye will be judged in heaven.'"

The district magistrate looked irritated.

Somebody had earlier given me a copy of a newspaper. I began to glance through its pages. The district magistrate grew angry. He shouted: "Give that newspaper to me." He repeated the order twice. The situation was getting ugly. But Kamala Nehru came to the rescue. She said: "Bishambhar, I command you to give that newspaper to me."

I immediately handed over the paper to her saying: "I obey your command. You are our president."

The trial lasted for nearly an hour. The judgment was delivered immediately: "As the Principal of the Modern High School has already withdrawn his complaint against the accused persons, I discharge all the five accused."

The trial was reported verbatim in the newspapers and was a topic of humour in the district court and High Court bar associations.

Those twenty-four hours made history in Allahabad. They showed Kamala Nehru's capacity for leadership. She had prevented unnecessary bloodshed, she had saved the town from Hindu-Muslim tension, and she had persuaded Dr. Ghosh to withdraw his complaint against Congressmen, much to the mortification of district officials.

Kamala Nehru was now the leader of Allahabad on her own merit.

Mission to the Frontier: The Salt Satyagraha had brought the British administration to a standstill in the North-West Frontier Province. The civil administration had been practically handed over to the Army. In the brutal firing at Gali Kissa Khani in Peshawar, 455 Pathans had laid down their lives baring their chests to bullets. The conversion of violent Pathans into non-violent satyagrahis had electrified the country. The Tribal Area was also in ferment. When their own Pathan brethren in India were being subjected to barbarous cruelties how could the Tribals

remain unaffected? Aerial bombing of the Tribal Area had become a daily routine for the Royal Air Force.

After the Peshawar firing the Congress Working Committee sent a goodwill mission to the Frontier Province under the leadership of Vithalbhai Patel. But the mission was stopped at Attock and sent back by a special train to Lahore. Its entry to N.W.F.P. was banned. The Khan Brothers had already been arrested under Regulation III of 1818. They were detained somewhere outside the province. The British Government thought that they would be able to crush the spirit of the Pathans, especially of the Red Shirts.

The headquarters of the All-India Congress Committee were at Allahabad. Jawaharlal Nehru was in jail. Motilal Nehru had also been arrested in Bombay and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Kamala Nehru was asked to send letters of goodwill and sympathy to the Red Shirts and leaders of the Tribals across the border. One day she asked me: "May I entrust an important but risky mission to you?"

"You can trust me," I replied.

"It is confidential. You will leave tomorrow for Lahore. There you will meet Girdharilal, who will direct you to N.W.F.P. You have to deliver some important letters at Bannu, Kohat, Peshawar, Charsada, and Utsmanzai. You will get the letters tomorrow. But I again warn you it is a risky undertaking."

The next day Kamala Nehru signed those precious letters on behalf of A.I.C.C. and delivered them to me. I took leave of her by touching her feet. On reaching Lahore I called on Girdharilal. He informed me: "You will be travelling in the N.W.F.P. as a Press representative."

"What paper would I be representing?" I enquired.

"The Civil & Military Gazette."

"Why of all the papers the Civil & Military Gazette?"

"It is the only newspaper whose representative may be allowed to travel in N.W.F.P."

"Can I be sure the letter of authority is genuine?"

"Very genuine," said Girdharilal.

He handed me a copy of my programme typed on the letter head of the *C. & M. Gazette*. I had to reach Dera Ismail Khan by train, from there go by car to Bannu and Kohat and then Peshawar.

The Quetta Express left Lahore in the evening. Sleep was out of the question. I was too excited with my mission. I reached Dera Ismail Khan the next evening after crossing the Indus. I did not expect anyone to receive me and there was none. After all who would receive the representative of a semi-official newspaper?

On my arrival I engaged a taxi from a European transport company. I spent the night at Dera Ismail Khan. Next morning I left by road to Bannu. The entire forty-mile road looked like a war zone. A regiment

of the British Army and a regiment of the Maratha Light Infantry had set up camps all along the route. The scenes I witnessed *en route* were cruel and awesome. I found batches of small Pathan children between five and nine years hanging upside down on the trees. They had been punished for entering the British commandant's office and shouting: *Inqilab Zindabad! Badshah Khan Zindabad!* The children were almost unconscious. I was told that they would be untied after an hour.

At a roadside village I witnessed a still more ghastly scene. A meeting of the Pathan residents of the village had been called at the army camp. An army officer, a haughty Englishman, was addressing the crowd when I reached the spot. He was enraged at seeing me getting down, but when I showed him my credentials he was pacified. All the same he warned me not to take any photographs.

When his address was half way through he used some insulting remarks against Gandhi and Badshah Khan. The assembly of Pathans stood up. They began to shout *Gandhi Zindabad! Badshah Khan Zindabad! Inqilab Zindabad!*

The officer gave a signal. The British soldiers charged at the unarmed crowd with their bayonets. The long shirts and trousers of the Pathans were drenched in blood. It was only when the commanding officer thought that the Pathans had been taught the lesson of their life, that the bayonets, dripping with blood, were withdrawn. The officer announced: 'अब तुम जाने सकटा है' (Now you may go).

When the crowd dispersed, I accosted a hefty Pathan. He was a little over six feet tall, and his clothes were soaked in blood. I asked him: "You could have squeezed the life out of the English soldier if you had wished but you quietly received the blows?"

He looked at me with annoyance. "What rubbish are you talking? Don't you know that our Badshah Khan had told us that even if we got killed we should not raise our hand in retaliation? How could I retaliate? No, I would rather die than disobey my leader."

As I proceeded further towards Bannu I talked in confidence to a lieutenant of the Maratha Infantry. He gave me a leaflet which had been circulated in the regiment. The notice was in Marathi. It reminded the Marathas how in the Third Battle of Panipat the Pathan army had slaughtered a hundred thousand Marathas in the battlefield including Sadashiva Rao Bhau. The same Pathans were now up in revolt to enslave India. It was time to put down this revolt mercilessly.

"Do your ranks believe this?"

"No, not a word of it."

The lieutenant continued: "Since the refusal of the Garhwal Regiment to shoot on unarmed Pathans at Peshawar we too are being looked upon with suspicion. I am glad that we do not have to do the nefarious job."

At Bannu the Congress office was humming with activity. Someone guided me to the residence of the Congress secretary. He received me

cordially I informed him that I had brought a letter from Mrs. Kamala Nehru to be delivered to him.

“From Mrs. Nehru?”

“Yes, from the respected Kamala Nehru, wife of Jawaharlal Nehru ”

“You have brought the letter to me?”

“Yes, to you, to the Bannu Congress, to the Khudai Khidmatgars, to the Red Shirts, and to the people of Bannu. I was directed to place the letter in the hands of the secretary of the Bannu District Congress Committee. May I hand over the letter to you?”

“Yes, please.”

When I delivered the letter to him he seemed to be in a state of exultation. Then without opening the letter he touched his forehead and eyes with it. Then again he asked: “So this letter is from Mohtarima Kamala Nehru?”

“Yes, it is.”

Then, composing himself he said: “Will you come to the inner apartment and meet my sister? She is captain of the lady volunteers. She was injured on the head by a European sergeant while picketing a liquor shop.”

He led me inside the house. There I found a young lady lying on the bed. Her head was heavily bandaged.

I greeted her with Salam-Ale-Kum and Inqilab Zindabad The brother handed over the letter to his sister saying: “खत में मोहतरिमा कमला नेहरू का पैगाम है” (The letter contains a message from the respected Kamala Nehru) The lady raised the letter to her eyes and kissing it handed it back to her brother. I was wondering whether they would ever open it and read it.

The young Khan guessed my feeling. He said the letter would be opened in the presence of the members of the Action Committee. Late in the night I met the Action Committee members. They asked me to convey their profuse thanks to Mohtarima Kamala Nehru for her sympathy and assure her that the Pathans would continue their non-violent struggle for the country's independence.

My experience at Kohat, Charsada, and Peshawar was more or less the same as at Bannu, but it was different at Utsmanzai. The Tribals received the message at an assembly of their *jirga*. It was a dinner *jirga*. They were sorry that I was a vegetarian. They prepared a huge stuffed bread. The *jirga* sat in a circle. I was seated beside the chief of the *jirga*. He was the first to cut a piece of the bread and gave it a bite. Then it was circulated. The piece of bread received bite after bite from each of the *jirga* member. I was the last recipient of the piece. This was the traditional way of assuring a guest that the food was safe and did not contain poison. After this traditional ceremony they placed the tray before me so that I might help myself.

The dinner over, they opened the letter and translated its contents in Pushtu. They were happy to receive the sympathies of the Congress. They asked me to thank the Mohtarima.

Returning to Allahabad after two weeks, I narrated in detail my experiences of N.W.F.P. Kamala Nehru was greatly moved to hear of the atrocities. She convened a public meeting the next evening where I recounted what I had seen. As president of the meeting her condemnation of the atrocities on the Pathans was bitter and scathing.

After the meeting I accompanied her to Anand Bhawan. On reaching there she said she had given a holiday to the cook but I could share *kachauris* with her. She was fond of *kachauris*. Neta Halwai of Katra Bazar prepared special *kachauris* for Anand Bhawan.

Reviewing my visit to the Frontier I told her: "Vithalbhai Patel's delegation was stopped at the gates of the Frontier but your message not only reached the people of the Frontier and the Tribals but also touched their hearts."

"What about your despatches to the *Civil & Military Gazette*?" She enquired teasingly.

"Didi, you know it best," I said.

The Vanar Sena: Kamala Nehru's hands were too full with work. Luckily Prabhavati, wife of Jayaprakash Narayan, and Purnima Banerji, elder sister of Aruna Asaf Ali, constantly assisted her. It reduced the strain to some extent.

Kamala Nehru used to move about the city on foot. Many lanes of Allahabad were too narrow for cars or *tongas*. *Tongas* and *ekkas* were the only conveyance available in those days on hire. Kamala Nehru always preferred to sit on the front seat of a *tonga*. But to cover a distance of three miles on a *tonga* from Anand Bhawan to the City Congress office was rather tiring. Both her sisters-in-law came to the Congress office in their cars. Their time of arrival did not tally with Kamala Nehru's. But she did not mind it. She was happy with a hired *tonga*. Sometimes a car was placed at her disposal.

Whenever she passed through the lanes and by-lanes the children shouted: *Kamala Nehru ki jai*. They would gather around her in hundreds and escort her from locality to locality. One day an old lady in Yehiyapur saw Kamala Nehru surrounded by an army of children. She remarked: "Like Rama's Vanar Sena, your Vanar Sena is also very enthusiastic." Kamala Nehru looked at me and said: "The old lady has thrown a valuable suggestion. Why should we not organize a Vanar Sena to assist our movement?"

I informed the children that Kamala Nehru proposed to raise a Vanar Sena (Monkey Brigade). Would they join it?

There were hundreds of assenting voices, girls vying with boys. Struck by a sudden idea I announced: "Shall we request Indira Nehru to be the captain of the Vanar Sena?" The children were jubilant. Thus in a narrow lane of Allahabad, in the presence of Kamala Nehru, the formation of Vanar Sena was announced.

Kamala Nehru asked me to approach Indira and take her consent before proceeding further. I approached Indira Nehru at Anand Bhawan in the presence of her mother to help us to organize the Vanar Sena at Allahabad.

Indira: "Mummy, are you agreeable?"

Kamala Nehru: "Yes, it is a good proposal. You can help the movement in a big way through the Vanar Sena."

Indira: "Will somebody help me in organizing it?"

Kamala Nehru: "Bishambhar, as secretary of the Satyagraha Committee, will help you."

Indira: "Shall we fix any age limit?"

Kamala Nehru: "Yes, children up to fourteen years of age may be admitted."

Myself: "What about langoors, I mean those above fourteen years?"

Indira: "As a special case we may enrol Bishambharji as a *langoor* (big monkey) to help us." At this both mother and daughter had a good laugh.

We drew up a programme. Accompanied by me, Indira Nehru visited all the educational institutions and appealed to children to enrol themselves in large numbers in the Vanar Sena. Soon the movement caught the imagination of the children.

At the end of July 1930 we organized a demonstration week. Each day of the week was observed as a special day, such as Kisan Diwas, Mazdoor Diwas, Mahila Diwas, Vidyarthi Diwas, Satyagrahi Diwas, Khadi Diwas, and Vanar Sena Diwas. Huge processions were taken out every day. But the Vanar Sena Day scored over all other programmes. The Vanar Sena procession was unprecedented and unique. Thousands of small children, both boys and girls, participated in it in an orderly way. Nearly fifty thousand citizens solemnly watched the procession with Indira Nehru at the head of it.

The procession terminated in a mass meeting. Indira Nehru stood up to address the vast gathering of children. Those were days when powerful human voices were in demand, for loudspeakers and microphones had not yet come into vogue. Indira Nehru's shrill voice could not go far. Kamala Nehru suggested: "Why don't you ask Bishambhar to repeat your speech in his powerful voice?"

My childhood had been spent in a Madhya Pradesh village which was surrounded by a forest. My father was good at tiger hunt. The local belief was that if a child is given the heart of a tiger to eat, his voice becomes powerful. In my childhood I was given a bit of a tiger's heart to eat. As if to corroborate the belief, my voice did become very powerful. Once I repeated Gandhiji's speech in Allahabad when the loudspeakers failed and Bapu remarked: "So you are a human loudspeaker."

Indira Nehru asked me to repeat her speech sentence by sentence.

She appealed to the Vanar Sainiks to collect rations for satyagraha *shibirs*, to distribute satyagraha bulletins, to bring news about raids and arrests, and to collect one paisa each from every household for the "Vanar Sena Paisa Fund." The Vanar Sainiks took a collective vow to help in the fight for the country's independence.

When the meeting dispersed, I asked Kamala Nehru how she had liked the show. She said: "I feel very happy." I saw that her eyes were moist.

A Village Meeting: Lal Bahadur Shastri was the secretary of the District Satyagraha Committee. He requested Kamala Nehru to address a meeting at the Sahson village in Phulpur Tehsil. Four of us, Kamala Nehru, Prabhavati, Lal Bahadur, and myself, crossed the Ganga at Daraganj by boat and took an *ekka* from Jhusi for a seven-mile ride to Sahson. Lal Bahadur offered profuse apologies to Kamala Nehru for arranging no better conveyance for her than an *ekka*. Kamala Nehru said: "Please do not bother. I shall enjoy the *ekka* ride."

When we reached Sahson, nearly a thousand men, women, and children had gathered for the meeting. It was almost evening. An old Pandit was requested to take the chair. In his opening remarks he said that the villagers were happy to have Kamala Nehru in their midst. They were grateful to her for coming to their meeting. Carried away by his own eloquence he said that he was a very capable speaker (*prakand vakta*), and could continuously speak without a break for seven days and seven nights. (मुझमे बिना लघुशका और दीर्घशका किए सात दिन ओर सात रात अखण्ड बोलने कि शक्ति है).

Interrupting him Kamala Nehru said: "Panditji, we admire you for your vocal endurance. But please let us speak first as we have to return to the town. We assure you that we shall come back when you conclude your speech on the seventh day." The audience burst into laughter.

On the return *ekka* journey Kamala Nehru light-heartedly entertained Lal Bahadur: "Lal Bahadur, you never informed us that you were taking us to a seven day 'अखण्ड भाषण यज्ञ' (non-stop speech ceremony).

While walking on the sands of the Ganga to take a boat, Prabhavati took a false step and fell. Kamala Nehru first helped her to her feet and then said: "What a bodyguard to protect me? Her dieting fads have left her with no strength."

While crossing the Ganga our boat moved towards Daraganj. Kamala Nehru scooped some water from the Ganga in her palm and sprinkled it over herself and on all of us. Then she said: "Jawahar's love for the Himalaya is boundless, but my love is for Ganga, the daughter of Himalaya."

A Relief Fund for the Chief Justice: The tragic earthquake of Bihar diverted the nation's attention from satyagraha to relief work. An earthquake relief committee was formed in Allahabad with Tej Bahadur Sapru as chairman and Sundarlal and Kamala Nehru as secretaries. Kamala Nehru went from house to house to collect subscriptions. She asked

me to accompany her. Her target was one thousand rupees a day. In seven days she collected a little over seven thousand rupees. One day she said: "Let us go to the High Court judges today. This is humanitarian work and they will certainly contribute." The judges received Kamala Nehru with great respect. The eight whom we approached first contributed a hundred rupees each. Then we entered the bungalow of the Chief Justice, Sir Shah Mohammad Suleman. Kamala Nehru briefly told him the object of her visit. Sir Shah Mohammad responded with a pathetic narration of his financial difficulties. In between he quoted lines from Ghalib. Kamala Nehru patiently heard him for nearly three quarters of an hour and then said: 'चीफ जस्टिस साहेब, अभी तो हमलोग बिहार के भूकम्प पीड़ितों के लिए रिलीफ फण्ड जमा कर रहे हैं इससे खाली हो जाय तो फिर आपके लिए रिलीफ फण्ड जमा करें' (Mr. Chief Justice, at present we are engaged in collecting funds for the sufferers of the Bihar earthquake. As soon as we are free from this we shall raise a relief fund for your Lordship.)

This devastating repartee must have cut Shah Suleman into pieces. But Kamala Nehru did not wait for his reaction. She took leave of him.

Justices Walli Ullah and Bajpai helped us to achieve the day's target of a thousand rupees.

The Shortest Route to the Soul: In June-July 1934 Kamala Nehru was lying ill at Anand Bhawan. Jawaharlal Nehru was undergoing two years' imprisonment. Indira Nehru was also away at school in Bombay.

I called on her one evening to pay my respects. She was lying in her bed in the western verandah on the ground floor. The doctors had ordered complete rest. She looked pale but there was a spiritual glow in her eyes.

I touched her feet. In her presence one felt a strong spiritual impact. She was almost a mother to young workers. Many of my colleagues like Bal Krishna Sharma addressed her as Bhabhi and Jawaharlal Nehru as Jawaharbhai, but I preferred to address her as Didi, i.e., elder sister. She did not like to be addressed as Ma.

I enquired why she had chosen the western verandah, since the rays of the setting sun were hardly agreeable. She said: "There are so many tall trees. They prevent the glare. Besides, one can hear the chirping of the birds."

A nurse came out and pleaded: "You have not taken your fruit juice, madam."

Kamala Nehru expressed her regret.

When I took leave of her she said: "Bishambhar, will you be here tomorrow?"

"Certainly, I will, provided it is not a strain on you."

"Then come tomorrow at 2-30 p.m."

"2-30 p.m.? It is hardly a time for visiting a patient."

“No, it won’t be a strain on me. Please bring your copy of the *Bhagavad Gita* and read it to me. From 2-30 p.m. to 4 p.m. nobody comes here. I can hear the *Gita* undisturbed.”

From the following day I started reading the *Gita* to Kamala Nehru. The commentary included a passage from Henry David Thoreau. He had said that people were in search of the shortest route to India. The shortest route to India did not lie through the Suez Canal but through the *Bhagavad Gita*. The remark touched Kamala Nehru. She said: “The *Gita* may or may not be the shortest route to India, but it is certainly the shortest route to my soul. The *shlokas* are like nectar.”

A few minutes before 4 p.m. she asked me to leave. She said: “I want you to go before anyone comes down for tea.” I felt a little perplexed, but I obeyed her and quietly left Anand Bhawan.

Gradually our readings advanced up to the twelfth chapter, the *Bhakti Yoga*. Kamala Nehru said: “The three channels of the *Gita*, *Bhakti Yoga*, *Jnana Yoga* and *Karma Yoga*, ultimately merge in *Karma Yoga*. The *Gita* rejects *Bhakti* and *Jnana* (devotion and knowledge) without *Karma* (action). Jawahar is a true *karmayogi* and the *Gita* is a prime source of *Karma Yoga*. But one of my in-laws thinks that I am going against the teachings of Jawahar and committing a sacrilege by my devotion to the *Bhagavad Gita*. She claims to know Jawahar but in fact she does not know him.”

Now I realized why our *Gita* sessions started when others enjoyed their afternoon nap. Kamala Nehru reminded me of a *shloka* in the *Gita* which said that when house-holders go to sleep the *Yogis* remain awake.

A few weeks later Kamala Nehru moved to Calcutta for treatment. On my short visit to that city I went and paid my respects to her with my friend B.L. Kapoor. Her mind was full of the *Gita*.

Now, forty years later, I feel that my own knowledge of the *Gita* was academic and superficial while Kamala Nehru had dived deep into the ocean of the *Gita*. She was trying hard to unmask the mystery of the soul and was perhaps standing face to face with her higher self. While I took leave of her she said: “कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते, मा फलेषु कदाचन ।
(I have done my duty leaving the fruits of reward to my Maker.) That gives me strength and I feel very happy and contented.”

Indira Gandhi

Badr-ud-Din Tyabji

I do not suppose it will signify much to anyone else, but as it matters a great deal to me, I must, before I write any further, explain why I have agreed to contribute to this volume of felicitations and tributes to the Prime Minister.

In principle, I am utterly opposed to the growing practice of celebrating the birthdays of politicians in power, as if they were public events of national importance.

The simulated expressions of pleasure and gratitude uttered on such occasions, though sickening enough in their sentimentality, one might let pass with a shrug, muttering *chacun à son gout*, if one was not so conscious of the hypocrisy underlying most of them.

Such being my feelings about this, why then am I myself clambering up, so to speak, on the bandwagon of those who have decided to celebrate Indira Gandhi's birthday?

I think there are valid reasons for regarding this as an exceptional occasion.

The Prime Minister has proved her mettle as an outstanding leader and statesman. She deserves a salute from even the most blasé and cynical amongst us; and certainly from one who has known her for many years, stretching far back to the days before her emergence as a political personality in her own right.

An understanding of the Prime Minister's personality and character — the dominant political figure of contemporary India, if not of Asia — is now a matter of public importance. Therefore, apart from obtaining personal satisfaction by paying a tribute to her on her tremendous achievements in the recent past, I feel that I shall be doing some public good if I can contribute in some small measure towards a greater appreciation of her personality among those who have not had an opportunity of seeing it evolve over the years.

My first awareness of Indira Gandhi as a person arose from the fact that she was on the same ship as my younger sister, Kamila, when she sailed from Bombay in 1937 on her way to Oxford. Indira Nehru, as she then was, was also travelling for the same purpose. In the letters my sister wrote to us during her voyage out, there was naturally mention of her fellow passengers. Indira Nehru did not stay in Oxford long. So I did not meet her there when I myself went a year or so later on a long holiday to Europe and America during which I looked up my sister at my old University.

It was really not till Jawaharlal Nehru joined the Interim Government in 1946, and took up residence at 17, York Road (now the Italian Embassy on Motilal Nehru Marg) that I met Indira Gandhi, as she had become by that time. I then had an opportunity of seeing a great deal of her. During this period she used to divide her time fairly evenly between her father's house in Delhi and her own in Allahabad.

Political events were moving fast. The sharp cleavage between the Congress led by Panditji and Sardar Patel and the Muslim League led by Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan had already split the country ideologically and socially from top to toe. Life in Delhi had become compartmentalized. It was soon to become hazardous for a Muslim, even for persons like me who had ideologically thrown in their lot wholeheartedly with the Congress.

It was my work then in the Constituent Assembly Secretariat, where I had been entrusted with various matters (including such emotional issues as the design of the National Flag and Emblem), that brought me into close touch with Panditji. I began seeing a great deal of him. From the first he considered me an extension of the various Tyabjis he had known. I had no ice to break with him. During the weeks of riots and disruption, immediately following Partition and Independence, which shook Delhi to its foundations and threatened my very existence, I saw him practically every evening at his house, sometimes even staying over for a frugal meal (as food was in short supply) with him alone, or one or two others.

Indira Gandhi often used to be there, and I had many occasions to discuss men and affairs with her. She took a great deal of interest in the refugee camps that had been set up in Delhi both for Muslims and non-Muslims. Muslim lives had been endangered by communal tension in the areas in which they lived. Many of them had decided to emigrate to Pakistan and were only waiting for arrangements to be made for them to leave in safety. Others had sought refuge in the camps until normal conditions were restored in the areas in which they had their homes in Delhi to enable them to return there.

The largest camps were of course of the Hindu and Sikh refugees who had fled from what had become West Pakistan. New homes and livelihood had to be found for them.

Indira Gandhi worked unremittingly and without discrimination for the welfare of all these three types of refugees. I know how difficult this was as I had seen how the partisan spirit affected even the most dedicated of social workers at the time.

During this testing period, the differences in outlook between Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel in regard to the communal situation, the treatment of minorities, and the position of the Muslims who stayed on in India, was marked. No less were the differences between them in regard to the social and economic policies that they wanted the new Indian state to follow. Broadly speaking, Sardar Patel was conservative while Panditji was a socialist.

Nevertheless, Jawaharlal Nehru was determined at all costs to keep the Congress united; and not to bring the issues between him and Sardar Patel and the latter's followers to a head as that would have

split the party.

I was of the opinion that Jawaharlal Nehru's position in the country was so strong that he should have done precisely that. It seemed unreal to me that he should be the undisputed leader of the people, and yet be content to remain more or less a prisoner in his own party — not being able to carry out effectively what he believed in, because it was undermined by other members of his own party. In these matters, Indira Gandhi held views which I thought were identical with mine. She was much closer to the socialist group, then still in the Congress, than to the conservatives, and she was an out-and-out secularist. This affinity in political views naturally brought me closer to her than it would otherwise have been possible.

Panditji did not have much of an ear for music, nor much of an eye for painting or the visual arts, but as a thoroughly civilized and sensitive person, he cared deeply for the cultivation of the arts. His daughter helped him greatly in this, having herself a natural taste and genuine appreciation of them for what they were, apart from what they represented.

Indira Gandhi's interest in these matters extended so far that even after she had held the office of Congress President at a time of particular difficulty, she did not think it beneath her to serve as a member of a small advisory committee that I constituted for guiding the Ministry of External Affairs on how it should equip and furnish its missions abroad.

I hope that these reminiscences of Indira Gandhi, belonging to a time when she held no official position, will help those who do not know enough of her background to realize that her interest in socialism, in giving the common man a fair deal and abolishing poverty, is not just a political pose or means for winning votes or acquiring mass popularity. It is something with which she was almost born and brought up. It is a basic ingredient in her character. Similarly, her advocacy of giving equal opportunities to the minorities, and making secularism as a principle of state policy really effective, is not just a tactical device for winning over Muslim votes at the time of elections (as even some Muslims who should know better seem to think), but is something for which she has worked all her life. It is an essential part of her character and outlook on society.

Again, the action she took even at the risk of not only splitting the Congress party but of forfeiting her own command of the Government in order to purge it of those elements which did not fully believe in its public professions of secularism, democracy and socialism, was also not just political gamesmanship or an inspired gamble to gain political ascendancy. It was as much the outcome of a long-held, deep-seated conviction in the absolute necessity of such action if one wanted the party's professions and principles to be translated into action and achievement. She had tried to persuade her father to take such action

even in the first days of Independence when the dissidents in the party were persons of the stature of Sardar Patel and others, with a national following. She had not succeeded then. Her father's temperament, style of politics, and flair for man-management were different from hers.

I saw particularly at the Bandung Conference how much more perceptive and down-to-earth she was than her father in sizing up the character of persons with whom one had to deal, not on an emotional basis, but as man to man, for doing business with or making use of for public purposes. She is, of course, very much her father's daughter, but she is also very much her mother's child. This is to be seen not only in her physical lineaments, but in her temperament and character as well.